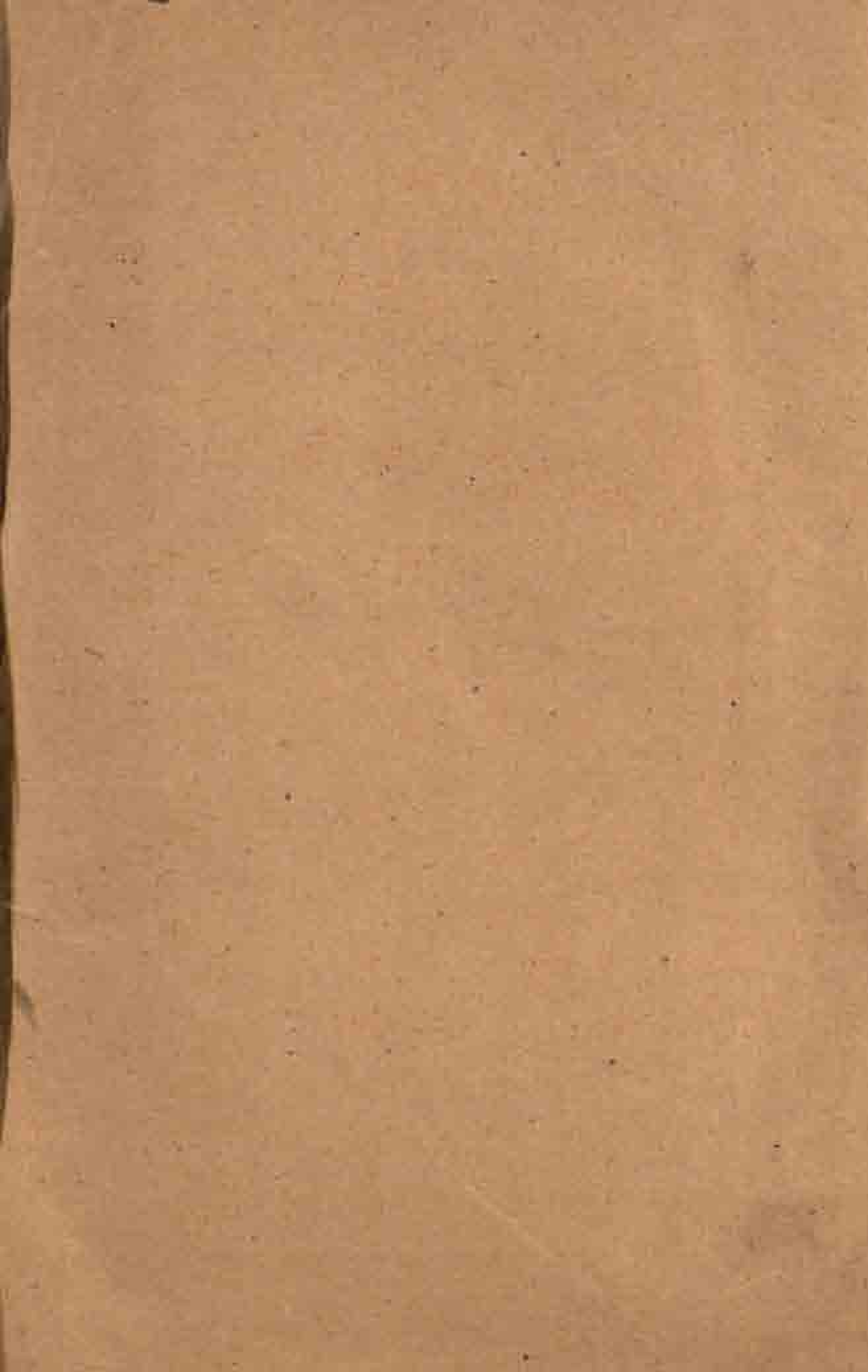






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AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

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DELHI: MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS

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" 11, l. 8 from bottom, *for* Kaviḷasapura *read* Kaviḷāsapura.
" 12, text line 17, *for* ahārājādhirāja *read* mahārājādhirāja.
" 15, line 10, *for* Dvārāvati *read* Dvārāvatī.
" 21, text line 47, *for* वीर्त्नियोमा(वृ)ता° *read* वीनिदीम(वृ)ता.°
" 22, text line 86, *for* °ताडवदीर° *read* °ताडवदीर.°
" 23, last line, *for* the final form of it *read* the final form of *t*.
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" 29, line 4 from bottom, for *Gōṇḍala-sāhasa* read *Gōṇḍaḷa-sāhasa*.
" 29, line 3 from bottom, for *Raṅga-mṛigēndra* read *Raṇaraṅga-mṛigēndra*.
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" 33, text line 42, *for* Guṇaka-vijayituṇḍu *read* Guṇaka-Vijayituṇḍu.
" 34, text line 48, for *paritaḷḷa* read *parisuḷḷa*.
" 35, f. n. 2, *for* "*C.f.* Mr. V. Miśra (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 178 ff.) and Mr. S. Rajaguru (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. VII, pp. 165 ff.)" *read* "*C.f.* Mr. V. Miśra (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. VII, pp. 665 ff.) and Mr. S. Rajaguru (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 178 ff.)."
" 35, f. n. 4 *for* Vol. LXIII *read* Vol. LXXIII.
" 38, text line 2, *for* -maṇai (nē)r- *read* -maṇai (ṇē)r-.
" 43, line 12 from bottom, *for* Maṇḍaladēva *read* Maṇḍanadēva.
" 43, line 5 from bottom, *for* Pānāchchi *read* Pānāchchi.
" 45, text line 12, *for* यहकदंत° *read* यहूकदंत.°
" 48, text line 25, *for* बहुमाला° *read* बहुमाला.°
" 48, text line 29, *for* सिव पुनरव *read* सिर्व पुनरव.
" 48, text line 31, *for* चिनं (शी)पकी *read* विनं(शं)पकी.
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" 49, text line 37, *for* सूदाकि *read* सूदाकि.
" 50, line 15, *for* 'frequen ly' *read* 'frequently'.
" 51, line 5, *for* Vālabha *read* Vālabhya.
" 54, text line 19, *for* बालोकसाधारण° *read* बालाकसाधारण.°
" 54, text line 20, *for* विशाविककमाडेन *read* विशाविकक्रमाडेन.
" 71, f. n. 1, for *vasasatāra* read *vasasatāya*.
" 77, line 2 from bottom, *for* **"Puragupta's mother"** *read* **"Puragupta's wife"**. [The correct name of this queen is Chandradēvī (see *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1934-35, p. 63).
" 81, text line 4, *for* Gōvinda-svāminaḥ *read* Gōvindasvāminaḥ.
" 89, line 18 from bottom, *for* "interpretatated" *read* "interpreted".
" 92, line 2 from bottom, for *Pamattavāra* read *Pramattavāra*.
" 93, line 3, for *vissnimādāya* read *visēṣimādāya*.
" 95, text lines 15-16, *for* फिरवइकविर्व *read* फिरवइकविरु.

Page 95, text line 26, *for* दीव्वमाला *read* दीव्वजाला।

" 102, line 15, *for* Neḍuñjaḍaiyan *read* Neḍuñjaḍaiyan.

" 104, line 18, *for* Paraḍumaṅgalam *read* Paraḍūmmaṅgalam.

" 118, text line 11, *for* -ik-adhivāsaya *read* -ik-ādhivāsaya.

" 120, f. n. 1, l. 8, *for* *Mahāvaṁsa* *read* *Mahāvaṁsa*.

" 122, f. n. 1, ll. 2-3, *for* Arattaṅgi *read* Araṭṭāṅgi.

" 132, text line 8, *for* समावास. *read* समावासः.

" 135, line 15, *for* Mattepaḍi *read* Maṭṭepāḍi.

" 138, f. n. 5, *for* Baroda plates of Dhruva II (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV, p. 197) *read* Bagumrā plates of Dhruva II (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, p. 179).

" 141, text line 22, *for* °देव ×[illegible] *read* °देवः [illegible]॥

" 146, f. n. 2, *for* *Sapta-bhaṅgi-naya* *read* *Sapta-bhaṅgī-naya*.

" 148, f. n. 5, *for* *Raihayas* *read* *Haihayas*.

" 154, line 8, *for* Vaṁśasthavila *read* Vaṁśasthavila.

" 155, line 12, *for* Aihoje *read* Aihoḷe.

" 158, line 5, *for* **Bhōjadēva** *read* **Bhōjadēva**.

" 160, line 8 from bottom, *for* Rāṇṇā *read* Rāṇṇā.

" 161, line 8 from bottom, *for* " Kamalarāja, son of Kōkalla II " *read* " Kamalarāja son of Kaliṅgarāja ".

" 164, text line 15, *for* -Kāśyapa *read* -Kāśyapa.

" 165, text lines 26-27, *for* prabhūtas-tāvad- *read* prabhūtas=tāvad=.

" 167, line 13, *for* Kurukāḍi Kilān *read* Kurukāḍi Kiḻān.

" 167, f. n. 3, l. 2, *for* *pōrtandum* *read* *pōrtandām*.

" 169, text line 6, *for* Pallava-Muttaraiya- *read* Pallava-Muttaraiyan-.

" 170, line 14, *for* Pāppanachchēri *read* Pāppanachchēri.

" 170, line 4 from bottom, *for* Tiru-Anantāvarattu *read* Tiru-Anantēvarattu.

" 174, line 11, *for* " ī is distinguished from i " etc., *read* " ī is distinguished from i " etc.

" 175, line 9, *for* *Vāraṇaśiyamān* *read* *Vāraṇāsiyamān*.

" 176, f. n. 3, l. 7, *for* *piṇḍ-āḍānvāgi* *read* *piṇḍ-āḍānavāgi*.

" 177, f. n. 10, *for* " to have ruled only for short time " *read* " to have ruled only for a short time ".

" 178, text line 15, *for* gārodam *read* gāroḍaṁ.

" 178, f. n. 1, *for* *dattiḥ* *read* *dattiḥ*.

" 179, in the heading of **A**, *for* **Saṁvat 257** *read* **Saṁvat 254**.

" 181, line 9 from bottom, *for* Hastavapra-āhāra *read* Hastavapr-āhāra.

" 182, line 1, *for* Khuḍḍaka *read* Khuḍḍuka.

" 182, line 3, *for* Bhadāmka *read* Bhadāsaka.

" 184, text line 35, *for* वैटिदृश° *read* चिटदृश°.

" 184, text line 42, *for* °कू दिना॥ *read* °यमदिना॥

" 187, f. n. 7, ll. 5-6, *for* Mānā-Chaṇaya *read* Mānābharaṇa.

" 190, text line 18, *for* uḷḷiṭṭārnik-ko ṟu *read* uḷḷiṭṭāraik-koṟṟu.

" 191, text line 28, *for* Jinattara[yar] *read* Chinattara[yar].

" 191, text line 29, *for* °mugar-tukku *read* °mugatrukku.

" 193, line 1, *for* " Pallavarāyan of Mēnmalaip-Palaiyanūr " *read* " Pallavarāyan of Palaivanūr in Mēnmalaip-Palaivanūr-nāḍu ".

" 193, line 18, *for* Virana[mbi] *read* Vīrana[mbi].

" 195, f. n. 7, *for* *C. I. I.*, Vol. I. *read* *C. I. I.*, Vol. II.

" 198, text line 8, *for* yathābhūta-sampratived(ō)dhē *read* yathābhūta-sampratīvēdhē.

Page 204, No. 34, line 8, *for* Hoysaḷas *read* Hoysaḷas.
,, 209, line 12 from bottom, *for* ghañchaka *read* Ghañchaka.
,, 209, line 11 from bottom, *for* chaṭṭa *read* Chaṭṭa.
,, 209, line 10 from bottom, *for* Lusaṇikā *read* Lūsaṇikā.
,, 209, lines 6 and 7 from bottom, *for* Dhōraka *read* Dhōrika.
,, 212, line 4, *for* " and *r* and *e* (ll. 4 and 11) " *read* " and *r* and *chh* (ll. 4 and 12) ".
,, 218, text line 23, *for* 'श्रीपैदर्शक' *read* 'श्रीपादर्शक.'
,, 218, text line 31, *for* 'रायवद्' *read* 'रायवर.'
,, 219, text line 53, *for* वत्सार्यमि *read* वत्सार्यम.
,, 225, lines 15-16, *for* *Ashṭāṅgahridaya* *read* *Ashṭāṅgahridaya.*
,, 226, line 4, *for* " they have to be placed before A.D. 1062 " *etc.* *read* " they have to be placed after A.D. 1062 " etc.
,, 227, line 2, *for* Nanarese *read* Kanarese.
,, 228, line 22 from bottom, *for* **Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōlapuram** *read* **Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram.**
,, 228, line 5 from bottom, *for* **Ālpākkam** *read* **Ālppākkam.**
,, 234, text line 14, *for* Kulaiya-divākara- *read* Kuvalaiya-Divākara-.
,, 235, text line 15, *for* -tiṅgalmōrāttār- *read* -tiṅgaḷmōrāttār-.
,, 235, text line 19, *for* Virāśōḷanukku *read* Virasōḷanukku.
,, 237, text line 29, *for* -Tiruvēṅgaḍamālai- *read* -Tiruvēṅgaḍamalai-.
,, 238, text line 30, *for* en-kalanēy- *read* eṇ-kalanēy-.
,, 243, line 11 from bottom, *for* " Manmagaṇḍayan, ... Koṇḍayan, Āchchidaran " *read* " Manmagaṇḍayan, ... Kāmayan, ... Koṇḍayan; Āchchidaran ".
,, 244, line 15 from bottom, *for* Kshatriyasikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu *read* kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷa-nāḍu.
,, 245, line 1, *for* Vaḷavarāditta-Mūvēndavēḷār *read* Vaḷavarāditta-Mūvēndavēḷār.
,, 245, lines 17-18, for *mudal silavu* read *mudal śelavu.*
,, 258, f. n. 3, *for* Mahmud *read* Maḥmūd.
,, 263, text lines 12-13, *for* हैमयष्ट्या(ष्ट्या)सनोष किंगुणा *read* हैमयष्ट्या(ष्ट्या)सनोत्थकिंगुणा and omit notes 3 and 4 ; and in the translation of verse 5 on p. 266, *for* (*Let people hear*) the three *guṇas* and the prowess of (*that god*), who possesses a *yashṭyāsana* made of gold, *viz.*, Kapardin, *etc.* *substitute* (*Let these be heard, viz.*) the birth in *hēmayashṭyāsana,* the qualities and the prowess of that (*god*) Kapardin ", *etc.* [I am indebted to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., for this correction and the next.]
,, 264, text lines 49-50, *for* कान्यादन(न)न्याय(पि)ता *read* कन्यादन(न)न्याय(पि)ता ; and in the translation of verse 15, *for* " and whose devotion (*to god*) resorted to none but himself " etc. *substitute* " and whose devotion resorted to none but Skanda " *etc.*
,, 264, f. n. 2, *for* सिंघनी सिंघनी सुखी etc., *read* सिंघनी सुखी सिंघनी etc.
,, 268, line 5, *for* "**Timmana-Bhaṭṭa** who was the son of Kāmēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka " *read* "**Timmana-Bhaṭṭa** who was the son of Koṇḍu-Bhaṭṭāraka and grandson of Kāmēśvara-Bhaṭṭāraka ".
,, 268, line 16 from bottom, *for* *Kaliṅ-garāya-* *read* *Kaliṅgarāya-.*
,, 268, line 11 from bottom, *for* Odhra *read* Oḍra.
,, 268, line 8 from bottom, *for* " the Narasāpaṭam plates of Vajrahasta II " *read* the Narasā-paṭam plates of Vajrahasta III ".
,, 268, line 6 from bottom, *for* *Pāṇ-ḍyarāya-* *read* *Pāṇḍyarāya-.*
,, 269, line 9, *for* Madhurāntaka-Potappi-Chōḷa *read* Madhurāntaka Pottappi-Chōḷa.

Page 271, text line 6, *for* -śastrulavāriki *read* -śāstrulavāriki.
" 272, text line 38, *for* dhāra-purvam- *read* dhārā-pūrvam-
" 274, text line 32, *for* [illegible] *read* [illegible].
" 276, text line 79, *delete* the figure 2 above [illegible].
" 278, line 17, *for* **Hāḍāvati** *read* **Hāḍāvaṭi.**
" 279, line 9, *for* **Śāraṁgapura** *read* **Sāraṁgapura.**
" 283, text line 14, *for* [illegible] *read* [illegible].
" 286, text line 39, *for* [illegible] *read* [illegible].
" 287, text line 12, *for* [illegible] *read* [illegible].
" 292, line 3 from bottom, *for* Endāvirut *read* Endāvīrut.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXI.

NO. 1.—MATHURA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CHANDRAGUPTA II: G. E. 61.

BY PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., PH.D. (HON.), CALCUTTA.

This inscription, which has not been previously edited, is engraved on a pillar originally attached to a wall situated in the Chandul Mandul Bagichi near Rangēśvara Mahādēva temple at Muttra. It was discovered there by one Bholanath, a dealer in antiquities, in July 1928 and removed to his place. Later, it was taken possession of by the local Police authorities and was lying in their custody in the *Māl* godown, Muttra. Thereafter it was secured by the Director-General of Archæology in India and transferred to the Muttra Museum on the 5th of July 1929 as a deposit from the Archæological Department. It is now lying in the Muttra Museum bearing the No. 1931. In January 1931 Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, visited the Museum and took some impressions of the inscription. He was so good as to send me two excellent estampages, one plain, in one whole piece, and the other inked, in two parts. It is on these estampages that my transcript of this epigraph is based.

The **writing** occupies five of the faces with which the pillar is adorned and is spread over a surface, about 2' 3" broad by 1' 6½" high. The record, on the whole, is not badly preserved. It may seem that some portion at the end is gone, as the last line contains only the first half of a verse in the Āryā metre. But, as will be shown subsequently, the second half of this Āryā verse could not be engraved, as there was no space available for it between the top and the base of the pillar. The case, however, is different in regard to the third of the five sides of the pillar on which the record is engraved. Almost the whole of this part of the inscription is abraded and completely destroyed. This indeed is a grievous loss, because part of the most important matter contained in this interesting record is thus irrevocably lost to the historian, as we shall see in the sequel. The **language** is Sanskrit. And the inscription is in prose throughout, except for an Āryā verse at the close, only half of which could be engraved. In respect of **orthography**, the only points that call for notice are :—(1) the doubling, throughout, of *v* (ll. 5 and 10), of *y* (ll. 8, 12, 14, 15) and of *t* (ll. 3, 8), except in the word *kīrti*, in conjunction with a preceding *r*, and (2) the use of the *jihvāmūlīya* in l. 12.

The **characters** belong to the early Gupta period when they were practically identical with those of the Kushāṇa records. This is particularly the case with our inscription which is found at Mathurā from where a number of Kushāṇa epigraphs have already come to light. In fact, it would have been well-nigh impossible to say that ours was a Gupta and not a Kushāṇa record, had it not contained the name of a Gupta king. The letters *kh*, *gh*, *j*, *p*, *m*, and *v* of our inscription have almost invariably flat and angular bases; so also sometimes even the tops of *g*

and *s*. But these characteristics are noticeable in the script not only of the Kushāṇa but also of the early Kshatrapa of Nahapāna period. Then we have to note the equalisation of the upper verticals, the constant use of the nail-head or wedge, the loop in the left limb of *y*, the peculiarly developed left member of *bh*, the slightly convex cross-bar of *h* and the base-line of *n* or *ṇ* bending lower down on either side. These peculiarities our epigraph has in common not only with the Kushāṇa records but also with the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman. The only point in which this last differs from the others is that while in the former the medial *ā* and *ē* are indicated invariably by horizontal side strokes, in the latter they are sometimes shown by the vertical slanting strokes placed on the tops of the letters. But there seem to be no palæographic peculiarities of any kind which demarcate the early Gupta from the Kushāṇa script. It is possible to argue that what is called the eastern variety of Gupta letters, such as is indicated by the peculiar forms of *m*, *s* and *h*, already makes its appearance in the early Gupta records even at Mathurā. Thus Fleet's *Gupta Inscrs.* No. 4, which was found at this place and pertains to Chandragupta II himself, has the letter *m* engraved throughout in the eastern variety. The same type of *m* is traceable in a Jaina inscription also found at Mathurā[1] but of the time of Kumāragupta I. And further, if we consider the Mēharauli pillar inscription of Chandra,[2] we notice not only *m* but also *s* and *h* of the eastern variety. Scholars are now agreed that this Chandra is either Chandragupta I or Chandragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. Where the original site of the pillar was is not definitively known. Possibly it was somewhere near Hardwār.[3] It may be to the north of Mathurā, but certainly not to the east of it. We have thus to take note of the record which refers at the latest to Chandragupta II, and which presents the peculiar eastern variety of *m*, *s* and *h*, although it was not put up anywhere in the eastern part of the Gupta dominions. It may thus be argued that the eastern forms of these three letters are noticeable in epigraphs from the western part of the Gupta kingdom and also as early as the time of Chandragupta II, and that, as they are not found in any Kushāṇa record, the existence of this eastern variety at Mathurā and Mēharauli (or Hardwār) is enough to differentiate clearly the Gupta from the Kushāṇa script. This line of reasoning has no doubt an air of plausibility about it, but cannot stand any critical examination. Bühler has already shown that specimens of the eastern variety appear also in an Udayagiri cave inscription of the time of Chandragupta II (Fleet's *Gupta Inscrs.* No. 6, IVA), but this he has rightly explained by the fact that it was incised during an expedition of that Gupta sovereign to Mālwā at the command of his minister who was a native of Pāṭaliputra. The existence of the eastern type of Gupta characters in the Mēharauli pillar inscription may be explained exactly similarly by saying that it was engraved by the officers of Chandragupta II as they were returning from an expedition of world conquest adverted to therein. Secondly, it is a mistake to suppose that these specimens of the eastern variety are not noticeable in the Kushāṇa records also. Nay, in Mathurā itself an inscription[4] has been discovered dated the 14th year of Kanishka's reign, which contains the typically eastern Gupta forms of the three letters *m*, *s* and *h*. This also indicates that there is no hard and fast distinction between the Kushāṇa and the Gupta scripts. There is another piece of evidence to show that these eastern forms of the letters sprang into existence in the pre-Gupta period. Thus we know of an inscription found at Gaḍhā (Jasdan) in Kāṭhiāwāḍ of the time of the Mahākshatrapa Rudrasīṁha. It is dated 127 (or 126), and, as it is referred to the Śaka era, we obtain A.D. 205 (or 204) as its English equivalent. If we carefully examine the facsimile of this record,

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 210, No. 38 & Pl.

[2] *An. Bhan. Res. Inst.*, Vol. VIII, p. 172 ff.

[3] *Gupta Inscrs.*, No. 32, Pl. xxi A.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 96 f.

published above (Vol. XVI. Plate facing p. 237), we find that the letters *m* and *h* are incised sometimes in the so-called western and sometimes also in the so-called eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. It is thus clear, that these eastern forms of the letters were in existence as early as A.D. 205, the date of the Jaslan inscription, that is, certainly more than a century prior to the rise of the Gupta power. They cannot thus possibly be called Gupta characters at all. And it would be the height of absurdity to dub them as the eastern variety of the Gupta letters especially when the Jaslan record is not only of the pre-Gupta period but is far far removed to the south-west of Pāṭaliputra.

There are, however, some minor palaeographic peculiarities in our inscription which call for notice here. The ending *m* in *Siddham*, with which the inscription begins, looks, however, like the eastern variety of the Gupta *m*, though in all other cases it is represented by the other—earlier—form of the letter. That it is the ending *m* is indicated by its tiny shape. The *h* in *mahārāja* in l. 1 is represented by a character which looks like *u*. Possibly its right limb remained unincised inadvertently. Though *n* is engraved in all other cases with the base-line bending slightly lower down on either side, the *n* in *gurvv-āyatanē* in l. 10 has a distinct loop on the left as in the later form of that character. This, however, is not unknown to the Kushāṇa records. The way in which components of the conjunct *mbō* are joined in *sambōdhanam* (l. 12) is worth seeing. The rare *n* in *vijñāṅkam* (l. 13) and the Kushāṇa form of *u* and *ū* in ll. 5 and 8 are also worthy of note. Similarly, the character for the numeral 60 in l. 4 does not resemble any of the Gupta period shown by Bühler in cols. IX-X, of his Tafel IX., but comes very close to that in col. V of the Kshatrapa period ranging between the 2nd and the 3rd century A.D.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Chandragupta, son of Samudragupta.** The titles coupled with each name are worth noting. They are *bhaṭṭāraka*, *mahārāja* and *rājādhirāja*. The first of these, namely, *bhaṭṭāraka* is associated pretty frequently with the names of the Gupta sovereigns. But the other title which they almost invariably assume is *mahārājādhirāja* instead of what we have in the present record, *i.e.*, *mahārāja rājādhirāja*, an exact replica of *mahārāja rājātirāja* which the Kushāṇa kings bore. It is quite natural in Mathurā which formed one of the most important districts of the Kushāṇa kingdom and where numbers of Kushāṇa epigraphs have been unearthed. This is but another indication of Mathurā and the surrounding region being wrested from the Kushāṇas for the first time by Chandragupta II.

The **date** of the inscription is 61, which, of course, has to be referred to the Gupta era. It is rather unfortunate that the important words in lines 3-5 which contain the details of the date have been effaced. The first part of it tells us to what regnal year of Chandragupta this date corresponds. It is a serious loss that this part has not been preserved. The second part tells us to what *kāla* or era the year 61 belonged. It seems to be certain that *Gupta-kāla* is meant. But nothing would have been better if the word *Gupta* had been preserved. Then again the name of the month also has been destroyed. Fortunately for us the word *prathamē* has been preserved immediately after the specification of the month. This shows that in the year 61 there was an intercalary month. On the evidence of Jaina works Dr. K. B. Pathak has proved that expired or current Gupta years can be converted into corresponding (expired or current) Śaka years by adding 241[1]. Thus if we add 241 to 61 Gupta year of our inscription, we obtain 302 Śaka=380 A.D. We do not yet know whether this Gupta year is current or expired. We leave it undecided for the time being. Now, if we refer to page 42 of Table X of the *Indian Chronology* by Swamikannu Pillai, we find that there was an additional month only in A.D. 380 and none in 378 or in 381-82 and that in A.D. 380 Āshāḍha was the

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, 1917, p. 293.

intercalary month. The lacuna before *prathamé* can thus be easily filled up with *Ashâḍha-mâsé*. We thus find that the month of our date cannot but be Âshâḍha. We also find that the date of our record was a current Gupta year. Because this intercalary month came only in A.D. 380 current, the Gupta 61 must therefore be also a current year.

The earliest date we had so far for Chandragupta II is G.E. 82, supplied by an Udayagiri cave inscription of his feudatory chieftain of the Sanakânika family[1]. But the date furnished by our epigraph is 61, which is thus twenty-one years earlier. It also sheds some light on the length of his reign. The latest known date for this Gupta sovereign is 93. Therefore Chandragupta II must have had a reign of at least 32 years.

After the specification of the date, the inscription introduces us to a teacher who was a Mâhê-vara or devotee of Śiva and was called Uditâchârya. His pedigree is given. But unfortunately the name of his teacher is not clearly preserved. It is however pretty certain that it was Upamita. The latter, again, was a pupil of Kapila, and Kapila, a pupil of Parâśara. We have thus a list of Mâhêśvara teachers extending over four generations. In fact, Uditâchârya has been mentioned as *chaturtha* or fourth in succession from Parâśara. This is intelligible and quite all right, as it is in an unbroken order. But Uditâchârya has been also specifically mentioned as *daśama* or tenth in descent from Kuśika. As no names of the intervening teachers have been given and Uditâchârya is specified as tenth in succession from Kuśika, the only possible inference is that Kuśika, though he did not originate any new doctrine or sect, must have been at least the founder of a line of teachers. We will take up this point later on for further discussion, but what we have here to note is that while the living teacher Uditâchârya is called merely an *Ârya*, all the others, namely, Upamita, Kapila, Parâśara and Kuśika, have received the supreme designation of *Bhaga-vat*, which is generally associated with personages who are supposed to have attained to the rank of the divinity.

The object of the inscription is to record that Uditâchârya, who was the Mâhêśvara teacher living, established two images, called Kapilêśvara and Upamitêśvara, in the *Gurv-âyatana*. The second part of these two names, *i.e.*, *îśvara*, shows that it was the Liṅgas that were installed. The first parts of these, *i.e.*, Upamita and Kapila, are the names of the teacher and the teacher's teacher of Uditâchârya. It therefore seems that the latter established two Liṅgas, one in the name of Upamita and the other in the name of Kapila. We have numerous instances of persons setting up idols of Vishṇu or Śiva either in their own or in their father's or mother's name. It is therefore no wonder that Uditâchârya put up two Liṅgas in the names of his teacher and teacher's teacher. What is, however, noteworthy here is that he installed the Liṅgas in a place called *Gurv-âyatana* which can only mean "the Teachers' Shrine." As none of the *gurus* of the line to which Uditâchârya pertained was then alive, the *Gurv-âyatana* can only denote the place where the memorials of the *gurus* were established. And we know from this inscription what sort of memorials were set up by Uditâchârya in the names of his *gurus*. They were Liṅgas called individually after them. The inference is reasonable that *Gurv-âyatana* was a place where Liṅgas were installed in the names of the teachers who preceded Uditâchârya.

This *Gurv-âyatana* reminds us of the *dêvakula* mentioned in the *Pratimâ-nâṭaka* of Bhâsa which was really "a royal gallery of portrait statues." Bharata, who is a son of Daśaratha but who does not know of his father's death, comes to this place, mistaking it for a shrine of four deities. He meets the *dêvakulika* who was in charge of this edifice, and learns from him that it was not a place of worship but a Statue-house, the last statue erected there being that of Daśa-ratha,—whereupon he concludes that his father is dead.[2] The case is, however, somewhat different with the *dêvakulas* mentioned in the Kushâṇa inscriptions. One *dêvakula* certainly enshrined

[1] *Gupta Inscrs.*, p. 25.

[2] *Pratimâ-nâṭaka* (Triv. Sk. Series, No. 13), pp. 44 ff.

the statue of the Kushāṇa sovereign who was the grand-father (*pitāmaha*) of Huvishka.[1] Whether this *dēvakula* "was the same as the one mentioned in the inscription of Vima it is impossible to say." If they are not the same, then they are of course different. In that case, at Māṭ near Mathurā where these Kushāṇa inscriptions were found, we had not a gallery of royal portraits, as supposed by some[2], but rather a cluster of *dēvakulas* commemorating the different Kushāṇa rulers. The case is not unlike what we see in the capital towns of the States of Rājputānā. To take the Jodhpur State, for instance. Six miles north of it is a place called Maṇḍor which is bedecked with a number of structures raised to the memory of the various kings of the Rāṭhoḍ family of that place. Some of these look exactly like temples and are also known locally as *dēvaḷā*[3] (=*dēvakulas*). The custom prevalent among the Rājpūts namely, to erect a commemorative structure to every departed king seems to have been in vogue also in the Kushāṇa period. The case depicted in the *Pratimā-nāṭaka* is, however, different, because it introduces us not to an assemblage of shrine structures, each separate from the others, and each raised to the memory of a ruler that has passed away, but rather to a statue-house which contained the portraits of the dead kings. The *Guru-āyatana* adverted to in our record resembles this *pratimā-griha* more than the different memorial structures huddled together in a place, which seem to have been customary in Rājputānā from the Kushāṇa times. *Guru-āyatana* is thus a shrine which comprised the Liṅgas set up in the name and to the memory of the *gurus* of that lineage to which Uditāchārya belonged. It may be contended that the resemblance here is not complete unless we could show that these Liṅgas were or contained the portraits of the departed *gurus*. It has to be admitted that there is some force in this contention. For, in l. 10, immediately after *Guru-āyatanē* we have the two letters *guru*, which were originally followed by at least five letters but which have unfortunately been effaced. It may reasonably be asked why *guru°* is again engraved at all after *Guru-āyatanē* and whether the letters destroyed cannot be restored so as to answer to this presumption. The reply is that the lacuna can without much difficulty be filled up, and I do not think we shall be very wide of the mark if we restore it to *guru-pratimā-yutau*. The Liṅgas established not only were named after the gurus Upamita and Kapila but also bore their portraits. How this could be possible we shall see shortly.

There is just another point to be considered. We have seen that the inscription specifically mentions Uditāchārya as *daśama* or tenth in descent from Kuśika and fourth from Parāśara. While the teachers intervening between Parāśara and Uditāchārya are mentioned and are only two, those between Kuśika and Parāśara are not mentioned at all though they were no less than five. In fact, there was no need of mentioning Kuśika at all unless we suppose that he was the most important personage of the line to which Uditāchārya belonged. We are therefore compelled to infer that Kuśika, though he may not have propounded any new religious system, must have at least originated a line of teachers to which pertained Parāśara, Kapila, Upamita and Udita. Who could this Kuśika be? There can be but one reply to this question. Years ago I had occasion to point out who Lakulī was. Lakulī was a great puzzle to scholars and archaeologists. I first drew their attention to a passage which is common to both the *Vāyu-* and the *Liṅga-Purāṇa*.[4] On the strength of this passage I showed (1) that Lakulī was the last incarnation of Mahēśvara, (2) that this incarnation took place at Kāyārōhaṇa or Kāyāvatāra which was identical with Kārvān, in the Ḍabhōi *tālukā*, Baroda *prānt*, Baroda State, and (3) that he had four ascetic pupils, namely, Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurushya. The same information is contained in a

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1924, pp. 402-3.

[2] *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1919, p. 99.

[3] *PRAS., WC.*, 1906-7, p. 31, para. 21.

[4] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 154 ff.

stone slab inscription, which originally belonged to a temple at Sōmanātha in Kāṭhiāwāḍ but is
now preserved in the Quinta of Don João de Castro at Cintra in Portugal. The inscription
is thus known as the Cintra *praśasti* of the reign of the Chaulukya ruler Sāraṅgadēva, and was
last critically edited by G. Bühler in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff. This inscription corroborates
practically all that has been said by the Purāṇas about Lakulī. The order and names of his
pupils are however slightly different in this epigraphic record, being, Kuśika, Gārgya,
Kaurusha and Maitrēya. But this much is certain that in both Kuśika remains unaltered in name
and also stands first in the order. The Cintra *praśasti* however tells us one thing more, namely,
that these four disciples of Lakulī were the founders of four lines amongst the Pāśupatas.[1] There
can thus hardly be a doubt that the Kuśika of our record must be regarded as the first pupil of
Lakulī and that the four *Āchāryas* mentioned here were of course his descendants. In the Cintra
praśasti three *Āchāryas* are mentioned, namely, Kārttikarāśi, Vālmīkirāśi and Tripurāntaka, the
last of whom was a contemporary of Sāraṅgadēva during whose reign it was incised. Verse 19
of this inscription distinctly tells us that these teachers belonged to the line (*gōtra*) of Gārgya.
While the Cintra *praśasti* thus gives an account of the ascetic teachers who sprang up in the line
of Gārgya, the second pupil of Lakulī, our present record throws light upon the line of teachers
that was founded by Kuśika, the first disciple of Lakulī. It appears that while the descendants
of Gārgya established themselves at Sōmanātha in Kāṭhiāwāḍ, those of Kuśika were settled at
Mathurā.

If the teachers mentioned in our inscription belonged to the Lakulīśa sect, it clears up the
two or three points of our inscription which were thought to be obscure. The first is how the
Liṅgas, if they were installed as memorials to Upamita and Kapila, could also contain their por-
traits. The second point is why all the dead teachers of this line, namely, Kuśika, Parāśara,
Upamita and Kapila, have been styled *bhagavat*. The third is why the living teacher Udit-
āchārya has been called *ārya*. These are the points which were thought to be obscure in the
above discussion and were left for elucidation at the end of these our prefatory remarks. Let
us now take up the first point : How could the Liṅgas put up in memory of Upamita and Kapila
also comprise their portraits? I have alluded at to the paper on Lakulīśa which I wrote for the
Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc., twenty-five years ago. Not long after, I contributed another on the
same subject to the *Archæol. Surv. Ind., An. Rep.*, 1906-7, p. 179 ff. This latter contained copious
illustrations of the figure of Lakulī whether on the door jambs and friezes of shrines, on the out-
side walls of temples, or in separate sculptures. I have shown that wherever Lakulī appears he
figures as a human being, invariably with two hands, but with his characteristic signs, namely,
a *laguḍa* or staff in his left hand and a citron in his right. There are however two representa-
tions of his which are singular, and they are both found at Kārvān, the place where this last in-
carnation of Śiva came off and also passed away. Here we have two Liṅgas with the portraits
of Lakulī sculptured in front. One of these is in the temple of Nakhēśvar and the other, in
that of Rājrājēśvar, both at Kārvān. It will thus be seen that the Śiva Liṅga has been com-
bined with the representation of Lakulī into one image. It may be asked : What could be the
meaning of this? Now, the Purāṇas and the inscriptions are unanimous in saying that Lakulī was
the originator of certain austerities and religious practices called the Pāśupata- or Māhēśvara-
yōga which his pupils disseminated. And it is well-known that when a *yōgī* passes away, he
does not die like an ordinary mortal with his last breath going out of his earthly nostrils, but
rather by a *yōga* feat which enables him to pass it through the *brahma-randhra*, that is, by
breaking his human skull. It is only in this manner that he is absorbed into *Brahman*, if he is a
Vedantist, or into Śiva, if he is a Pāśupata or Māhēśvara. But as Lakulī was a worshipper of

[1] Above, Vol. I, p. 281, vv. 16-17.

Śiva, we have to suppose that the two sculptures from Kārvān represent obviously the absorp-
tion of Lakulī into the divinity of Śiva. It is therefore not at all unreasonable to suppose that
even in the case of Upamitēśvara and Kapilēśvara, we had not mere Śiva Liṅgas set up here but
rather three Liṅgas with portraits of Upamita and Kapila carved into them, as is the case with
Lakulī in the two images of Kārvān. Upamita and Kapila, being descendants of Kuśika, must
have been experts in the Pāśupata-yōga. We have therefore to presume that they too must have
passed away like the yōgins by driving away their prāṇa-vāyu through the brahma-randhra. They
must have thereby merged themselves into the godhead of Śiva. This alone can explain why all
these departed ascetics of the Lakulī sect have received the divine title of bhagavat. The teacher,
Uditāchārya, who is still living and who is not yet absorbed into Śiva, is not, and in fact, cannot,
be honoured with this supreme title. He has therefore been merely styled ārya. Here it may be
asked whether even this title has at all any significance of its own. In this connection my
attention has been drawn by my friend, Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, to a verse in the 'Cintra'
praśasti.[1] It is with reference to Tripurāntaka, the ascetic-teacher of the Gārgya line,
who has been referred to above. He was a contemporary of the Chaulukya king Sāraṅgadēva,
during whose time the inscription was engraved. The verse runs thus :

Iha sākshād=Umākāntaḥ śrimān Gaṇḍa-Bṛihaspatiḥ |
Āryam=ēnam vinirmāya shashṭham chakrē mahattaram ||

"(Verse 34) Here the illustrious Gaṇḍa-Bṛihaspati, visibly the husband of Umā, having made
him an Ārya, appointed him sixth Mahattam."

What the verse says is that Gaṇḍa-Bṛihaspati, who was apparently the State Officer in charge
of the religious monuments, made Tripurāntaka an ārya and then appointed him sixth *Mahattara*.
Bühler himself is not sure whether *Ārya* and *Mahattara* referred to officers, or were mere titles.
The second alternative was considered by him as more probable. Personally, however, I think
that *Mahattara* denotes an office and frequently occurs in the list of official designations set
forth in inscriptions, especially those engraved on copper-plates. As regards ārya, it is worthy of
note that Hēmachandra's *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* gives it as a synonym of *prabhu*, "a master,
an owner."[2] This fits excellently not only in the Cintra praśasti but also in our record. For in
the first case we know that Tripurāntaka built five temples of which he legitimately could be
an *Ārya* or owner. In the second case we have seen that Uditāchārya raised two memorial
structures to his *gurus* in the 'Teachers' Shrine', of which he must doubtless have been an
ārya or owner.

There now remains only one point to be considered—the date of Lakulīśa. Uditāchārya,
we know, was tenth in descent from Kuśika, pupil of Lakulī. Uditāchārya thus belonged to the
eleventh generation from Lakulī. Uditāchārya's date, that is, the date of our inscription, is G.
E. 61=A.D. 380-81. If we now allot 25 years to each generation, we have to assign Lakulī
to A.D. 105-130. This agrees pretty closely with the view I expressed twenty-five years ago[3]
that Lakulī has to be placed as early as the first century A.D. My conclusion was then based
merely on the mention, in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, of Lakulī as the last incarnation of Śiva. Evidence
of this type will always remain of a somewhat conjectural nature. Epigraphic evidence, on
the other hand, is more accurate. We may therefore take it now as well-nigh proved that Lakulī
flourished in the first quarter of the second century A.D., about half a century later than the
time so long ascribed to him.

Along with the estampages on which the accompanying transcript of this epigraph is based
the Government Epigraphist was kind enough to send me three photos of that part of the pillar

[1] Above, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff.
[2] *Martya-kāṇḍa*, paryāya 1. (v. 23).
[3] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 157. J. F. Fleet agrees in this view (*J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p. 420).

which has been engraved. The inscribed portion is really the shaft which is octagonal, but four of its faces on which the record is incised being well-dressed and the remaining four left rough. The top and the base of the pillar have each four sides, only one of which is well dressed. While the fine dressed surface of the top is sculptured with a trident, that of the base is carved with a standing figure, with two hands, the right of which is let down catching a staff or club and the other held akimbo but also bearing some unidentifiable object. The hair on the head is matted with some curls falling on both the shoulders. The statue bears, apparently, two garments, the upper or *uttarīya* being made fast to the body by a band passing round between the chest and the belly and with one end flowing loose spirally at the proper left as in the case of some Gupta images in the Udayagiri caves. Although the lower part of the body is apparently clothed with a *dhoti*, the privates are clearly shown like the breast nipples appearing through the upper garment. The last but not the least important point that we have to notice is the third eye in the forehead. All these characteristics point to the conclusion that we have here the figure of Lakulīśa. The images of Lakulīśa have no doubt been found in numbers, but they all belong to the mediæval period. None has so far been found which is earlier than the seventh century. Again, Lakulīśa of the mediæval period is invariably in a sitting posture. It has two hands, one bearing a club or *lakuṭa* and the other a *mātuluṅga* fruit. Another special feature of Lakulīśa is the *membrum virile* which is shown upraised.[1] But if he is represented in a standing posture, it is impossible to show it uplifted. It seems sufficient if his privates are exposed to view. When this feature is considered along with the fact that in the present case he wields a *lakuṭa* and bears matted hair on the head and a third eye in the forehead, there can be no reasonable doubt as to this being a standing figure of Lakulīśa. This image[2] is all the more important as it cannot but belong to the fourth century A.D.

We have already seen that only four faces of the shaft and one each of the top and the base have been fine-dressed. This clearly shows that our sculpture is not a pillar but a pilaster which was originally stuck up into the wall of some edifice. And we shall not be far from right if we maintain that it was one of many which decorated the exterior of the 'Teachers' Shrine' mentioned in the inscription. The pilaster was already in existence when the inscription was engraved. This may be seen from the fact that the lines of the record run irregularly and that the second half of the Āryā verse with which it should have ended could not be engraved as no space was available for it on the shaft. This is possible only when the pilaster is *in situ* and the engraver has to suit himself somehow to the exigencies of the case.

TEXT

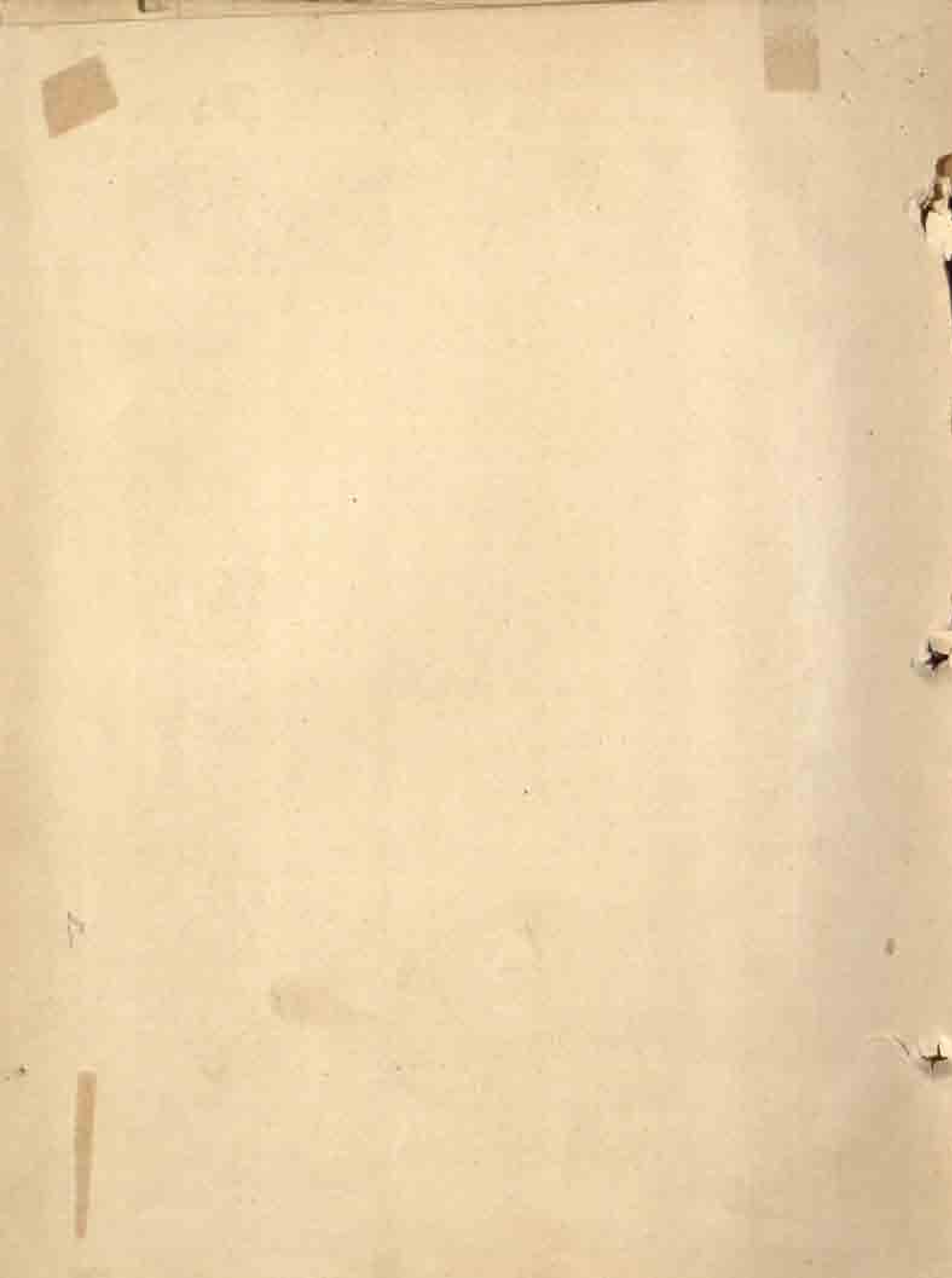
1 Siddham [||] Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāja [rājādhi]rāja-śrī-**Samudragupta-sa-**
2 **tputrasya** bhaṭṭāraka-ma[hārāja]-[rājādhi]rāja-śrī-**Chandragupta-**
3 **sya vija-rajya-saṁvatsa**[rē][4] . . . . . [Gupta]-kāl-ānuvarttamāna-saṁ-
4 **vatsarē āke shashṭhē 60 1** . . . . . [3]**pra]thamē śukla-divasē paṁ-**
5 **chamyāṁ** [||] asyāṁ pūrvvā[yāṁ] [bha]ga[vat-Ku]śikād=daśamēna bhagava-
6 t-Parāśarāch=chatur[th]ē[na] [bhagavat-Ka]p[ila]-vimala-śi-
7 shya-śishyēṇa bhagavad[-Upamita]-vimala-śishyēṇa
8 āry-Odi[tā]chāryy[ē]ṇa] [sva]-pu[ṇy-ā]pyāyana-nimittaṁ
9 gurūṇāṁ cha kīrtya[rtham=Upamitēśva]ra-Kapilēśvarau

[1] *Archæol. Surv. Ind., An. Rep.*, 1906-7, p. 186.
[2] [For the photograph see *A. S. R.*, 1930-31, Epgr. Sect.—Ed.]
[3] The lacuna may be filled up with *dvādaśa-adhik*.
[4] Read *vijaya-rājya°*.

Mathura Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta II: G.E. 61.



Hiranada Sastri. SCALE: THREE-TENTHS. Survey of India, Calcutta.



10 Gurvv-āyatanē guru . . . .[1] pratishṭhāpitō[2] n-ai-
11 tat-khyāty-artham-abhili[kh]ya[tē] [atha] mahēśvarāṇāṁ[3] vi-
12 jñaptiṁ-kriyatē saṁbōdhanaṁ cha yathā-kā[lē]n-āchāryyā-
13 ṇāṁ parigraham-iti matvā viśaṅka[ṁ] pū[j]ā-pura-
14 skāra[ṁ] parigraha-pāripālyaṁ kuryyād-iti vijñaptir-iti [|*]
15 Yaś-cha kīrty-abhidrōhaṁ kuryy[ā]d-yaś-ch-ābhilikhitam-uparyy-adhō
16 vā[4] sa paṁchabhir-mah[ā]pātakair-upapātakaiś-cha saṁyuktas-syāt[|*]
17 Jayati cha bhagavā[n-Daṇḍaḥ][5] rudra-daṇḍō-gra-[nā]yakō nitya[ṁ]

TRANSLATION.

Accomplished.

(Ll. 1-5). In the . . . . . . year—of the victorious reign of the *Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Rājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Chandragupta,** the good son of the *Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Rājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Samudragupta**—on **the fifth of the bright half of the First** (*Āshāḍha*) **of the year 61 following the Gupta era.**

(Ll. 5-10). On this aforesaid (*tithi*), (the *Liṅgas*) Upamitēśvara and Kapilēśvara (*comprising the portraits of*) the teachers were installed in the Teachers' Shrine. *Ārya* Uditāchāryya, tenth from the *Bhagavat* Kuśika,[6] fourth from the *Bhagavat* Parāśara, a stainless disciple's disciple of the *Bhagavat* Upamita (*and*) a stainless disciple of the *Bhagavat* Kapila, for the commemoration[7] of the preceptors and for the augmentation of the religious merit of self.

(Ll. 10-16). (*It is*) not written for my own fame, but for beseeching the worshippers of Mahēśvara. And it is an address to (*those who are*) the *Āchāryyas* for the time being. Thinking them to be (*their own*) property, they should preserve, worship, and honour (*them*) as (*their own*) property. This is the request. Whosoever will do harm to these memorials or (*destroy*) the writing above or below, shall be possessed of the five great sins and the five minor sins.

(L. 17). And may divine Daṇḍa be always victorious, whose staff is terrific and who is the foremost leader.

No. 2.—ARJUNAVADA INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA KANNARA : SAKA 1182.

By S. Srikantha Sastri, M.A., Mysore.

This inscription was first discovered by Rao Sahib P. G. Halakatti of Bijāpur who kindly sent me an ink-impression of it. It is engraved on a stone-slab set up in the temple of Hāla-Śaṁkaraliṅga at Arjunavāḍa, a village, a mile and a half distant from Hukēri in the Belgaum district of the Bombay Presidency. The stone measures 9 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 8 in. The writing covers a space of 8 ft. 8 in. At the top, the figures of the *liṅga*, *Nandin*, and a

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[1] This may perhaps be restored to *guru-pratimā-yutau*.

[2] The *ō* in *tō* is quite clear at the back of the uninked estampage. Correct the word, however, into *pratishṭhāpitau*.

[3] Read *māhēśvarāṇām*.

[4] Read *uchchhindyāt* or some such word after *vā*.

[5] Read *bhagavān-Daṇḍaḥ sa*.

[6] To express order of descent, the ablative case is employed. See the remarks of Dr. Hirananda Sastri, above, Vol. XIX, p. 58.

[7] For *kīrti* (ll. 9 and 15) which is distinguished from *khyāti* (l. 11) see J. F. Fleet's note 6 in *Gupta Inscrs.*, p. 212.

worshipper cover a space of 1 ft. 4 in.; at the bottom, a space of 1 ft. 10 in. is left blank. The **language** of the inscription is Kannaḍa, except in the first verse. The *virāma* is represented by the usual Kannaḍa sign, *viz.*, two vertical strokes. The average size of the letters is about ½ in. The **characters** are of the regular type of the 13th century A. C., with an occasional reversion to older forms, as in the case of the *aksharas a*, *i* and *ña*. The use of *chha* in place of *tsa*, as in *samvachhara* (l. 46), the employment of two kinds of *anusvāras*, and two forms of the secondary *e*-symbol are to be noted. Numerous mistakes have also been committed by the scribe, as in *viravarīē* for *niravarīyē* (l. 68), *tapachakravarti* for *tapaśchakravarti* (l. 43), *vitti* for *vritti* (l. 55), *etc.*

The inscription records that during the rule of the **Yādava** king **Kannara** of Dēvagiri, his feudatories **Chāvuṇḍa-Seṭṭi** and **Nāgarasa** made a grant of the village **Kavilāsapura** to **Hāla-Basavidēva**, an ascetic of the family of **Saṅgana-Basava**. The importance of the record lies in the fact that this is the first epigraph hitherto obtained which definitely mentions Basava, the restorer of Vīra-śaivism during the days of Bijjala Kaḷachurya (C. 1160 A. C.). Dr. Fleet had opined that "no epigraphic mention of Basava and Chenna-Basava had been obtained; which is really peculiar if they held the high office that is allotted to them by tradition".[1] Later, while editing the Managōḷi record,[2] he held that the mention of the names Mādirāja and Basava, son of a Chandrarāja might have been the nucleus around which later Liṅgāyat tradition clustered. But this Basava could not have been the reformer as his parents mentioned in the Mangavaḷḷi record are Chandrarāja and Chandrāmbikā of the Kāśyapa-*gōtra*, while Mahāprabhu Mādirāja belonged to the Hārita-*gōtra*. In the present inscription **Basava** is mentioned as the son of **Mādirāja**, the ruler of **Bāgavāḍi** in the **Tardavāḍi-thousand** district; and also as **Saṅgana-Basava**—a name which also occurs in the *Vīraśaiva Purāṇas*. He was devoted to the *Purātanas*, *Jaṅgamas* and the *Linga* (l. 9). His descendants had the golden bull (*vrishabha*) as their insignia—probably in honour of Basava or after the manner of the Kaḷachuryas who had also the golden bull as their *dhvaja*, being Śaivas, not Jainas as depicted in the *Bijjalarāya-charita* and other late works. The founder of the Kaḷachurya family, according to an epigraph[3], was born of Śiva and a Brāhmaṇa girl. The genealogy of the donee Hāla-Basavidēva is not clear as the record is mutilated in vital parts. It speaks of Saṅgana-Basava, then his eldest (*agra*) . . . . Next Dēvarājamunipa is mentioned; then a Saṅga; his favourite son Kalidēvarasa; and his son Hāla-Basavidēva. It is possible that Dēvarājamunipa himself was the eldest son (?) of Basava, though the Vīra-śaiva works like *Bhairavēśvarakāryada kathā-sūtra-ratnākara* mention that Basava had only one son Saṅga, who died at an early age.[4] Unfortunately it is difficult from the impression, as it is, to decide whether it was four or five generations that elapsed from the time of Basava. In this inscription another Saṅga, the son of Dēvarāja, is also mentioned (l. 37); probably Dēvarāja named his son after his own father Saṅga, the son of Basava, according to tradition—a custom common amongst the Hindus.

The record is a Saivite one, though it can also be claimed for the particular cult of the Liṅgāyats as it mentions Basava's devotion to *prasāda* (l. 42) which acquired a new significance with the rise of Basava. The reverence paid to the *Purātanas*, *Linga* and *Jaṅgamas*, though emphasised by Vīra-śaivism, cannot be said to be particularly characteristic of it. Even

[1] *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 481.

[2] Above, Vol. V, p. 16.

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 42.

[4] *Karṇāṭaka Kavicharite*, Vol. I, p. 174. The *Basavarājadēvara-ragaḷe*, attributed to Harihara, gives the name Siddharasa to the son of Basava and Gaṅgādēvi (x. ll. 90 ff.).

Lākuḷīka Pāśupatas and followers of Kashmir Śaivism are said to have been "*jaṅgama-liṅg-ēśvaras*" and "*mahā-māhēśvaras*" and also "*Lākuḷāgama-samaya-samuddhara*", *i.e.*, the upholders of the *Lākuḷa-samaya*.[1]

The **date** of the record is Śaka 1182, Siddhārthi, Chaitra, bahuḷa Amāvāsyā, Monday, solar eclipse (ll. 46-47). Putting **Raudra** for Siddhārthi, the date tallies with **12th April 1260 A. C.** on which day a solar eclipse occurred.[2] Incidentally, it might be mentioned that this grant provides the latest date for the Yādava king Krishṇa as we know that the third regnal year of his successor **Mahādēva** falls in Vaiśākha of Dundubhi, Ś. 1185 (1262 A. C.)[3]. Krishṇa probably lived only for a short time after this grant was made.

Chāvuṇḍa-Seṭṭi, who is the donor of this grant, also figures in other inscriptions. In the Bēhaṭṭi grant,[4] he is referred to as having quelled the pride of the Hōssaṇa king, and as having come to Kukkanūr in Beḷvoḷa division of Kuntaḷa on a tour of conquest. Nāgarasa is spoken of as the prime minister of Krishṇa and as the establisher of the Raṭṭa kingdom (l. 45). It is not clear whether this re-establishment of the Raṭṭas took place before or after Vīchaṇa had reduced them (*Cir.* 1238 A. C.).[5] We know that the capital of the Raṭṭas was transferred from Saundatti to Belgaum about the year 1208 A. C.[6] A record of the time of Lakshmīdēva II, dated 1229 A. C.,[7] speaks of *Mahāpradhāna* Mummchandra also as "*Raṭṭa-rājya-pratishṭh-āchārya*", perhaps because of the help he rendered to improve the fortunes of the family. After 1230 A. C. we hear no more of the Raṭṭa ruling family—the Khāṇḍi province having finally passed into the hands of the Yādavas—though the members of the old family might have continued to be employed as ordinary officials. Nāgarasa is spoken of as the son of **Divākaradēva** of the **Vāṇasakula** and as a devotee of Janārdana. Evidently his Vaishṇavite leanings did not come in the way of making a grant to Śaivas—which proves that there was little of the bitter animosity between the devotees of Vishṇu and of Śiva as depicted in later Vīra-śaiva legends. He seems to have also been a patron of literature as indicated by the title *Paṇḍita-pārijāta* (l. 34).

The **localities** mentioned in this inscription are interesting. The province Tardavāḍi-1000 (l. 8) evidently took its name from the small village Taddavāḍi on the banks of the Bhīmā, thirty-seven miles north of Bijāpur. Bāgavāḍi was the centre of Bāge-50 as mentioned in the Honvāḍa inscription of Sōmēśvara I.[8] The district **Nūlenāḍu** (l. 49) clustered round the village Nūle-grāma, fifteen miles to the west of Hukēri. The district **Kūṇḍi** (l. 61) was the territory the boundaries of which had been fixed by Raṭṭa Kārtivīrya I (*Cir.* 1040—1070 A. C.).[9] Kaviṭṭasapura, the lordship over which was claimed by Hāla-Basavidēva, is a village of the same name seven or eight miles from Nūlegrāma. In the thirteenth century it must have been in a very flourishing condition, including within its compass the modern villages of Arjunavāḍa, Kochcharige and Mosaraguppi—the **Mosaragutti** of the present record (l. 69).

Some of the fiscal terms mentioned in the inscription claim our attention. *Kottaṇi* (l. 65) and *kuruvaṇige* are perhaps land revenues, assessed from the fields, each of which was sufficient for the maintenance of a temple (l. 74), while all the minor taxes like *sumka*, *sāda*, *taḷa*, *sārige*,

[1] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, pp. 24 ff.
[2] *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. IV, p. 123.
[3] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 527.
[4] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, pp. 42 ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 384 ff.
[6] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Belgaum, p. 567.
[7] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, pp. 260 ff.
[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 272. [Bāge-50 took its name, according to Dr. Fleet, from Taḷaibāgi (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 380) and so Bāgevāḍi does not appear to be the centre of the division.—Ed.]
[9] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, p. 201.

baṭ(ṭ)[*]ṭeyā-bādhe, *grāma-braya*, *aṅke*, *ṭaṅka*, *āne*, *gōsane*, *mudre*, *etc.*, combined, were necessary to maintain the temple of Nāgēśvara (l. 73). Perhaps they corresponded to the term *siddhāya* used in later Hoysaḷa inscriptions to mean all the aggregate revenues payable to the king. *Suṁka* usually meant a toll on things brought into the village, *hejjuṅga*[1] or *hejjuṁka* (l. 62) being the great toll as distinguished from taxes. *Nidhi* and *nikshēpa* were two of the eight privileges (the others being *jala*, *pāshāṇa*, *akshiṇi*, *āgāmi*, *siddha* and *sādhya*). Other taxes are *aṅke* (a poll-tax), *ṭaṅka* (coinage), *gōsane* (evidently *ghōshaṇa*, a musical honour mentioned in the Bāhaṭṭi grant[2] as *grāma-ghōsha-sahitaṁ*, *grāma-dēva-ghōsha-yuktaṁ*—different from *ghōshā* or a village of cowherds), *mudre* (tax on right of seal), dues from fairs (l. 77) and *kōṇana meyudere* (tax on buffaloes).

TEXT.

1 Namas-tuṁga-śiras[3]-chuṁbi-chaṁdra-chāmara-chāra-
2 vē [|*] trailōkya-nagar-āraṁbha-mūla-staṁbhāya Śaṁ-
3 bhavē || [1*][4] Śriyaṁ śrī-Kallināthaṁ kuḍu-
4 ge bhava-haraṁ bhakta-briṁdak[k*]e Gaurī-jāyā-kāy-ā-
5 nushaṁg-ākuḷita-laḷitatā-prōllasad-vāma-bhāgaṁ avīya-svā-
6 yatta-śakti-traya-maya-mahimaṁ dēva-dāyāda-mā-
7 yā-pāyābhiprāya-līlaṁ praṇata-jana-duraṁt-āgha-saṁghaṭṭa-śīlaṁ || [2*].[5]
8 Mattaṁ Ta(r*)davāḍi-madhya-grāma-Bāgavāḍi-puravar-ādhīśvara Mādirājana tanū-
9 jaṁ Basavarājana mahimey=ent-endaḍe || Maṁgaḷa-kīrtti-purātana-jaṁgama-liṁ-
10 g-aikya-bhakti-nirbhhhara-līlā-saṁgaṁ Saṁgana-Basavaṁ saṁgatiyaṁ [6] māḷke bhakti-
   yo[ḷ]u(a)-
11 g-anavaratam || [3*][7] Yādava-bhūmipāḷar=iḷeyaṁ chatur-ad(h)dhi- pari-
12 teyaṁ nisargg-ōdayar-āḷvar-ant=avaroḷ=ava-chamū-chaya-vārddhi Siṁhaṇa-
13 kshmā-dayitaṁ tad-agra-tanaya-prabhavaṁ nṛipa[8]-Kaṁnaraṁ samast-ōdadhi-
14 vēḷeyiṁ porage beḷgoḍeyoḷ=neḷalaṁ nimirchchidaṁ || [4*] [9] Sale bhūdēva-
15 rikkaḷg-itt=alasade gō-bhūmi-hēma-vastr-ādigaḷam malev=arasugaḷo-
16 ḷ-kombaṁ balavaṁtaṁ Kaṁnaraṁ pratāpa-sahāyaṁ || [5*] [10] Svasti [||*] samasta-
17 bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Prithvī[11]-vallabha ahārājādhirāja paramē-
18 śvara paramabhaṭṭāraka Dvārāvatī-puravar-ādhīśvara Yā-
19 dava-kuḷa-kamaḷa-kaḷikā-vikāsa-bhāskara yari[12]-rāya-
20 jagaj-jhaṁpe Māḷava-rāya-Madana-Trinētra Gūrjjara-rāya-bhayaṁkara
21 Telumga-rāya-sthāpan-āchāryya ity=ādi-nām-āvaḷi-samāḷaṁkrita[13]

[1] [The context would show that this is a festival. The word means "the big harvest."—Ed.]
[2] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, pp. 44 ff.
[3] Read *-śiraś*.
[4] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.
[5] Metre: *Sragdharā*.
[6] *saṁ* is written above the line.
[7] Metre: *Kanda*.
[8] Read *nṛipa-*.
[9] Metre: *Utpalamālā*.
[10] Metre: *Kanda*.
[11] Read *-Prithvī-*.
[12] Read *-vi-*.
[13] Read °*laṁkrita*.

22 śrîmat-prauḍha-pratāpa-chakravartti śrī-Kaṁnaradēvaṁ Dēvagi-
23 riya nele-vīḍinoḷu sukha-saṁkathā-vinōdadiṁ=anavaratam rā-
24 jyaṁ-geyuttum-ire tat-pāda-padm-ōpajīvi || Chikkana chikka magaṁ vibhavakke
25 Kubēraṅge senasuvaṁ rāyarummaṁ mikkaṁ Bichugiy=au-
26 dāryakk-āriṁ piriyan=ātan=aṇṇaṁ Mallaṁ || [6*][1] Ātana tanū-bhavaṁ ||
27 Chāvuṁḍaṁ Pārvvatī-vallabha-charaṇa-sarōja-dvay-āmōda-bhri(ri)ṁgaṁ Chāvuṁ-
28 ḍaṁ tyāga-bhōg-ānubhava-Bhava-sukha-śrī-vadhū-nri(ri)tya-raṁgaṁ Chāvuṁḍaṁ sāma-
29 bhēda-prabhru(ri)ti-[sa]kaḷa-maṁtr-āṅga-vidyā-samudraṁ Chāvuṁḍaṁ vīra-vairi-pra-
30 kara-samara-saṁghaṭa(ṭṭa)-kāḷ-āgni-Rudraṁ || [7*][2] Yene negaḷd=ā Chāvuṁḍana maṇad-aṇṇaṁ
31 Nāgarājan=akshila[3]-niyōgañan[4]=enippa Divākaradēvana putraṁ Vāṇas-ānva-
32 y-āmbara-mitraṁ || [8*][5] Tyāga-guṇakke tāy-vane samasta-nri(ri)pāḷa-niyōga-va-
33 rttanā-śrige nivāsam=ishṭara viśishṭara tōshaṇa-pōshaṇaṅga[ḷ=o]ḷḷāga-
34 ram=endu baṇṇi(ṇi)suvud-ī dhām paṁḍita-pārijātanaṁ Nāganan=ā Janārddanana bha-
35 kti-bhara-prabhav-ānurāganaṁ || [9*][6] Saṁgama-Basavana agra..........[7]kaṁ
36 Dēvarāja-mumpana tanayaṁ Jaṁgama-purusaṁ......[8]ra
37 Saṁgaṁ priya-sutan=enippa Kalidēvarasaṁ || [10*][9] Kalidēvamuni-
38 pan=ātmaja sale mūjagadoḷage meṟeva mā[na]va-dēvaṁ gelidaṁ asa(śa)na-
39 besanava[10] chhalar=adhikaṁ Hāla-Basavidēva-munisaṁ[11] || [11*][12] Svasti samasta-
40 bhuvan-āsreyaṁ[13] mahā-māhēsvaram[14] Kaviḷāsa-purava-
41 r-ādhis(ś)vararuṁ suvaṁrṇa(varṇṇa)-vrisabha[15]-dhvajaṁ [tē]saṭhṭhi-purātha[16]-pād-ārch-chaka-
42 ruṁ mahā-liṁga-jaṁgama-prasāda-niyata[ru]ṁ sama-
43 ya-bhakti-saṁpaṁnna(panna) śrī-Basavarājan-āṁn(an)vayarum=appa tapa-chakra-
44 [va]rtti[17] vīra-brati Hāla-Basavidēvaṁge ā mahāpradhānam Ṛa-
45 ṭṭa-rājya-pratishṭh-āchāryyanum=appa Nāgarasaru S(ś)aka-varusham sāsira-
46 da-nūṟa-yeṁbhatta-yeraḍaneya Siddhārthti(tthi) -saṁvachharada[18] Chai-
47 tra bahula amāse Sōma-vāra sūryya-grahaṇadalli Huli[ge]-
48 reya Sōmanāthadēvara saṁn(an)idhiyalli ā Chauḍi-Seṭṭiyar-ā

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[1] Metre : *Kanda*.
[2] Metre : *Sragdharā*.
[3] Read -akhila-.
[4] Read -niyōgajñarum.
[5] Metre : *Kanda*.
[6] Metre : *Utpalamālā*.
[7] The letters erased are probably ja *Saṁpāsa*.
[8] Probably the missing word is *śaraṇa*.
[9] Metre : *Kanda*.
[10] Read °sam.
[11] Read °śam.
[12] Metre : *Kanda*.
[13] Read -*āśrayam*.
[14] Read °*śvaram*.
[15] Read -*vrishabha*.
[16] Read -*purātana*.
[17] Read *tapas-chakravarti*.
[18] Read -*saṁvatsarada*.

49 t[r*]ttha-visēsa(sha)maṁ besagoḷalu Nāle-nāḍoḷa[gi]na [manitanadi?] Kaviḷalsan-[1] t[rtthaṁ]
50 nālku-yugada purāṇ-ōktadiṁ baṁda ksha(ē)trav=ad=ent=endaḍe Kr(ṛ)ita-[yu]-
51 gadalli Kaviḷāsa-muni Kaviḷāsanātha trēteyali Aṁkarāja-muni [2] Aṁka-
52 nātha dvāparadalli Mahārāja-muni [3] Mahāliṁgadēva kali-yugadalli
53 Kalirāja-muni Kalidēva nāma[||*] i(ī) munigaḷu muksha [4] samasta-gaṇēs(ś)va-
54 raru ārādhisi sālōkya-sārūpya-sāmīpya-sāyujj(jy)avaṁ paḍe-
55 da Ma[h*]ādēvarige Aṁkanātha-vesariṁ aṁkavala taḷa-virtti[4] ko-
56 ttasi kuṟuvanige i(ī) baḷḷi Māṁdhāta-chakravartti bitta dhamr(ar)mma ā
57 tīrthi(tth)akk=adu s(ś)āsanasthav=eṁbudaṁ Chavuḍi-Seṭṭiyaru kēḷi(ḷ)du Nāga-
58 rasarū tāvu ēkasthar=āgi Kaviḷāsapurad=oḷage Svayaṁbhu-Ma-
59 llikārjjuna Saṁgamēsvara [5] Nāgēsvara [5] yī mūṟu-liṁgakaṁ aṁga-
60 bhōga raṁga-bhōga jīrṇṇ-ō[d*]dhārakkaṁ pāraṇeya jaṁgam-ā-
61 rādhanegaṁ kottasi kuṟuvanige taḷa-vitti [6] aṁkavala Kūṁḍi-
62 nāḍoḷu saluvaṁte hejjuggiya-habba vo[ṁ]bhatta-dina suṁka
63 nūṟ-eṭ[t*]ina parihāra yiṁt-initumaṁ sarvv-ābādhi(a)-
64 sarvva-namasyavaṁ māḍi Chavuḍi-Seṭṭi[ya]ru Nāgarasaru
65 yatirāya Hāla-Basavidēvaṁge pūrvva-dattav=eṁdu
66 dhārā-pūrvvakaṁ māḍi koṭṭaru ā Chavuḍi-Seṭṭiyara ni-
67 yāmadiṁ Nāgarasaru puradiṁ paḍuvalu toṟeya kū-
68 ḍida haḷḷa niruvarie[7] mērey=āgi mūge kalukaṭiga-gere
69 Basava-gōḍi baḍagalu Mosaraguttia[7] rāra-viḍi[du] mūḍalu
70 jaṁchi-galla hani Kuchchagōḍiyiṁ baṁda haḷḷa niruvarie [8]teṁka-
71 lu toṟeya kūḍalu yī chatus-sīm-ābhyaṁtara Kaviḷāsapu-
72 radalli suṁka sāda taḷa sūrige baḷ[i*]eya-bādhe gra(ā)ma-traya u-
73 dhi nikshēpa aṁke taṁka āṇe gōsane mudre Nāgēsvarake [9] Mallēsvara-
74 ke kuṟuvanige Saṁgamēsvarake[9] pāraṇeya jaṁgam-ārā[dha]-
75 nege kottasige i(ī) dhammake[8] [i]du vivarav=eṁdu Nāgarasa[ru] koṭ[t*]a
76 sāsana[10] [||*] nā[lkuṁ] paṭṭanaṁgaḷu Nūle-nāḍoḷage saṁtegaḷa
77 āya-dāya īpaṁtu kōṇana meyideṟe suṁka baḍiṇen-
78 ṭṭu samayavu aruvata[11]-mūvaru baṇaju-bhakuti bhēdavi-
79 lla Kaviḷāsapuravē sāsanada[12]-vane Basavarājarē sāsanigan[13]=en-
80 du vubhaya-nānādēsi[14] mummuri-daṁḍaṁgaḷu koṭ[t*]a [s(ś)āsana] [||*].

[1] Read Kavilāsa-.
[2] 'ni is written above the line.
[3] Read mahāpa.
[4] Read vritti.
[5] Read 'śvara.
[6] Read 'vritti.
[7] Read 'iye.
[8] Read 'dharma'.
[9] Read dharmmakke.
[10] Read śāsana.
[11] Read aravatta-
[12] Read śāsanada.
[13] Read śāsaniga.
[14] Read 'dēśi.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1. Invocation to Śiva.

V. 2. Invocation to god Kallinātha.

V. 3. Praise of Saṅgana-Basava who had unflinching faith in the *Purātanas*, *Jaṅgamas* and *Liṅga*.

V. 4. The Yādava rulers held sway over the whole earth bounded by the four seas; among them was Siṁhaṇa, the possessor of numerous horses. The son of his eldest son was Kannara who brought the whole earth under the shadow of his royal white umbrella.

V. 5. Praises of Kannara.

Ll. 16-24. The refuge of the worlds, the lord of Fortune and the Earth, the king of kings, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, lord of Dvārāvatī, the best of towns, the sun to the lotus of the Yādava family, destroyer of the world of hostile kings, a Trinētra (Śiva) to the Kāma, the Rājā of Māḷava, terrifier of the ruler of the Gūrjaras, the establisher of Teluṁgarāya—*Prauḍha-pratāpa-chakravarti* Kannaradēva was ruling at Dēvagiri in peace and wisdom; the dweller at his lotus-like feet,

V. 6. Bichugi, the younger son of Chikka, was the younger brother of Malla; Malla's son,

V. 7. Chāvuṇḍa, worshipper of Śiva, was well versed in arts of diplomacy and war and a veritable Rudra to his foes.

V. 8. His dearest friend was the Niyōgi Nāgarāja, son of Divākaradēva of the Vāṇara family.

V. 9. Praises of this Nāga.

Vv. 10 & 11. Saṅgana-Basava's eldest................, Dēvarāja's son, the foremost among the *Jaṅgamas*.......... Saṅga (. *His* !) favourite son was Kalidēvarasa. The son of Kalidēva, the lord of ascetics, is Hāla-Basavidēva, the best of men in the three worlds, who has overcome the pain of hunger and thirst.

Ll. 39-50. The refuge of all the three worlds, *Mahāmāhēśvara*, the lord of Kaviḷāsapura, the best of towns, who had the insignia of a golden bull, was the worshipper of the feet of 63 *Purātanas*, believed in *Liṅga*, *Jaṅgamas* and *Prasāda* and was the descendant of Basavarāja. Such was Hāla-Basavidēva. *Mahāpradhāna* Nāgarasa, the establisher of the Raṭṭa kingdom, and Chauṇḍi-Seṭṭi requested him for the history of Kaviḷāsa-tīrtha of Nāle-nāḍu, on Monday, the new moon (*tithi*) of the dark half of Chaitra, during a solar eclipse in the year Siddhārthi (*corresponding to*) the Śaka year 1182, while residing at the temple of Sōmanātha in Huligere.

Ll. 50-55. These give the history of the place during the four *yugas*.

Ll. 55 & 56. The emperor Māndhāta gave to the god under the name Aṅkanātha, this village (*i.e.*, Kaviḷāsapura), the fields and the dues from them, *viz.*, *kottaṁ* and *kuṛuvaṁge*.

Ll. 56-66. Hearing that it had before been granted to the god, Chauḍa-Seṭṭi and Nāgarasa together gave it to the prince of ascetics, Hāla-Basavidēva, along with the taxes *kottaṁ*, *kuṛu-vaṁge*, *taḷavṛitti*, *aṁkavala* in the Kūṇḍi province and tolls on one hundred cattle-loads during the festival called *Hejjuggiya-habba*, for renovating the temples of, and conducting worship to, the gods Svayambhu-Mallikārjuna, Saṅgamēśvara and Nāgēśvara and also for the purpose of feeding *Jaṅgamas*.

Ll. 66-76. At the command of Chauḍi-Seṭṭi, Nāgarasa made an allotment of the dues from the village of Kaviḷāsapura, the boundaries of which are specified. Of the dues from Kaviḷāsapura the tolls, *sāda*, *taḷa*, *siriya*, *bayyaga-bāḍke*, *grāma-traya*, *aṁke*, *ṭaṅka*, *āya*, *gōsane*, *mudre* and *nidhi* and *nikshēpa* were assigned to Nāgēśvara; the *kuṛuvaṁge* to the god Mallēśvara and *kottaṁge* to the god Saṅgamēśvara and for feeding the *Jaṅgamas*.

Ll. 76-80. The four town-guilds gave the dues from fairs in Nūle-nāḍu, the tax on buffaloes and tolls. There is no difference between the eighteen castes and the sixty-three Baṇaju devotees. The *nānādēśis* and *mummuridaṇḍas* made this grant with the consideration that the place of the grant is Kavijāsapura and the donee Basavarāja.

No. 3.—A NOTE ON THE ARJUNAVADA INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA KANNARA.

By N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A., Ootacamund.

In the transcript of the Arjunavāḍa inscription published above, Mr. Srikantha Sastri's reading of the tenth verse is defective and, I think, requires correction. It is true that portions of the verse are damaged. But the impression would show that only one letter is completely lost in l. 35 and two more letters, one of which occurs in the same line and the other in the next line (l. 36), are only partly mutilated and can be restored with certainty. Since the letters *ṅgaikam* and the *i* sign of the mutilated letter in l. 35 are clearly visible, the broken letter with which the *i* vowel is connected might be safely read as *li*. Only one more short letter will be wanting to complete the metre of the verse and that letter which is now lost must have been *ja*. In the next line, the bottom portion of the mutilated letter and the *ā* sign attached to it would indicate that the letter in all probability was *Kā*. With this restoration the verse will be read as :—

l. 35 Saṅgana-Basavana agra[ja li]ṅgaikaṁ

l. 36 Dēvaraja-munipana tanayaṁ [|*] jaṅgama-parusaṁ [Kā]vara-

l. 37 saṅgaṁ priya-sutan-enippa Kalidēvarasaṁ ||

Accordingly the translation of the stanza will be like this :—

"Saṅgana-Basava's elder brother who was absorbed in the *liṅga* was Dēvarājamunipa ; to his son [Kā]varasa, who was a touchstone to the *Jaṅgamas*, was born the dear son Kalidēvarasa."

The verse, thus, becomes very important from a historical point of view, for it supplies us **with the genealogy of Saṅgana-Basava and his descendants for three generations.** This has not been properly made out by Mr. Srikantha Sastri, in his interesting article, and I should like to elucidate it here. From the next verse (*i.e.*, v. 11) we learn that Kalidēva's son was Hāla-Basavidēva, the donee of the present grant ; and lines 8 and 9 tell us that Saṅgana-Basava was a son of Mādirāja, the lord of Bāgavāḍi. Thus, the inscription supplies us with the following genealogy :—

Mādirāja
- Dēvarājamunipa
  - Kāvarasa (*cir.* A. D. 1185-1210).
    - Kalidēvarasa (*cir.* A. D. 1210-1235).
      - Hāla-Basavidēva (*cir.* A. D. 1235-1260).
- Saṅgana-Basava (*cir.* A. D. 1160-1185).

As a matter of fact, it is in this genealogy that the value of the inscription chiefly lies, for it enables us to determine the period in which Saṅgana-Basava flourished and to identify him with the great Liṅgāyat reformer of that name. The record tells us that Chaṇḍi-Seṭṭi, a minister of the Yādava king Kannara (*i.e.*, Kṛishṇa), and his friend Nāgarasa granted the village Kavijāsa-

pura to the ascetic Hāla-Basavidēva in Śaka 1182 (=A.D. 1260). If we suppose this to be the last year of Hāla-Basavidēva and allot him a period of 25 years, his date would be about A. D. 1235-1260. As we have seen above, two generations intervene between Saṅgana-Basava and Hāla-Basavidēva. Allowing roughly 25 years for each generation we get A. D. 1160-1185 as the approximate time of Saṅgana-Basava. According to the *Basavarājadēvara Ragaḷe*, the *Basava-Purāṇa* and the *Channa-Basava-Purāṇa*, the great reformer Basava, who was also known as Saṅgana-Basava and who was the son of Mādirāja of Bāgevāḍi, was a minister of the Kaḷachurya king Bijjaḷa, who, we know, ruled from A. D. 1156 to 1167. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Saṅgana-Basava of the Arjunavāḍa record is identical with the 'Apostle of Liṅgāyatism' of that name. Thus we have in this record **the first epigraphical confirmation of the tradition regarding the contemporaneity of Basava, the reviver of the Vīra-śaiva faith, with king Bijjala.**

No. 4.—CHAUDALA GRANT OF HARIHARA: SAKA-SAMVAT 1313.

By G. V. Acharya, B.A., Bombay.

The plates bearing this inscription were purchased by the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, from Mrs. Da'Cunha of Bombay for the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, where they are at present exhibited. The source from which they came originally is not known. They are three in number, each plate measuring 10" by 6¼". Their edges are fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface to serve as rims for protecting the writing. The second plate is inscribed on both sides, while the first and the third, on one side only. All of them are in a good state of preservation. No ring or seal is attached to them. In weight they are 267 *tolas*.

The inscription incised on these plates is written in **Nāgarī** script and **Sanskrit** language. The invocatory as well as the genealogical portion of it (vv. 1-10, ll. 1-36) is in verse but the rest (ll. 37-91) is in prose. It opens with invocations to Śiva, the boar incarnation of Vishṇu and the Earth (vv. 1-3). Then the city of **Vijayanagarī** is described (v. 4). According to verses 5 and 6, Saṅgama was born in the family of Yadu, his son was Bukkarāja and his son was **Harihara.** In the next verse we are told that king Harihara ruled the earth bounded by the northern bank of the Kṛishṇā, the eastern ocean, the Sētu and the western ocean. Verses 8 and 9 relate to the conquest of **Gōvā**, the capital of **Koṅkaṇa**, from the Turushkas by the minister **Mādhava**, and the re-consecration there of the images of Saptanātha and other gods. Next comes the description of Mādhava, who is stated to be the son of the Brahman **Chāmuṇḍa** of the *Bhāradvāj-ānvaya*. He was governing the province of Koṅkaṇa under the orders of the king. He was the expounder of all the *Upanishads*, the illuminator of the *Śaiv-āgamas*, the author of *Kāvyas*, performer of *Mahādānas* and the teacher of *Nītiśāstra* (v. 10 and ll. 37-40). While he was seated on the throne at Gōvāpura, on the date specified, he made the gift of the village **Paramarūpa** in the **Vārasa**-*janapada*, forming it into an *agrahāra* and renaming it **Chauḍalāpura**, after his father, to 21 learned Brahmans of different *gōtras*. The **object** of this charter is to record this gift. The concluding portion states that the minister **Naraharidēva** purchased two of the granted *vṛittis* from their holders and made a gift of them to Viṭṭhala-Paṭṭavardhana of the Kāśyapa-*gōtra*. This Naraharidēva, we learn, belonged to the Atri-*gōtra* and was the son of **Brahmarasa.** He was a disciple of the (*sage*) **Vidyāśaṅkara** and had been installed by Mādhavarāja (ll. 41 to 91).

The grant was issued in the Śaka year 1313 expired and the cyclic year Prajāpati, on the new moon *tithi* of Chaitra and Wednesday at the time of the solar eclipse, during Aśvini-*nakshatra*

and Prīti-*yōga*. According to L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris* the date regularly corresponds to **A.D. 1391, April 5, Wednesday**, on which day there was a solar eclipse.

The **Mādhavarāja** of the present grant has to be identified with **Mādhava**, the minister of Bukka I, who figures in the Hārōmuchchaḍi-*agrahāra* inscription[1] of A. D. 1368, which also describes him as the son of the Brahman Chāuṇḍa, the *Upanishanmārga-pravartaka-guru* and a follower of the tenets of pure Śaivism as taught by the Śaiva teacher Kāśīvilāsa-Kriyāśakti. That the grant under publication mentions him as a scion of the Bhāradvāja family (*vaṁśa*) would support the identification, for Bhāradvāja is only a division of the Āṅgirasa *gōtra*. This Mādhavarāja also figures as a minister of Harihara II[2] in another grant of the same year, *i.e.*, Śaka 1313, which was published long ago.[3] The account given there agrees with that of the present document though it omits the name of Mādhava's father and gives the name of his mother, *i.e.*, Māchāmbikā, and of his elder brother Bhāskara. Some of the verses are common to both of these charters (vv. 5, 7, 8 and 9 of the present grant). The details of the date recorded in them are practically the same, though the months are differently named. The charter that has already been published wrongly gives Vaiśākha in place of Chaitra. Both the grants were issued on the same date, *i.e.*, on the 5th of April, 1391 (A. D.)[4]. As has already been pointed out by Kielhorn, and is substantiated by the present grant, the date concerned pertains to the *amānta* month of Chaitra.[5] As Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar has shown, Mādhava flourished between A. D. 1347 and 1391[6]. The conquest of Gōvā by Mādhava mentioned in these records must have happened before Śaka 1309 (=A. D. 1386) as in that year he was already known as the 'Lord of Gōvā'[7]. The copper plate alluded to above shows that Naraharidēva, the minister, was sent to Goa to succeed Mādhava as the governor of Jayantīpura-maṇḍala after the latter's death, which must have happened shortly after the issue of the present grant. Vidyāśaṅkara, the *guru* of Naraharidēva, was another name of the famous **Vidyātīrtha**, the *guru* of the brothers Mādhavāchārya and Sāyaṇa, who considered him as an incarnation of Mahēśvara.[8]

The list of the donees mentioned in the charter is as follows :—

No.	*Gōtra.*	Father's name.	Name of the Donee.
1	Kāśyapa	Rāmadēva-Paṭṭavardhana . .	Vāmana-Paṭṭavardhana.
2	Vāsishṭha	Mahādēva-Bhaṭṭa . . .	Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭa.
3	"	Nāraṇa-Bhaṭṭa	Ajja-Bhaṭṭa.
4	Kāśyapa	Rāmadēva-Bhaṭṭa . . .	Hari-Bhaṭṭa.
5	Bhāradvāja . . .	Nāgadēva-Bhaṭṭa . . .	Kēśava-Bhaṭṭa.
6	Vāsishṭha	Viṭṭhala-Bhaṭṭa. . . .	— —

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 281.

[2] The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri who noted this fact (*A. S. R.* 1907-08, p. 244) has not identified him with Mādhava the Śaiva minister of Bukka I.

[3] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 115.

[4] Kielhorn's *List of South Indian Inscriptions*, No. 471.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 80, f. n. 8 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 271.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLV, pp. 1 ff.

[7] *A. R. on S. I. E.*, 1928-29, p. 86.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLV, p. 3.

No.	Gôtra.	Father's name.	Name of the Donee.
7	Vâsishṭha	Mahâdêva-Bhaṭṭa . . .	Hari-Bhaṭṭa.
8	Âtrêya	"	Jânu-Bhaṭṭa.
9	Parâśara	Râma-Bhaṭṭa	Mailâra-Bhaṭṭa.
10	Kâśyapa	Nâraṇa-Jyôtirvid . . .	Gaṅgâdhara-Jyôtirvid.
11	Bhâradvâja . . .	Mahâdêva-Bhaṭṭa . . .	Dâmôdara-Bhaṭṭa.
12	"	Ajjaṇ-Bhaṭṭa	Mahâdêva-Bhaṭṭa.
13	"	Nâraṇa-Bhaṭṭa	"
14	"	Viṭṭhala-Bhaṭṭa. . . .	Śaḍaṇ-Bhaṭṭa.
15	Âtrêya	Mallinâtha-Bhaṭṭa . . .	Nâraṇa-Bhaṭṭa.
16	Bhâradvâja . . .	Viṭṭhala-Bhaṭṭa. . . .	Narahari-Bhaṭṭa.
17	Vâsishṭha	Gôvinda-Bhaṭṭa	Ananta-Bhaṭṭa.
18	Bhâradvâja . . .	Ajjaṇ-Bhaṭṭa	Kêśava-Bhaṭṭa.
19	"	"	Jânu-Bhaṭṭa.
20	Śâṇḍilya	Bhîmadêva	Harihara.
21	Bhâradvâja . . .	Ambaṇṇa	Paṁmaṇṇa.

Of these *vrittis*, Nos. 9 and 10 were purchased from their holders and donated to Kṛishṇa-Paṭṭavardhana, son of Viṭṭhala-Paṭṭavardhana of the Kâśyapa-*gôtra*, by the minister Narahari-dêva.

TEXT.[1]

[Metres: Vv. 1 and 2, *Anushṭubh*; vv. 3, 4, 6, 7 and 10 *Śârdûlavikrîḍita*; v. 5 *Vasantatilakâ*; vv. 8 and 9 *Indravajrâ*.]

Plate I.

1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । नमः शिवा-
2 य । नमस्तुंगशिरश्चुंबिचंद्रचामरचार-
3 वे । त्रैलोक्यनगरारंभमु(मू)लस्तंभाय शंभवे ॥[१*] ज-
4 यत्येव जगद्बीजं लीलाकोलः श्रियःप्रियः । यस्य
5 दंष्ट्रांकुरे भूमिर्बीजत्वमजायते ॥ [२*] कंदलं क-
6 ल्पेश्वरः फणिपतिर्नालत्वमालंबते
7 वर्णानां ललयो दलावलितुलामाशा य-
8 स्य [स्थि]ताः । किंजल्कत्वमखिलं कुलाचलकु-
9 लं मेरुच सत्कर्णिकालीलां यत्र दधाति

[1] From the plates as well as from the impressions.

10 भाति तदिदं रम्यं रमा(स)[द्मा]स्वं ॥[३*] ख्या-
11 तो भारतवर्षदक्षिणदले देशोस्य कर्णा-
12 टकस्तन्मध्ये विजयाङ्कयास्ति नगरी सा-
13 रातिभिर्दुर्जया । या कल्पोपरिवर्तिनो-
14 मपि पुरं जिष्णोरध[:*]स्थेर्गुणै[:*] सम्भासंति-
15 षच्छ्र्यनिर्मलरुचा मन्ये समत्युर्जिता [४*]
16 [वं]शे यदोरभिनवांश इवाच्युतस्य वीर्य-
17 गमादजनि संगररंगभीमः । श्रीबुक्करा-
18 ज इति धिकृतशत्रुरेव तामध्यतिष्ठदच
19 मध्यमलोकपालः ॥[५*] तत्सूनुरस्वपदं प्रशास्ति
20 बलिजिद्विश्वस्वविदिट्ठुरस्तद्वृंदावनतत्पर-
21 च समत्पासीन[:*]प्रितन्मदगुणैः । श्रीयुक्तबुक्क-
22 भवमंगल इति श्रीपत्युमाकांतयो[यु(र्य)क्त्वा]-
23 दिश्च कलागैर्हरिहराख्यां यो वहत्युन्न-

Plate II ; First Side.

24 तां ॥[६*] आकर्णान्तमरिहरोत्तरतटादापूर्वपाथोनि-
25 धेरासेतोरवनीं चिरादवति कल्पापु(प)स्विमाभोनि-
26 धेः । ख्यातैस्विग्गुणनामभिर्हरिहरे राजाधिरा-
27 जादिभिरुर्वीपतिश्रौसिज्जनालितपदांभोजे ।[1]
28 महीवल्लभे ॥[७*] तस्याज्ञया माधवमंत्रिवर्यो दिशं
29 जिगीषुर्महता बलेन । गोवाभिधां कोंकणराज-
30 धानीमम्बोन मन्दोरगदर्पवेन ॥[८*] प्रतिष्ठितांस्त-
31 त्र तुरुष्कसंघानुत्खाय दोष्णा भुवनैकवीरः ।
32 उन्मूलितानामकरोत्प्रतिष्ठां श्रीसप्तनाथादिसु-
33 धाभुजां यः ॥[९*] भारद्वाजसदन्वितान्वयसुधावारा-
34 शितारापतिश्चामुंडाभिधभूसुरेंद्रतनयो मंत्रीश्वरो
35 माधवः । ग्रामस्कोंकणनीवृतं हरिहरक्षोणीपतेरा-
36 ज्ञया धर्मानंकुरयत्यमन्दशिशिरज्यालोत्कटस्था-
37 स्नुनः ॥[१०*] स च निर्जिताखिलभूपालसर्वोपनिषदां व्या-
38 कर्ता शैवागमानां प्रकाशयिता काव्यानां कर्ता म-

[1] The stroke is not necessary.

39 ह्यादानानां विधाता नीतिशास्त्रोपदेष्टा सकल-
40 गुणालंकृतो माधवराजो गोवापुरवरसिंहास-
41 नमधितिष्ठन्मास(शालि)वाहनशके वर्षाणां त्रयोदशो-
42 त्तरत्रयोदशशतसंख्यामतीतायां वर्तमानप्रजाप-
43 तिसंवत(त्स)रे चैत्रमासे अमावास्यायां सौम्यवारे अ-
44 श्विनीनक्षत्रगते पुण्यदिने प्रीतियोगे सूर्योप-
45 रागे पुण्यकाले वारसनामजनपदे परमरु-
46 पनामग्रामं स्वपितृनाम्ना चौडलापुराभिधान-
47 मग्रहारं कृत्वा योनिगोत्र(त्रु)त[त]त्वसंपन्ने-

Plate II ; Second Side.

48 भ्यश्चतुर्दशविद्यापरिणतेभ्यः षट्कर्मनिरतेभ्यः
49 ऋग्यजुःशाखाध्यायिभा(भ्य) एकविंशतिब्राह्मणे- ।[1]
50 भ्यः सर्वनमस्यं प्रादात् । तेषां नामगोत्रवि-
51 वरणं यथा काश्यपगोत्रस्य रामदेवभट्टव-
52 र्धनपुत्रस्य वामनभट्टवर्धनस्य वृत्तिरेका
53 वासिष्ठगोत्रस्य महादेवभट्टपुत्रस्य दामो-
54 दरभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका । वासिष्ठगोत्रस्य नारण-
55 भट्टप(पु)त्रस्य चन्नभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका काश्य(श्य)-
56 पगोत्रस्य रामदेवभट्टपुत्रस्य हरिभट्टस्य
57 वृत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य नागदेवभट्टपु-
58 त्रस्य केशवभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका । वासिष्ठ[गो]त्र-
59 स्य विट्ठलभट्टपुत्रस्य केशवभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका ।
60 वासिष्ठगोत्रस्य महादेवभट्टपुत्रस्य हरिभ-
61 ट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका आत्रेयगोत्रस्य महादेवभट्टपुत्र-
62 स्य जानुभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका पराशरगोत्रस्य श्री-
63 रामभट्टपुत्रस्य मैलारभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका काश्य-
64 पगोत्रस्य नारणज्योतिर्वित्पुत्रस्य गंगाधर-
65 ज्योतिर्विदो वृत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य महा-
66 देवभट्टपुत्रस्य दामोदरभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका भा-
67 रद्वाजगा(गो)त्रस्य चन्नभट्टपुत्रस्य महादेवभ[ट्ट]-

[1] The stroke is not necessary.

68 स्य वृत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य नारणभट्ट-

69 पुत्रस्य महादेवभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका भा[र]-

Plate III.

70 द्वाजगोत्रस्य विठ्ठलभट्टपुत्रस्य शर्वभट्ट-

71 स्य वृत्तिरेका आत्रेयगोत्रस्य मल्लिनाथभट्ट-

72 पुत्रस्य नारणभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका भारद्वाज-

73 गोत्रस्य विठ्ठलभट्टपुत्रस्य नरहरिभट्टस्य

74 वृत्तिरेका वासिष्ठगा(गो)त्रस्य गोविंदभट्टपुत्र-

75 स्य अनंतभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्र-

76 स्य अन्नंभट्टपुत्रस्य क(कै)शवभट्टस्य वृत्तिरेका

77 भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य अन्नंभट्टपुत्रस्य नागुभट्ट-

78 स्य वृत्तिरेका शां[डि]ल्यगोत्रस्य भीमदेवच(पु)त्रस्य

79 हरिहरस्य वृत्तिरेका भारद्वाजगोत्रस्य अंतं(न)तप्पु-

80 त्रस्य पंमणपुवृत्तिरेका[1] एवमेकविंशतिब्राह्म-

81 णानां नामगोत्रविवरणं ॥ तत्र मैलारभट्टस्य वृत्तिं

82 गंगाधरज्योतिर्विदो वृत्तिं च पवित्रात्रिगोत्रसं-

83 भूतो ब्रह्मरसात्मजो विद्याशंकरकृपावलोक-

84 नसुधासिक्तेन संवर्धितो माधवराजेन कृत- ।[2]

85 प्रतिष्ठः श्रीमाधवचर्यदेवनामा नं(मं)त्रीश्व-

86 रो राजसंसदि तद्ग्रामीणब्राह्मणपौरपरिवा-

87 रजनसमक्षं मध्यस्थनेन क्रीत्वा ते द्वे वृ-

88 त्ती काश्यपगोत्राय विठ्ठलपद्मवर्धनपुत्रस्य

89 लक्ष्मणपद्मवर्धननाम्ने विद(दु)षे ब्राह्मणाय स्वीपु-

90 त्राद्यनुमतेन हिरं(र)ण्योदकदानधारापूर्वकं सं-

91 प्रादात् ॥

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verses 1 to 3: Invoke Śiva, Vishṇu in the form of the Boar, and the Earth.

V. 4. The impregnable city of Vijayanagara in the Karṇāṭaka country which lies to the south of Bhāratavarsha excelled the city of Indra.

Vv. 5 and 6. In the family of Yadu was born Saṅgama; his son Bukkarāja, the conqueror of enemies, was ruling that city. To him was born Harihara, the destroyer of his enemies.

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[1] Read °पुत्रस्य वृत्ति°

[2] The stroke is no necessary.

V 7. While this king was ruling the earth from the northern bank of the river Kṛishṇā to the Sētu and from the eastern to the western ocean, his feet were worshipped by all the kings.

Vv. 8 and 9. By his command, Mādhava, the chief of ministers, set out with a large army to conquer the quarters and captured Gōvā, the capital of Koṅkaṇa. And having killed the Turushkas who were established there, he re-instated the gods Saptanātha and others who had been removed by them.

V. 10. By Harihara's command this minister Mādhava, the moon to the ocean of the Bhāradvāja family, the son of the Brahman Chāuṇḍa, was protecting the Koṅkaṇa country and re-establishing the *Dharma* which had been destroyed by the wicked.

Ll. 37 to 41. This Mādhavarāja, the conqueror of all kings, the expounder of all the *Upanishads*, the illuminator of the *Śaiv-āgamas*, the author of *kāvyas*, the performer of *mahādānas*, the teacher of *nītiśāstra*, being seated on the throne of Gōvā, the best of cities.

Ll. 41 to 50. When 1313 Śaka years had elapsed, on Wednesday, the new moon (*tithi*) of the month of Chaitra in the year Prajāpati, the sun being in the constellation Aśvini, the *yōga* being Prīti, during a solar eclipse, gave to 21 Brahmans, who were of good birth and learned in the fourteen *vidyās*, who were devoted to the six *karmas* and were the students of the *Ṛik-śākhā*, the village of Paramarūpa in the Vāram-*janapada*, making it into an *agrahāra* called Chauṇḍalāpura after his father's name.

Ll. 50 to 81. Names, etc., of the donees (see list above).

Ll. 81 to 91. The minister Naraharidēva, son of Brahmarasa, who had been reared up by the favour of (*the sage*) Vidyāśaṅkara, and was installed by Mādhavarāja, purchased two of these *vṛittis* from Mailāra-Bhaṭṭa and Gaṅgādhara, the astrologer, and gave them in the royal court before the Brahmans and other inhabitants of the village to the learned Brahman Kṛishṇa-Paṭṭavardhana, son of Viṭṭhala-Paṭṭavardhana.

No. 5.—KOROSHANDA COPPER-PLATES OF VISAKHAVARMMAN.

BY G. RAMDAS, B.A., M.R.A.S.

These are three **copper-plates** which were discovered by a cultivator of Koroshaṇḍā, a village six miles to the south of Parlakimiḍi in the Ganjām district of the Madras Presidency, while he was ploughing his field. The inscription incised on them has been edited by Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* [1], but without any facsimile. Owing to certain defects in the reading, re-editing of this record is necessary and I am thankful to the Government Epigraphist for India for giving me an opportunity of doing it in this journal.

Each plate is 7½" long and 2" broad and has a ring-hole about ¼" in diameter on its left side. I found neither a ring nor a seal attached to them. The first and the third plates are inscribed only on their inner side but the second plate bears writing on both sides.

The **alphabet** of the plates resembles that of the Peddavēgi plates of the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman II[2] and of the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant of Umavarman.[3] The inscription under notice is written in **Sanskrit** and is in prose throughout, except for the two imprecatory verses *bahubhiḥ etc.*, and *shashṭiṁ etc.*, which come at the end. As regards **orthography**, the following points may be noted: (1) consonants are generally doubled after *r*, *e.g.* *sarvva-* (l. 5), *karmma* (l. 6), *karttavyam* (l. 8) and *svargge* (l. 12); (2) the *upadhmānīya* is used in line 4; (3) the final form of *t*

[1] Vol. XIV, pp. 282 ff.

[2] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 36 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff.

occurs in line 8; and (4) the numerical symbols for 7 and 20 occur in lines 8 and 9 respectively. The symbol for the latter figure is rather noteworthy.

The inscription records that *Mahārāja* **Viśākhavarmman**, "who was a worshipper of the gods" and "devoted to the feet of (*his*) father", granted the village **Tampōyaka** in **Kōrāsōḍaka-Pañchālī** to Vishṇuśarmman, Śrēshṭhiśarmman, Agniśarmman, Nāgaśarman and Śivaśarmman, all of whom belonged to the Ātrēya-*gōtra* and were the residents of the village Śabarabhēṇḍa. The grant was made for increasing the merit of the donor's father who was in heaven. The **date** of the grant was the 20th day of the 7th fortnight of Hēmanta in the 7th year (*of the king's reign*).

The family to which Viśākhavarmman belonged is not stated in the charter. But from the Chicacole grant of Indravarmman[1] we learn that the division Kōrāsōḍaka-Pañchālī, which is also mentioned in the present grant (l. 2), formed a part of the Kaliṅga country. This would suggest that Viśākhavarmman was a *Kaliṅgādhipati* (*i.e.*, the chief of Kaliṅga) like Umavarmman of the Bṛihatprōshṭhā grant, Chaṇḍavarmman of the Komarti Plates[2] and Śaktivarmman of the Rāgōlu plates.[3]

Of the places mentioned in the charter, **Śrīpura**, where the king resided at the time of the grant, may be the Siripuram (18° 53' N. Lat.; 83° 50' E. Long., Indian Atlas) which now forms part of the Zamindary of Vāvilavalasa in the Vizagapatam district. It is only 3 miles south of the Nāgāvalī river on whose northern bank Varāhavartinī, the well-known district of Kaliṅga, was situated. Siripuram is not far away from Viśākhapattanam (modern Vizagapatam) which is said to have been designated after the god Viśākhasvāmin who was worshipped there. Possibly Viśākhavarmman, the donor of this grant, built a temple in that locality and named the god enshrined in it after himself. Kōrāsōḍaka-Pañchālī must have comprised the region round the modern village Koroshaṇḍā where the plates were found. Tampōyaka I am not able to identify.

TEXT.[4]

First Plate ; Second Side.

1 स्वस्ति[।*] विजयश्रीपुरात्परमदैवत[:*] बप्पभट्टारकपादभक्त: श्रीमहाराज-

2 विशाखवर्म्मा कोरासोडकपचाल्या[5] तंपोयकग्रामे कुटुम्बिन:

3 समाज्ञापयति अस्त्येष ग्रामोस्माभिरस्मद्बप्पभट्टारकपादानां

Second Plate ; First Side.

4 सुरलोकादप्रच्युतानां भूय<पुण्याप्यायनाय आचन्द्रतारार्क्कप्रति-

5 ष्ठमग्रहारं कृत्वा सर्व्वकरभरेव परिहृत्य आत्रेयसगोत्रे-

6 भ्य: शबरभेण्डकविष्णुशर्म्मश्रेष्ठिशर्म्माग्निशर्म्मनागशर्म्मशिवशर्म्म(र्म्म)-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

7 भ्य[:] संप्रदत्तस्तदेवमवेत्य पूर्व्वोचितमर्य्यादाभिरस्योपस्थानं

8 कर्त्तव्यमिति[।*] आज्ञाभोगिकयोदुदेव[:] [सं]वत् ७ हेमं ७

9 पक्ष च व्यासगोतो ह्रो श्रीको दिवस २०[6]

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 122 ff.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.

[4] From the inked impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

[5] Read °पंचाल्या

[6] Cf. G. H. Ojha's *Palaeography of India*, plate LXXII (lower), last column.

KOROSHANDA COPPER-PLATES OF VISAKHAVARMMAN.

i.

2

iia.

4

6

iib.

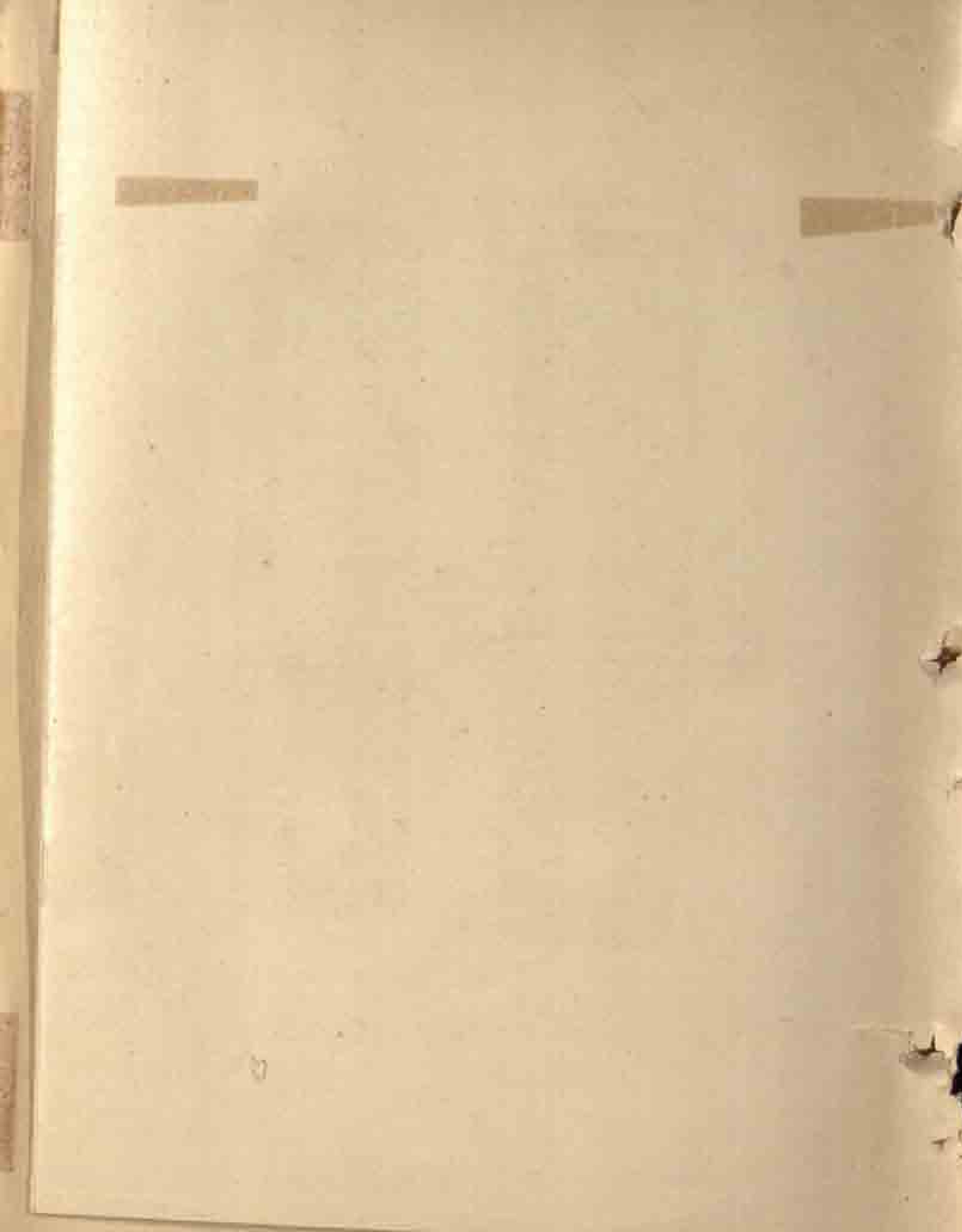
8

iii.

10

12

HIRANANDA SASTRI. SCALE: FIVE-SIXTHS. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.



Third Plate : First Side.

10 बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता वसुधा वसुधाधिपैः [।*] यस्य यस्य

11 यदा भूमि[स्तस्य] तस्य तदा फल[म्*] [॥*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि

12 स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद[ः] [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥*]

No. 6.—SADDO ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 104.

BY STEN KONOW.

Saddo is a village on the left or eastern bank of the Panjkora river, to the west of the Katgala pass, on the road from Swāt to Chitrāl, where a bridge leads across the river.

Cunningham discovered a stone inscription in Kharōshṭhī characters at this place, and his servants copied it 'under great difficulties, and not without danger[1]'.

When I prepared the edition of Indian Kharōshṭhī inscriptions for the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* I did not succeed in my efforts to get estampages or photographs of the record, and I could therefore only reproduce Cunningham's plate, without any attempt at an explanation[2].

I owe it to the kind assistance of Mr. Hargreaves that I can now publish a reliable reproduction. On the 29th October 1930 he sent me two estampages, prepared by Khan Bahadur Mian Wasiud Din, who had been good enough to add the following information : 'The inscription is situated on the rocky bank (left) of the Panjkora river, between the ruined and existing bridges, which are only a furlong apart. The inscribed boulder is quite smooth and naturally sloped like a camel-back, with no sign of dressing. It is outwardly 5¼' × 2½' in size, of a dun-buff colour, like the rest of the bluff jutting out into the river. It is only 48 ft. upstream from the broken pier of the ruined bridge, and being on the same level, is submerged in the current for four months in the year, *i.e.*, May to August. It is therefore at the mercy of the torrent which carries a timber trade, besides trees and other things, when inundated.'

We learn from this note that more than one bridge has been constructed in this place, and we also understand why the inscription has suffered so much in the course of time. A comparison of Cunningham's plate will, however, show that not much has disappeared since his copy was made, and also that his assistants have faithfully reproduced what they could see on the rock.

The **characters** are Kharōshṭhī, of the same type as in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription. Some details will be mentioned below.

The inscription covers a space measuring 3½ ft. by 1½ ft., and contains remnants of four lines, of varying length. The height of the *aksharas* is 3 to 5 inches.

In l. 1 Cunningham's plate has five *aksharas*, of which only the first and third are visible in the estampages. The first is a distinct *ma* in the plate, but the estampage shows that the left bar is prolonged upwards and perhaps ends in a curve to the left. I have not met with a

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[1] *A. S. R.*, Vol. V, pp. 62 f., and plate XVI, No. 5.

[2] *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 9 f.

mu of this shape in any other Kharōshṭhī inscription. The nearest approach to our *akshara* is the *mu* of *danamukh[o]* in the Dharmarājikā inscription No. 1[1], and it is possible that we should read *mu* here. The second *akshara* visible in the estampage can hardly be anything else than *dhe*. In one of my estampages the *e*-stroke is unmistakable, and the *akshara* itself is almost identical with the *dha* of the Mathurā elephant inscription[2].

I cannot make anything out of these letters. If the intervening *akshara* were *ru*, we might think of an old form of *murunda*, which must, in some way, be connected with Saka *rre*, gen. *rrundā*, king. But I should not like to suggest such an explanation.

In l. 2 the first *akshara* which can be read stands below the *dhe* of l. 1, and is so like the *du* of Takht-i-Bāhī ll. 1, 6, that I have no hesitation in reading so.

Then follows an *akshara* consisting of a damaged vertical, of which only the top and the bottom remain, continued in a horizontal, bent downwards into a shorter vertical, which is curved forwards at the bottom. So far as I can see, we can only read *śa*.

The ensuing *akshara* is evidently *da*, cf. the *da* in Takht-i-Bāhī l. 4 and in the Pājā record.

It is followed by *ma*. In one of my estampages the right-hand bar is bent backwards at the top, but this bend is absent in the other estampage and in Cunningham's copy, wherefore we cannot well think of an irregularly placed *e*-stroke.

Then comes a distinct *śra* and two hooks, which I take to be the numerical figure for 4, twice repeated.

What can be read is accordingly *duśadama-śra* 4 4, and, though the names of the months are not abbreviated in other Kharōshṭhī records, I restore, with some confidence, *chaduśadam[e] Śra* 4 4, in the four-hundredth (year, on the) 8. (of) Śrāvaṇa.

It is true that other Kharōshṭhī inscriptions present *satimaa* for 'hundredth,' but this form is probably due to the analogy of ordinals such as *satatimaa*, *asitimaa*, and Pali has *satama*.

What precedes [*cha*]*duśadama* cannot be read. The existing traces can, however, be reconciled with the reading *sabatsarae*, which we have before [*ti*]*śatimae* in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription.

L. 3 had already almost disappeared when Cunningham's copy was made. The two first *aksharas* are, however, legible, being *iśa*, very similar to the *iśa* in l. 3 of Takht-i-Bāhī.

The ensuing 10-12 *aksharas* are quite obliterated, though the first two or three bear a certain resemblance to the unidentified letters following after *iśa* in Takht-i-Bāhī. They probably comprised some term for 'time', and the name of the person who had the inscription executed.

Under the *aksharas śada* of l. 2 there are traces of a letter which is like the *di* of l. 2 of Takht-i-Bāhī and one might think of restoring [*pra*]*di*-[*stavide*].

Then follows a fairly distinct *esha*.

At the beginning of l. 4 some *aksharas* have been lost. The first *akshara* of l. 3, however, runs down into the line so that not more than two or three letters can be missing. After the gap comes a distinct *ye*, and it is tempting to restore *setuye* or *seduye*, cf. Sanskrit *sētuka*, causeway, bridge. It seems to me as if it were possible to trace *se*. We should then have the sentence *pradiśavide esha seduye*, this bridge was set up, but the reading is highly uncertain.

The next word is certainly *garuhesa*, but I cannot explain it. *Garu* is evidently the regular Prakrit form of Sanskrit *guru*, heavy, but *hea* remains unexplained. *Garuhea* may be a name, but is more probably a noun meaning something heavy.

[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part I, plate XVII, 5.
[2] *Ibid.*, Pl. X, 1.

After *sa* one *akshara* is lost, and then follows what looks like an *e*. I tentatively read *garuhesaarthae*, for the sake of the heavy...

It will be seen that my reading and explanation are rather unsatisfactory. The only thing which seems to be certain is that the inscription is dated in the year 104, and it can hardly be doubted that the era is the same as *e.g.*, in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription.

In my edition of Kharōshṭhī inscriptions in the *Corpus* I have assumed that the first year of this era coincided with 84-83 B.C., in accordance with certain calculations made by the Dutch scholar Dr. van Wijk. The date of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription was identified by him with the 10 March, A.D. 19, and our record would, similarly, belong to the 16 June, A.D. 20.

My chronology has, however, been severely criticised, especially by Professor Rapson[1], who thinks that we must make use of the Vikrama era, which was, according to him, established by Azes, as proposed by Sir John Marshall. The date of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription would then correspond to 45 A.D., and the Saddo date to 46 A.D.

In the introductory remarks to my edition of the *Kharōshṭhī Inscriptions* (*C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part I) I have maintained that it is impossible to refer the dates in the old series of these records to the Vikrama era, if the Soḍāsa inscription of the year 72 is dated in it, and I agree with Professor Rapson that such is the case.

But then he maintains that he has *proved*[2] that the Āmohini tablet is dated in the year 42 and not in 72, and his arguments have been accepted as final by Professor Charpentier[3] and Mr. Jayaswal[4]. The latter scholar goes to the length of asserting that 'throughout the range of Indian epigraphy nowhere the symbol reads 70, and everywhere it reads 40', as if we had to do with a well-known and frequent sign.

I have not been able to accept Professor Rapson's learned and ingenious deductions, for several reasons. And now the Central Asian manuscript remains collected in Berlin have brought fresh light.

In a masterly article[5] Professor Lüders has examined the decimal symbols occurring in certain old manuscript leaves written in early Kushāṇa characters, and shown that the ꓘ symbol must there mean 40, because it is found in a continuous numbering immediately after 39. The St. Andrews cross occurs at least twice in page numberings, where the ꓘ symbol is used for 40, and since all the other decimal symbols, except that for 70, are used in other folios, the St. Andrews cross can only mean 70. Professor Lüders has further traced the origin of the figure. It is formed from the symbol for 60, which occurs in a shape resembling a Kharōshṭhī *ja*, by adding a stroke to the left.

Professor Rapson remarks that 'much of the perplexity which scholars have found in their attempts to arrange the chronology of the Śakas and the Kushāṇas seems .. to be due to the belief caused by the reading "year 72" that the Great Satrap Śoḍāsa ruled .. so late as the second decade of the first century A.D.' And it would certainly make it impossible to refer the dates of the Āmohini tablet and the Patika plate to one and the same era.

Mr. Jayaswal's chronology, on the other hand, which leads to such results as that the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription is dated in the year 20 B.C., discards the unanimous results drawn from Chinese sources by leading sinologists such as Chavannes and Franke, and I must leave it to those who know Chinese and Chinese literature to judge about its merits.

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[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 186 ff.

[2] The date of the Āmohini tablet of Mathurā, in *Indian studies in honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*. Harvard University Press, 1929, pp. 49 ff. In another paper, which will be published in the *Acta Orientalia*, Professor Rapson maintains the same view, against Professor Lüders.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, lix, 1930, p. 210.

[4] *J. B. O. R. S.*, xvi, p. 245.

[5] *Acta Orientalia* X, pp. 118 ff.

After the manuscript of this paper had been sent to press, Sir John Marshall's excavations at Kalawān have brought to light a new record, which shows that Professor Rapson was right in referring the dates of the Takht-i-Bāhī and some other early inscriptions to the so-called Vikrama era, and that the Saddo record accordingly belongs to A.D. 46.

I have discussed the new epigraph in the October number of the *J. R. A. S.*, and prepared a paper on it for the *Epigraphia*. It shows that I was wrong in explaining the word *ayasa* in the Taxila silver scroll as corresponding to Skr. *ādyasya*, and that it cannot therefore be utilized for calculating the era used in a series of Kharōshṭhī dates. We must evidently accept Sir John's explanation, that *Ayasa* is the genitive of the name *Aya*, Azes.

For reasons specified in the *Corpus*, I cannot, however, accept Sir John's further explanation, that *Ayasa* characterizes the era as instituted by Azes. It must, I think, have another meaning, *viz.*, to distinguish it from another reckoning, with which the inhabitants of Taxila were familiar.

And it seems to me that we have distinct indications to the effect that such an era existed, and was looked upon as a Saka institution. The reading of the Shahdaur inscription[1] is uncertain and does not prove that it was designated as such. The matter would be different if Professor Thomas[2] is right in reading *sa* before the *ka* with which the inscription on the Taxila silver vase[3] seems to open.

Mr. Hargreaves has been good enough to let his deputy, Mr. Dikshit, make a careful examination of the original, especially with a view to find out whether any letter preceded *ka*. He reported that no trace could be found. A plaster cast of the initial portion of the inscription, which Mr. Hargreaves has kindly sent me, seems, however, to show traces of an obliterated *sa*, and it is, besides, difficult to see what *ka* can be unless it is the remaining portion of *saka*.

It was in order to distinguish the era used in the Taxila silver scroll from this Saka reckoning that the word *Ayasa* was added, and it was chosen, because the inhabitants of Taxila were so well acquainted with it from the numerous Azes coins that it was looked upon as a kind of symbol of the whole Parthian dynasty. The era was not, however, instituted by Azes, but by an Indian ruler, who made an end to Saka dominion in another quarter, *viz.*, in Mālava, just as the Parthians had done in Taxila.

We must necessarily draw the inference that two different eras are used in the older series of Kharōshṭhī records; one old Saka reckoning, and the Vikrama era. To the former we must apparently, *inter alia*, refer the Maira well, the Mānsehrā, the Shahdaur, the Patika plate, the Taxila silver vase, and probably also the Loriyān Tangai, the Hashtnagar, and the Skarah Dheri inscriptions; to the latter, *e.g.*, the Takht-i-Bāhī, the Saddo, the Panjtār, and the Taxila silver scroll records.

With every reserve I finally give the text and translation of the Saddo record :

TEXT.

1 mu . . dhe . . .
2 [sambatsarae cha*] dusadam(e*) era 4 4
3 isa [pra*]di(ataviṇe*] etha
4 [sedu*]ye garuhesa(ṭṭha*)e

[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part I, No. IX.
[2] *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 1931, p. 4.
[3] *C.I.I.*, No. XXX.

SADDO ROCK INSCRIPTION.



HIRANANDA SASTRI.

SCALE: ONE-SIXTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

TRANSLATION.

In the 104th year, the 8, Śrāvaṇa, at this [instant, by . . . .] was set up this bridge, for the sake of heavy . . . . .

No. 7.—CONJEEVERAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA I.

By K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The late Dr. Hultzsch noticed this inscription long ago[1] but did not give the text nor a critical analysis of its contents. In consideration of its historical importance I am editing it below. It seems that the record is not in its original position, for the different portions of it lie in different places, though in the same sanctuary, viz., the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeeveram. One piece is found in the floor of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* and the other is built in the roof of the said temple. Both these pieces, in my opinion, go to make up section I of the record though some portions of it, especially at the middle and at the end, are not forthcoming. Similarly, the third fragment is found in the floor and the other fragment marked B-1 is to be found in the roof. These fragments put together would make up section II of the record, though here too, some portions have not been secured as yet. Each of the fragments A and A-1 contain an equal number of lines incised on them. The portion of the record giving the date (l. 8) which is found on the fragment A, seems to continue on the fragment marked A-1. Of the other section, 49 lines are engraved on the fragment marked B and 30 on the slab called B-1. I think that lines 16 to 45 of B continue on B-1 for, when put together, they read continuously.

The section marked I gives the genealogy of the Eastern Chāḷukyas. Among the kings mentioned in it we find the names of Vijayāditya-Guṇakāṅga, *i.e.*, Vijayāditya III, Chāḷukya-Bhīma I, Kollavigaṇḍa, *i.e.*, Vijayāditya IV and Chāḷukya-Bhīma II (ll. 3-4). This Bhīma is compared to the Pāṇḍava Bhīma and is described as a warrior distinguished in many battles. After him comes Dānārṇava whose foot-stool, we are told, was made lustrous by the diadems of potentates like the Vaidumbas and who was a worshipper of the God Paramēśvara Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Bhīmēśvara. After this, the inscription gives the date in the following words :—

(*Śa**)*ka-nṛipa-nava-śata-saṅkhyā-vi . . . . . . shu gatēshu tribhir-adhikēshu etc.*

The letter *vi* which follows the words *nava-śata* and is clearly visible on the stone would indicate that the mutilated word is *viṁśa*. This being the case, the date of the inscription must be Śaka 923 expired (or 924 current) which corresponds to the year 1001-2 of the Christian era. The palæography of the inscription would support this surmise.

Section II introduces Dānārṇava-Nṛipakāma (l. 17) stating that by defeating the armies of his enemies and despatching Kāmārṇava to heaven he accomplished all his desires. It then speaks of a chief called Jaṭāchōḷa-Bhīma-nṛipati, giving a number of his epithets, like the following :—*Saṁgrāma-vijaya*, *Arasar-ābharaṇa*, *Sukavi-chintāmaṇi*, *Kīrtti-Dilīpa*, *Saty-āvatāra*, *Samar-aikavīra*, *Paragaṇḍa-rākshasa*, *Dāna-kalpadruma*, *Bhūpāla-Mēru*, *Achalita-vīrya*, *Vikrama-Dhanañjaya*, *Saujanya-dhavaḷa*, *Dushṭa-kāl-ānala*, *Asahāya-Vikrama*, *Bhuvan-aikadīpaka*, *Āchāra-Bhagīratha*, *Kārmuka-Rāma*, *Āpuraṇa-Dadhīchi*, *Vanit-ābhirāma*, *Abhinav-Āntaka*, *Sūrya-kula-Rāja-Makaradhvaja*, *Vikrānta-Chakrāyudha*, *Samasta-rāj-āgrēya*, *Gōṇḍala-sāhasa*, *Māna-sampūrṇa*, *Raṅga-mṛigēndra*, *Vīra-Narasiṁha*, *Karikāla-Chōḷa*, *Aritāja-bhīshaṇa*, *Tyāga-mahārṇava*, and *Nara-lōka-Rudra*. Thereafter comes a mutilated passage in Telugu (ll. 40 to 47) which describes some achievements of this chief, namely, Jaṭāchōḷa-Bhīma. The

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 139, No. 144.

inscription ends by saying that "such a distinguished person was captured by king Rājarāja". It is true that only the initial letter of this name is now preserved, but there is no doubt that it should be read as Rājarāja. We know that it was Rājarāja who was ruling over these parts in the Śaka year 923-4.

The fact that the chief who was captured by Rājarāja is herein called Karikāla-Chōḷa and that he claims descent from the Solar dynasty (*Sūrya-kula-ċūḍa*), would show that he was of Telugu-Chōḷa origin and that he was in possession of the Eastern Chālukya territory during the period of confusion which followed the reign of Dānārṇṇava.

Though fragmentary, this inscription is very helpful for settling some of the doubtful points in the history of the Chōḷas and of the Eastern Chālukyas. We know that Rājarāja I conquered the Vēṅgi country about the 14th year of his reign (A.D. 999) and the Kaliṅga country in the next year (A.D. 1000). The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I report that he defeated an Āndhra chief named Bhīma[1]. We also know that Rājarāja invaded the Vēṅgi and Kaliṅga countries about A.D. 999-1000. We have to see who this Bhīma, whom he had routed, was. That he was the Eastern Chālukya king Vimalāditya who bore the surname Mummuḍi-Bhīma and Birudaṅka-Bhīma[2] seems to be unlikely, for his dates do not go so far back as A.D. 999-1000[3]. Here it may be noted that the so-called *interregnum* in the Vēṅgi country had just then come to an end and that no Chōḷa king prior to the time of Rājarāja I had anything to do with the political situation in the Vēṅgi or Kaliṅga countries. Among the Eastern Chālukyas, we know of no king of the name of Bhīma who came after Dānārṇṇava and whom Rājarāja I had defeated in A.D. 999. The present inscription enables us to settle the question of his identification definitely, for while revealing his name it states that he was captured by Rājarāja I. Evidently, this chief got possession of a part of the Eastern Chālukya dominions in the confusion caused by the deposition of Dānārṇṇava. Though Dānārṇṇava was dispossessed of his kingdom about A.D. 973, he appears to have lived till A.D. 1000.

The second point of interest in the inscription is contained in the statement that Dānārṇṇava slew or defeated king Kāmārṇṇava, who, to judge from the name, must have been a member of the Eastern Gaṅga line. In this connection, it may be said, that the Vēṅgi and the Kaliṅga countries were fighting each other for some generations prior to the time of Dānārṇṇava. King Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III (A.D. 844-888) claims to have conquered the Gaṅgas and to have received a tribute of elephants from the king of Kaliṅga[4]. Kollavigaṇḍa-Vijayāditya IV also claims to have conquered the ruler of Kaliṅga in A.D. 918 and to have ruled over the forests of Trikaliṅga[5]. Vikramāditya II (A.D. 925) is said to have held sway over the countries of Vēṅgi and Trikaliṅga[6]. The fact that Dānārṇṇava-Nṛipakāma despatched to heaven or defeated Kāmārṇṇava, which the inscription under notice has brought to light, is not only new to history but it also proves for certain that the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi and the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga were inimical towards one another. That the Kāmārṇṇava who was defeated by Dānārṇṇava must be identified with Kāmārṇṇava IV, *i.e.*, the father of Vajrahasta IV, may be shown by working backward the period of rule of the Eastern Gaṅga kings from the date of accession of Vajrahasta V which fell in A.D. 1038[7]. Since Madhukāmārṇṇava, Guṇḍama II,

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 421, v. 82.

[2] *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy*, 1905, p. 68.

[3] According to the Ranastipuṇḍi grant Vimalāditya's accession to the throne took place in A.D. 1011, May 10, Thursday. (Above, Vol. VI, p. 349).

[4] Above, Vol. IV, p. 226.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 104.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 269.

[7] Above, Vol. IV, p. 195.

Kāmārṇṇava V and Vajrahasta IV are reported to have reigned for 19 years, 3 years, 6 months, and 35 years respectively, before the accession of Vajrahasta V, we get A.D. 980 or thereabouts for the end of the reign of Kāmārṇṇava IV. And since that king is said to have ruled for a period of 25 or 30 years his reign must have lasted from A.D. 950 or 955 to 980. These dates fall within the rule of Dānārṇṇava which commenced[1] in A.D. 970. It is very likely that the Eastern Gaṅgas made a counter invasion on Vēṅgī which must have eventually resulted in the deposition of the aggressive Dānārṇṇava and given occasion also to the Telugu Chōḷa chief Bhīma-nṛipa to acquire possession of a part of the Eastern Chālukya dominions. Perhaps Dānārṇṇava continued to live after his deposition, for the Chellūr[2] plates of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa II attribute to him a reign of 30 years, a period that exactly covers his actual reign of three years and the so-called *interregnum* of 27 years which immediately followed it, as reported in other Eastern Chālukya charters. What favoured these events seem to be the internal dissensions that were prevailing in the country for a long time as is clearly disclosed by the rule of kings Yuddhamalla, Bādapa and Tāḷa of the collateral branch of the Eastern Chālukyas. It would not be wrong, therefore, to surmise that the deposed king Dānārṇṇava applied for help to the Chōḷas against his enemies. In this connection, the following facts revealed by the Chōḷa and the Eastern Chālukya records are worthy of note. Vimalāditya's coronation is stated, in his Raṇastipūṇḍi grant[3], dated in the 8th year of reign[4], to have taken place in Śaka 933 (A. D. 1011). Since his predecessor Chālukya-chandra Śaktivarman is said to have reigned for 12 years before this date[5], his accession must be placed in A.D. 999, which is very near the date when the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I invaded the Vēṅgī country. The invasion of Rājarāja I resulted in placing over the Vēṅgī country a member of the direct line of the Eastern Chālukyas, namely, Śaktivarman, whose brother Vimalāditya was married to Kundavā, the daughter of the invading Chōḷa king[6]. In view of these facts it may safely be surmised that the Chōḷas must have helped Dānārṇṇava at the time of his difficulties. This inference is further supported by the fact that the Chōḷa invader Rājarāja I captured Bhīma-nṛipa, who was then in possession of the Eastern Chālukya dominions, and proceeded straightway against the Kaliṅga country and subdued it.

The date of the accession of Śaktivarman to the Eastern Chālukya throne being A.D. 999, as shown above, the period of the so-called *interregnum* of 27 years in the Vēṅgī country and the rule of Dānārṇṇava for 3 years before it, must fall in A.D. 972-3 to 999 and A.D. 970 to 972-3. Dānārṇṇava's fight with Kāmārṇṇava and his deposition will have to be placed in A.D. 972-3. It may be observed here, in passing, that the Rāshṭrakūṭa power in the Deccan became practically ruined about this time when Sīyaka Harsha, the Paramāra king of Mālwā, pillaged their very capital, namely, Mānyakhēṭa, and Taila II, the first member of the revived Chālukya line, ousting the Rāshṭrakūṭas, extended his rule right up to the borders of the Eastern Chālukya and the Eastern Gaṅga kingdoms. Possibly it was about this period when there was so much of confusion in the Deccan that the Telugu-Chōḷa chief Bhīma-nṛipa, also called Karikāla-Chōḷa and Jaṭā-Chōḷa, of the solar race, found it possible to capture a portion of the Eastern Chālukya dominion.

[1] [See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 272.—Ed.]

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 56 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. VI, p. 351.

[4] As copper-plates attribute only a reign of 7 years to this king the 8th year must be counted from the date of his nomination to succession.

[5] Above, Vol. VI, p. 351.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 277.

The Telugu portion of the inscription under publication, though very much mutilated, would inform us that this chief engaged himself in fighting the rulers of Aṅga as well as Kaliṅga, took possession of a fort which could not, perhaps, be seized by Bēta-Vijayāditya and that he constructed tanks and made gifts to the temple of Bhīmēśvara[1].

TEXT.[2]

I

1 ......yaksh-ēśvara-prabhṛiti.........m-ēśvarāya dadatā vadataḥ ka ēva Chōḷa-Triṇētra-vasudhā-patinā samānaḥ I- S[va]sti Śrīma-tarm(tām)-maka ......

2 ......jānām Mahēśvara-vara-pra[s]......dhān-āmara-Durggā-prasād-āsirita[3]- siṁha-[ma]hā-lañjhanānām[4] antaka-Śiv-ālaya-tat-ārāma-pravarttana-prabhṛi......

3 ......pari(l)tānām Chōḷānām ku......[y]āditya-Guṇakāṅga-Chāḷukya-Bhīma-nṛipa-rann[5]-ālaṁkṛita-Chāḷukya-vaṁśa-pradīpāyamāna-Kōllavi-gaṇḍa-pri......

4 ......dēvyām Gyau(Gau)ryyām Kumāra.........m Bhīm-āpar-āvatāraḥ Bhīma-parākramaḥ pravarttana-mah-āhavaḥ dig-antam-āntan-darpp-āntaṅ jha[6] yathā yōga......

5 ......Dāna-par-ārṇṇava[7] tat bhṛi.........V[ai]dumba-prabhṛiti-rāja-rājanya-rāji rājata[8]-pīthastham-anēka-sahasra-śātakumbha-sambhūta-prabhṛi-

6 ......kaṭi-sūtra-prabhṛiti-vichitra ....nēk-ālaṁkār-ālaṁkṛitam-ānma[9]-rūpam-amūly-ānēka-ranna[5]-dyuti-paṭala-virachit-ēndra-chāpam-a[10]kṛi......

7 ......lōkanārtham-avanim-ava......[bha]kti-nammtam rachit-āñjali-puṭam Bhagavataḥ Paramēśvarasya Paramabhaṭṭārakasya śrīmat-Bhīmē[śva]..........

8 ......kanṛipa-nava-śata-saṁkhyā-vi..........shu yātēshu tribhir-adhikēshu chaturtthanyayāt-purastān-nirasta saūti || Bhīmēśvarasya dēvasya Bhī......

9 ......sya rūpēṇa janma-janm-ē[ti]......[dha]raṇīpatiḥ Kṛita-yugē Trētā-yugē Rāvaṇaḥ Bhīmaḥ Pāṇḍu-Pṛith-ātmajaḥ Kurukula-dhvaṁsī yugē nva......

10 ......li-yugē Śauryyādi-dharmmā.........rttum-ēsha nṛipatiḥ Chōḷa[11]-Triṇētrō-bhavat I- Bhūtō-bhavan-bhavishyan-vā bhūpatir-ddāna-śauryyataḥ......

II

1 nāpi bhavishyati I- chintyaṅ-chintā......

2 lā dhāvan syandana-yādas| sapura......

3 tūrṇṇ-ōttīrṇṇa-mahārṇṇavān-a[pu]......

4 patasyat Parachakra-bhīma-ripav[ō]......

5 traiya-viśāla-maṇḍapa-visa......

6 jēshu Bhagadatta ēva turagē......

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[1] I am indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A., the Kanarese Assistant in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, for this information.

[2] From the ink-impressions prepared by Mr. V. Venkatasubba Ayyar, B.A.

[3] Read -āśrita.

[4] Read -lāñchanānām.

[5] Read -ratna-.

[6] Read -chā.

[7] [The reading is -parāvāravam which might stand for -parāyaṇa-āravam.—Ed.]

[8] Read -r=jita-.

[9] Read -ātma-.

[10] Can the symbol between "-a" and "kṛi" be taken as "laṁ"?

[11] Read nṛipatiś=Chōḷa.

I

2
4
6
8
10

2
4
6
8
10

SCALE: ONE-EIGHTH.

HIRANANDA SASTRI.
REG. No. 2368 E. 33-480.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

II

7 tataṁ Śatakra[tu]r-api svarggan[1]-tanō......
8 masu sthēyāt(d)-bhuvi yāvad-arkka......
9 shu bahushv-ath-āsīt Karikāla......
10 śaiśavē Kṛishṇa-nṛipasya vā[chā]......
11 bhihatya mad-ōddhatān apa......
12 chukō[pa] sañjāta-samagra-manyuḥ......
13 ntyai sumukhat-prachaṇḍaḥ[2]nyayūyu......
14 śchalam sva-bhagani[3]-padam-Andhrama......
15 naḥ prāk sāmanta-māny-āṭavika-dri......
16 na durnnikhō-dhāt da-jvāla-māruta-vaśād......ya......
17 Dānārṇṇava-Nṛipakāmō yō yudhi sat-sakala-sainyam-abhihatya-dēśam......
18 m-avinōt parinētum-īśaḥ chitram su-dūram-api chāru rmmantaṁ Kāmārṇṇavan-divam-ani......
19 bhūt vyaktam vyasismapatatsv-iti vaiparītyā Kāmārṇṇavam bhuvi nayan......
20 t vinayād-anya-bhūpataiḥ[4]|- Tyāgēna Karṇṇam-api rūpatayā Manōjam tējō......
21 si samad-ān(t)makam yaḥ |- Sa śrīmān-Jaṭāchōḷa-Bhīma-nṛipatiḥ sat-Gaṇḍa[5]-Bhūriśravā......
22 tha yōgataḥ |- Sasy-āpānya chatu. sya bhūshaṇa-chayam Bhī......
23 maṇḍali-śikhāmaṇiḥ |- Gaṇḍabhūriśravaḥ |- Saṁgrāma-vijayaḥ |-......
24 ga-dhavaḷaḥ |- Arasar-ābharaṇaḥ |- Sukavi-chintāmaṇiḥ |- Śau......
25 kīrtti-Dilīpaḥ |- [Sa]ty-āvatāraḥ |- Samar-aika-vīraḥ |-Vīrabhaṭa......
26 ..raṁga-mallaḥ |- Paragaṇḍa-rākshasaḥ |- Dīna-kalpadrumaḥ |-......
27 ndraḥ |- Bhūpāla-Mēruḥ |- Achalita-vīryaḥ |- Chaturaṁga-Rā......
28 Vidyādharaḥ |- Vikrama-Dhanañjayaḥ |- Saujanya-dhavaḷaḥ |-......
29 nanaḥ |- Dushṭa-kāl-ānalaḥ |- Asa[hāya]-Vikramaḥ |- Kara......
30 ..yug-āchāraḥ |- nagōvāya-Bṛihaspatiḥ |- Satya-Ma......
31 rāṇanaḥ |- Bhuvan-aika-dīpi(pa)ka[ḥ] |- Āchāra-Bhagīrathaḥ |-......
32 Kārmuka-Rāmaḥ |- Atithādityan |- Apurāṇa-Dadhīchiḥ |-......
33 ṇaḥ |- Vamt-ābhirāmaḥ |- Abhinā(na)v-Āntakaḥ |- Sūryakula-vāsaḥ |-......
34 Sundaraḥ |- Rāja-Makaradhvajaḥ |- Budha-janaupāraḥ[6] |- Samvyakta-Bhā......
35 Vikrānta-Chakrāyudhaḥ |- Samasta-rāj-āgrēyaḥ |- Rāja-kula......
36 raḥ |- Gōndaḷa-Sāhasaḥ |- Māna-sampūrṇṇaḥ |- Kshatriya-kula......
37 [ā]raḥ |- Chalaraṁga-Rāmāḥ |- Raṇāṁga[7]-mṛigēndraḥ |- Vīra-Narasiṁhaḥ |-....
38 hadēvaḥ |- Karikāla-Chōḷaḥ |- Arirāja-bhīshaṇaḥ |- Su......
39 ḥ |- Tyāga-mahārṇṇavaḥ |- Naralōka-Rudraḥ [|*] Sakala-bhū......
40 sthira-sanniya-ghaṭanadh(y)-Aṁgga-Kāliṁka-patilu nāḷa......
41 larallōṭi parikōṭi-Roḍḍalair-antu mārọḍḍa ś......
42 liyure kōṭaku Bāṭuṇḍu Guṇaka-vijayituṇḍu......
43 krambu sādhiñchi sōdhiñchi gunakoni Bhīmēśva......
44 ma-ḍḍiyalu gāluktambu diggayalu kaṭi-sūtra-bahu......

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[1] Read *svarggam tanō*....
[2] Read *su-mukha-prachaṇḍaḥ*.
[3] Read *sva-bhaginī*°.
[4] Read *bhūpatiḥ*.
[5] Read *sad-gaṇḍa*°.
[6] Read *Budha-jan-ōdāraḥ*.
[7] Read *Raṇa-raṅga*°.

45 trōpulu gulliyalun-datti .mbulu saḍḍulu meli......
46 rāyillana tana rūpu bhaṇḍa ni[rva]siṇḍin gāyanabhamba......
47 davikrāyakuḍayya Ḍākarambi......
48 paritajis [|*] Ivaṇṇi śrī-kō-Rā......
49 k[o]ḷḍār

No. 8.—NIVINA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF DHARMARAJADEVA.

BY N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., PH.D., OOTACAMUND.

The charter under examination consists of **three copper-plates** which were found in 1929 in a field in the Nimmina village of the Kodala *taluk* in the Ganjām district of the Madras Presidency. The plates were sent by the Collector of Ganjām to the Government Museum, Madras, where they are now deposited. They are held together by a ring the ends of which are fastened into a circular **seal**. Each plate measures 7½" by 4¼" while the diameter of the ring is about 4¼" and that of the seal 1½". The rims are slightly raised and the plates are rounded at the corners. Including the ring and the seal, they weigh 77½ *tōlās*, approximately. The first plate is engraved on one side only but the remaining two are incised on both the sides. The inscription which they bear consists of 52 lines of writing. The first plate has 11 lines, the second 22, each face of it having 11 lines; but the third plate has 13 lines on the obverse and 6 on the reverse side of it. Owing to corrosion, which has caused holes in the plates, the inscription is badly damaged in several places, though practically the whole of it can be made out with the help of the other known records of the Śailōdbhava family to which it belongs. The seal is marked with the crescent, below which is found a couchant bull in relief. The sign-manual of the king was possibly written below the bull but the letters of the legend are much worn out and the name cannot be read with certainty. The first two letters are *śrī* and *mā* and the last letter is *nya*. There are traces of three letters between them.

The **characters** belong to an early type of the Nāgarī script and bear much resemblance to those employed in the Ganjām plates of Nētribhañjadēva.[1] As Kielhorn[2] has already made a detailed study of the script employed in these records, I shall make here only a few additional remarks. The initial *a* and *ā* are denoted in the present record by two different signs though they seem to have been mixed up; *e.g.*, *dai(sī)d* (l. 12), *anī(nyē)* (l. 30), *Ainātiaṅgha* (l. 34) and *amait(emin)* (l. 35). For medial *u*, also, there are two signs, one is the ordinary sign for *u* with a rounded curve to the left, as, *e.g.*, in *pāntu* (l. 21) and *bhāvaut(d)-ushadāsu* (l. 21), while the other is indistinguishable from the sign of *ū*. The sign for *Avagraha* has also been used, though only once, in *pratiprā(pā)ditaḥ(tō)-'smat* (l. 42). The *Anusvāra* is marked in two ways: (1) by the usual dot on the top of the letter as in *bhinam(anam)* (l. 4), or in *itham(tham)* (l. 8) and (2), occasionally, with a dot and a hook below it both added to the right of the letter as in *a[ja*]srām* (l. 19) and *Phāṅkāyām* (l. 31). It may be noted that the latter sign has been used only at the end of a *pāda* or a verse.

The grant is written in incorrect **Sanskrit** prose and verse and has been very carelessly incised, so much so that, not only have many words been wrongly spelt but letters and even words have been left out in several places. Words like *vishaika* (l. 40) (for *vaishayika*), *Dikhida* (l. 39) (for *Dikshita*), *Vachchha* (l. 40) (for *Vatsa*), *rishi* (l. 49) (for *rishi*), *tāmera°* (l. 42) (for *tāmra°*), found

[1] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 293 ff.
[2] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 101 ff.

in the text are evidently Prākritic. The portion showing the boundary of the gift village is written in a vernacular which appears to contain a mixture of Telugu and Oriya.

As regards **orthography** the following points may be noted. *Ba* and *va* are not distinguished. A consonant is usually doubled in conjunction with a superscript *r*, but exceptions are also found: *e.g.*, *dayālur-narapatir-* (l. 22), *pradarpād* (l. 30), *kala(kāla)gair-bhūta°* (l. 18), *etc.* Final *m* is changed into *ṁ* in *-valārām* (l. 23), *prāptavām* (l. 27), *-bhāvām* (l. 30), *etc.*; *ṅ* is used in *prāṅśu* (l. 6), *Kaliṅga* (l. 8), *etc.*, side by side with *ṁ* in *vaṁśe* (l. 15), *kalaṁka* (l. 16), *etc.* Vowel *ṛi* is wrongly used for *ri* in *saṁśritas-Tṛivar°* (l. 31), *tribhuvana* (l. 5), *dharitri* (l. 15), *etc.* *Rēpha* has been dropped in many places and in all such cases the following consonant has invariably been left undoubled; as, *e.g.*, *kōmalas va(ba)ddhā°* (ll. 1-2), and *dalalita* (l. 18). *Visarga* has been wrongly used in *ivaḥ* (l. 1), *vyatikaraḥ* (l. 3), *apiḥ* (l. 11), and worngly dropped in *kuśikā* (l. 3), *-sa(ba)ddha* (l. 7), *bhuvā* (l. 9), *ārādhita* (l. 10), *prabhu* (l. 12), *-ādhāra* (l. 18), *etc.* Other errors and peculiarities have been noticed in the foot-notes accompanying the text.

The grant was issued by the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Śrīmad-***Dharmarājadēva** *alias* **Mānabhīta** of the Śailōdbhava family from the fortress (*kōṭa*) of Alatāsaṅghapura in the Kōṅgōda-*maṇḍala*. Its **object** is to register the gift of the village Nivinā, situated in the Khiḍiṅgahāra-*vishaya*, to a Brāhman Savaridēva Dīkshita of the Vachchha (Vatsa)-*gōtra*, the Pañcharshi-*pravara* and *anupravara*, Chhandōgya-*charaṇa* and the Kauthuma school (of the Sāmavēda). Lines 42-46 give in detail the boundaries of the gift village. In l. 47 an additional grant of two *timpiras* [1] (of land?) seems to have been made. The *Dūtaka* seems to have been an *akshapaṭalika* but his name is not preserved. The seal was fixed (*lāñchhita*) by Jayasiṁgha. The name of the engraver is not legible.

Besides the present grant only five other complete records of the Śailōdbhava kings are known.[2] They are (1) the Ganjām Plates [3] of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja, (2) the Khurdā Plates [4] of Mādhavarāja, (3) the Buguḍa Plates [5] of Mādhavavarman, (4) the Pārikud Plates [6] of Madhyamarājadēva and (5) the Kōṇḍēḍḍa Grant [7] of Dharmarāja. Of these, the first two are written completely in prose and the rest, like the present record, are composed partly in prose and partly in verse. Many of the verses found in this record also occur in the Buguḍa, Pārikud and the Kōṇḍēḍḍa Plates.

In the grant under publication, the portion containing the date (l. 47) reads: *Saṁvat* [*Vai*]*śākha-sudi-prathama-paksha-daśa*[*myā*°]. Probably we have to restore the commencement as *Saṁvat* [9°]. From an examination of the plate it becomes clear that the broken space would not allow any numerical sign to be incised before *Vai°*, the whole space being covered by the partly

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[1] The word occurs also in the Pārikud Plates (l. 44) in the form *timpira* which Banerji read as *himsira*. Its meaning is not clear. The expression *dvādaśa-timpira-pramāṇā* in the Pārikud Plates suggests that the word refers to measurement of land.

[2] There are also two incomplete records of this dynasty, *viz.*, (1) Puri Second Plate of Mādhavavarman-Sainyabhīta *alias* Śrīnivāsa, (the Bengali monthly) *Sāhitya* for the year 1319 (B. S.), p. 695 and pl. and (2) Tekkali Plate of the time of Madhyamarāja (III) (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 165 ff.). The latter mentions four other rulers after Dharmarāja. I may mention here in passing that the Plate shows the reading ...rāja ... in l. 19. Thus the name should be Allaparāja who was the uncle's son of Raṇakshōbha and not a son of Madhyamarāja (II), as understood by H. P. Shastri. *Cf.* Mr. V. Misra (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 178 ff.) and Mr. S. Rajaguru (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. VII, pp. 165 ff.). Here it may incidentally be remarked that Mr. Rajaguru's reading of the date in the Puri Plates is incorrect. The date is evidently regnal.

[3] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff. and Plates.

[4] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIII, pt. i, pp. 282 ff.

[5] Above, Vol. III, pp. 41 ff. and Vol. VII, pp. 100 ff. and Plates.

[6] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 284 ff. and Plates.

[7] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 267 ff. and Plates.

missing vowel sign in this letter. Moreover, the signs for the numerical figure 9 and the final *t* are so much alike that it is not impossible that the scribe finding two similar signs on the document omitted one of them, either through inadvertence, or because of his not understanding its significance. If this supposition is correct, then the **date** of the inscription would be the **second day of the bright fortnight of the 9th year of the reign of Dharmarāja.**

In our present state of knowledge it is not possible to determine the exact dates of all the Sailōdbhava rulers. The only certain date about this dynasty is found in the Ganjām Plates of G. E. 300 (=619-20 A.D.). In the other dated inscriptions either the reading of the date is uncertain, or only the regnal year is given. According to Kielhorn,[1] the Buguḍa Plates should, on palæographic grounds, be placed in the 10th century A.D. If this scholar is right in his assumption, then the rulers mentioned in the Khurdā and the Ganjām Plates are to be regarded as remote ancestors of the homonymous rulers mentioned in the Buguḍa and other Plates. But in that case we have to admit that no history of the dynasty is available for three centuries or more. In spite of the apparent palæographic difficulty, can it not be possible that Mādhavarāja Sainyabhīta of the Ganjām and the Khurdā Plates may be identical with Mādhavavarman Sainyabhīta of the Buguḍa Plates? But to accept this view we have to assign long rules to Mādhavavarman and some of his successors.

There may also be another ground in dating the Buguḍa grant to an earlier period. Both in the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant and the present record mention is made of a king Trivara,[2] an ally of the rebel Mādhava who was probably a younger brother of Dharmarāja. Both Mādhava and his ally were defeated by Dharmarāja at Phāsikā as a result of which Mādhava is said to have died broken hearted near the Vindhyapāda. We do not know of any ruler of the name of Trivara from inscriptions. But we know of one Mahāśiva Tīvaradēva belonging to the Sōmavaṁśī rulers of Mahākōsala. Two of his inscriptions are known which are dated in the regnal years 7 and 9. Palæographically, these inscriptions have been assigned to the 8th century A.D.[3] The name Trivara of the present record and the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant may have been sanskritised from the wrongly supposed Prakrit form of Tīvara and, if he is the same as the ruler of Mahākōsala, the present record as well as the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant should be assigned to the 8th century A.D. It may be possible that Mādhava, when defeated at Phāsikā, sought the help of the neighbouring powerful king of Mahākōsala, and, having been defeated for the second time, was forced to leave his own country, take shelter in that of his ally and to spend his last days somewhere near the Vindhyapāda (Satpurā range), which was, at that time, within the realm of Tīvaradēva. In that case the Pārikud grant may have to be placed towards the end of the 7th or the early part of the 8th century of the Christian era and in spite of the apparent palæographic difficulty the Buguḍa and the Ganjām Plates might have to be assigned to one and the same ruler.

It is to be noted that in the Ganjām Plates of Mādhavarāja II, he is stated to be a feudatory of Śaśāṅka. In the Pārikud Plates, Madhyamarājadēva bears no titles of a supreme ruler, though he is stated to have performed the Aśvamēdha sacrifice. This last incident shows that he claimed the rank of a *Chakravartin*. In the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant the horse sacrifice is referred to (l. 43), though neither Madhyamarāja, nor his son and successor Dharmarāja, bears any titles of a paramount

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[1] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 100 f.

[2] The name has been read as Srīvara in the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant, but I would ascribe the *s* to *sandhi*.

[3] His date will be about the middle of the 8th century if Prof. Bhandarkar is right in his assumption that Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanjān Plates of Amōghavarsha I (Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 243 ff.) as being defeated by the Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III, was the ruler of Mahākōsala. We know of only one Chandragupta in this family who was the son of Nannadēva and consequently a brother of Tīvaradēva whom Chandragupta appears to have succeeded.

sovereign. But in the present grant Dharmarāja is given the titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* which were borne by independent rulers alone. In our present knowledge of the history of Orissa, it is difficult to say definitely whose subordinates the Śailōdbhavas were after the rule of Śaśāṅka was at an end, but it is not impossible that sometime after the breaking up of Harsha's empire Madhyamarāja declared independence and his successor used all the titles befitting an independent ruler. I cannot, however, account for the omission of such titles in the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant.

It appears that there has been, from the beginning, a misconception regarding the names of certain Śailōdbhava rulers. The name read as Yaśōbhīta till now, should correctly be Ayaśōbhīta. It was pointed out in the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant[1] that in l. 22 the plate read *narapatir-Ayaśōbhīta*. This reading is authenticated by the present grant also. Banerji's correction[2] into *narapatiścha Yaśōbhīta* is thus not justified. Wherever this name occurs the *sandhi* seems to have been overlooked. Even Dr. Hultzsch appears to have done this for, in the Ganjām Plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja, he changed the reading into *Mahārāja-Yaśōbhīta* although the inscription gave it quite correctly as *Mahārāj-Ayaśōbhīta*.[3]

When Professor Kielhorn first published the Buguḍa Plates he was under the impression that Mādhavavarman was the son of Sainyabhīta (II). Dr. Hultzsch pointed out that Sainyabhīta was only a surname of Mādhavavarman II[4]. In the same way, there is nothing in these inscriptions to show that Yaśōbhīta, *i.e.*, Ayaśōbhīta and Madhyamarāja were different persons. Mr. R. D. Banerji in his article on the Pārikud Plates, though accepting the analogy of the Buguḍa Plates, was of the opinion that Madhyamarāja was probably a son of Yaśōbhīta[5] (*i.e.*, Ayaśōbhīta) II, while Mr. Y. R. Gupte writing on the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant presumed, on the same analogy, that Yaśōbhīta was the surname of Madhyamarāja, though he was unable to prove his point. The difficulty of both the scholars was due to the misunderstanding of a passage in the text. The last *pāda* of verse 12 in the present inscription, which occurs in other grants also, was wrongly read by Banerji as *Madhyamarājadēva-guṇa-dhṛid-rājyaṁ pituḥ prāptavān* while the correct reading is *rājyē-pi tat-prāptavān*. The verse under reference simply means that the sages leave their homes and perform various austerities in seeking after *divya-pada* while Ayaśōbhīta II got the same abode, *i.e.*, *mōksha* in his own kingdom.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the grant **Kōṅgōda** has been identified by Kielhorn with *Kung-yü* (or *yu*) *t'o* of Yuan Chwang. Cunningham identified Kōṅgōda, the capital city of the province of the same name, with Ganjām while Fergusson placed it 'somewhere between Kuttack and Aska'[6] in the Ganjām district. We find from his records that the Chinese pilgrim journeyed south west from the Oḍa country, through a forest, for over 1,200 *li* and reached *Kung*

[1] Above, Vol. XIX. p. 268, note 2.

[2] Above, Vol. XI. p. 285, l. 21.

[3] On the same analogy it may be possible that the name in l.12 should be read as Araṇabhīta. In fact, the internal evidence of the grants of this dynasty shows that the names should be Ayaśōbhīta and Araṇabhīta. In Khurdā Plates we find *Śrī-Sainyabhītasya pautra* (*pautraḥ*) *pravara-ripu*[illegible]*-yaśasaḥ sutatam-Ayaśōbhītasya* *śrīmatō-Yaśōbhītasya* etc. Similarly *cf.* verse 8 of the present grant and note the expression *yathārtha-nāmā*. For Araṇabhīta *cf.* verse 6 in the text of the present record where this bravery in battle is described. (It may, however, be pointed out that the Ganga king Hastivarman appears to have borne the *biruda* of Raṇabhīta—Above, Vol. XVII, p. 332.). In the case of Sainyabhīta we probably have to take the name as a *bahuvrīhi* compound (Pāṇini, II. ii. 23-24) meaning thereby 'of whom the army was afraid.' The epithet *pratāpa-vitrāsita-dri-sainya* given to Sainyabhīta in the Khurdā Plates, seems to confirm this explanation.

[4] Above, Vol. VI. p. 144, note 1.

[5] Above, Vol. XI. p. 283.

[6] See Watters, On Yuan Chwang's travels in India, Vol. II. p. 197.

yu-t'o. As the inscriptions of the Śailōdbhava dynasty mentioning Kōṅgōda-*maṇḍala* have been found at Cuttack, Khurdā, and Ganjām, we may well conclude that all these places were within the province of Kōṅgōda. In all probability the province extended from the southern bank of the Mahānadī and included within it the northern portion of Ganjām. The country outlying the northern bank of the Mahānadī was probably the *Wu-t'a* or Oḍa (Skt. Oḍra) of Yuan Chwang, while the southern part of Ganjām was within the Kaliṅga territory. According to the same pilgrim the capital city of *Kung-yu-t'o* was a hilly country bordering on a bay of the sea. The Ganjām Plate of Śaśāṅka mentions that it was situated on the bank of the Śālimā river. I have not been able to find the name elsewhere. The trace of the ancient name may, however, be found in the small river Sāliā which is fed by the Chilkā lake.[2] This part of the country would answer well to the description of the Chinese pilgrim. But at present no place recalling the name of Kōṅgōda is found on the bank of this river. The village Koṅkōda situated in the Rāmagiri Agency of the Ganjām district, however, reminds us of the ancient name of Kōṅgōda, though the former could not have been the site of the capital city mentioned by Yuan Chwang.

Of the other place-names mentioned in the present record the name of the *vishaya* of **Khiṇḍiṅgahāra** may be recognised in the village Khiḍiṅgi in the Kudala *taluk* of the Ganjām district while **Nivinā** is undoubtedly the village of Ninmina in the same *taluk* where the plates were found.

TEXT.[3]

[Metres : Vv. 1, 4 and 12, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 2, 10, 11 and 14, *Sragdharā* ; vv. 3, 6, 7, 9 and 13, *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 5 and 15-17, *Anushṭubh*.]

First Plate ; Reverse.

1 Oṁ[4] svasti || Indrōr(ndōr)-ddhauta-mṛiṇāla-[tantubhi]r-iva(va) śliṣh[ṭa]ḥ karai[ḥ*] kōma-
lai-

2 [r*]-va(ba)ddh-āhēr-aruṇa(ṇai)ḥ sphurat-phaṇi-maṇai(ṇē)[r-ddigdha]-prabhā[śō-ṇ]ā(u)liḥ [|*] [Pārvvatyā[ḥ*] sa-kacha-

3 graha-vyatikara(ra)-vyākṣipta-va(ba)ndha-ślathā Gaṅg-āmbha[ḥ-pluti-bhinna-bhasma-kaṇi]-kā[ḥ*] Śambhōr-jjaṭā[ḥ*]

4 pāntu vaḥ || [1 ||*] Srīmāmbhina (Śrīmān-unnchai)r-uṇa(nna)bhast(ta) gurur-Achalapati(teḥ) kahō[bhajid-yaḥ] kshmā[yā] gambhiras-tōya-rā-

5 śēr-atha divasakarā[d*]-bhasma(bhāsva)d-ālōka-kāri(rī) | hlādī sarvvasya ch-ēndōs-tṛi(tri)-bhu[va]na-bhava[na-pra]kāsa-ch-[ā]pi

6 vāyō rājā eva(ṣa) Sthāṇu-mūrttir-jjayati Kali-mala-kshālanō Mādha[vēndraḥ] || [2||*] Prāṅ(ṁ)śur-mmahōtha ka-

7 ra-pīvara-chāru-vā[hā]hu[ḥ*] kṛishṇ-āśva(śma)-sañchaya-viśāla-vivēka-dakshōḥ[6] (|)[7] rā[jīva-[kōmala-dal]-āyata-lō-

8 chan-āntaḥ (|)[7] khyātaḥ Kaliṅga-janitaso(ja-natās-) Pulindasēnaḥ || [3||*] Tān-sthtaṁ(tthaṁ) guṇi[n-āpi] sa[ttva]-mahatō(tā) na-

[1] See *ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 195.

[2] See Indian Sheet Atlas, No. 74 (India and adjacent countries series).

[3] From impressions and the original plates.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] Portions within square brackets are either broken or not clear and have been restored on the authority of other published records belonging to the same family.

[6] Read *sañchaya-vikkhāla-vimla-vakshāḥ*.

[7] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

9 shṭa bhuvvōr-mmaṇḍalam[2] (|)[1] śaktō-yaṁ[3] paripālanāyā(ya) jagataḥ kō nāma [sa*] syād-i[ti |] pratyādishṭa-vi-

10 bh-ūtsavēna bhagavā(m)n-ārādhita(taḥ) [svāśvatam][4] tach-chi[tt-ānu]guṇaṁ vi-(dhitsur-a)disa[d*]=va(vā)ñchhā[m*] Śva(Sva)-

11 yambhū(bhū)[r-a]pi(pi) || [4 ||*] Sa śilā-sa(śa)kal-ā(dbhū)dā[5] tēn-ā[py-ālōkya] dhīmatā [|*] [pa]rikalpitaḥ(ta)-

Second Plate : Obverse.

12 [sad-vaṁśaḥ*] pra[bhu][ḥ*] **Śailōdbhava[ḥ*]** kṛi[ta]ḥ [|5||*] Śailōdbhavasya kula-[jō-**Ra]ṇabhīta** [ā]sīd anā[6]sakṛi-

13 t-kṛitabhiyāṁ vi(dvi)shad-aṁganānāṁ | [yōtanyā(anā)-pravāha[7]-samayē sva-dhīy-ēva[8] sārddham-ā[ka]mpitō naya-

14 na-paksha(kshma)-jalēshu chandraḥ || [6 ||*] Tasy-ābhavad-Viru(bu)dhapāla-samasya sūnuṁ(sūnuḥ) śrī-**Sainya[bhīta]** iti bhūmi-

15 patir-ggarīyā[n *] yaṁ prāpya nāga-ghaṭā-ghaṭa[9]-lav(b)dha-prasāda[10]-vijaya[m*] mumu-[dē*] dharitṛi(trī) | [7||*]Tasy-āpi vaṁś[ē]-

16 shu[11] yathā[r*]tha-nāmō(mā) jātō-**Yaśōbhīta** iti [kshiti*]shaḥ(saḥ) | [yē*]na purudhō[12]-[pi*] śubhē(bhai)ś-charitrē(trair)-nnṛishṭaḥ kalaṁka[ḥ*] kali-nadala-

17 na syāt[13] | [8*||] Jātō-[tha*] tasya tanaya[ḥ sukṛitī samasta*]-sīmantini(nī)-nayana-shaṭpada-puriṇḍarikaḥ(puṇḍarīkaḥ) [|*]śrī-[**Sai]nyabhīta** i-

18 ti bhūmipatir-mmahēbha-kumbhasthali(ī)-dalana-dula(durlla)lit-āsidhārō(raḥ) [||9||*]Kala-yair[14]-bhūta-dhātṛi(trī)-patibhir[15]-u-

19 pachit-ānyai(nē)ka-pāpāvatāraiḥ || nītā[16] yēshāṁ kathā-bhi(pi) pralayam-abhi-matā kīrti-mā(pā)lair-a[ja*]sraṁ [|*]

20 yajña(jñai)s-tair-Aśvamēdha-prabhṛitibhir-amarā lamvitas[17]-tṛip[ti]m-[urvvī]m-udṛipt-ār-ātri(ti)-paksha-kshaya-kriti-paṭu-

21 nā **Śrīnivāsēni(na)** yēnaḥ(na) | [||10||*] Tasy-ōtkhāt-ākhil-ārēr-mmarut(d)-iva [ja]-nan-ōdbhāsvat(d)-ushṇāṁ[śu] tējāḥ ||[18] śūrō mā-

22 ni(nī) dayālur-narapatir-**Ayaśōbhītadēvas**-tanūjaḥ | (|)[19] mātaṁgāmn(gān)-yō-ti-tu-[ṅgāṁ]-[20]va(ba)hala-mada-mu-

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[1] This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

[2] Read *s-āśāpaṁ bhuvō maṇḍalaṁ.*

[3] Other inscriptions of this dynasty have *śaktō yaḥ.*

[4] Read *śāśvataṁ.*

[5] Read *-śakal-ōdbhūtē.*

[6] Read *anāsakṛi-*

[7] Read *-prabōdha-.*

[8] Read *-dhīy-aiva.*

[9] Read *saṅka-hata nāga-ghaṭā-sughaṭita-.*

[10] On the impression the last syllable looks like 'daṁ. But what looks like an anusvāra is only a hole in the plate.

[11] The Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant reads: *vaṁśē-tha.*

[12] Read *puruḍhō-.*

[13] Read *Kali-darpaṇasya.*

[14] Read *Kāliṅgair=.*

[15] There are traces of another sign before *pa.* Either it was a mark of punctuation wrongly put or the plate read *uripati* by mistake.

[16] Read *-pāp-āvatārair=anītā.* The marks of punctuation before *nītā* are unnecessary.

[17] Read *lambhitās=.*

[18] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

[19] The marks of punctuation are unnecessary.

[20] Read *°ṅgān.*

Second Plate ; Reverse.

23 shā(cha)ś-chāru-vaktrām(ktrān) prachaṇḍā[ṁ](ṇḍān) vaddh-āmarshati khinaṁ[1] punar-api navatē yat-kṛitaṁ(taḥ) sampragalbhā(bhaḥ)[2] [|| 11 ||*]

24 Kēchid-vri(va)nya-mṛigēṇa sārddha[3][m*] ramatē(ntē) tatām(thā) sthiti[4]-līlayaḥ(yā) |[5] kēchit(ch)-chōrddh[v*]a-mukhā mayūkha[6]-

25 kiraṇa-jvāl-āvali-prēkshaṇaḥ(ṇāḥ) [|*][7] kēchit śaila-guhōdarēshu niratā[8] dhūm-āvali(ī)-pāi(yi)na[ḥ*] a-

26 nē(nyē) vāyu-phal-āmvu(bu)-bhaksha-niratā[ḥ*] kēchi[n*]-ni(ni)r-āhārakāḥ | i[t*]-tham yōga-jushō vihāya vasati[ṁ*]

27 dhyāyanti divyaṁ padaṁ |[6] chitran(n)Madhyamarājadēva-triguṇām-dhrid rājyam pi[9] tat-prāptavām(vān) ||[12]||Tasy-ābha-

28 vat-sakala-śāstra-viśēsha-vēdī | [1] śrī-**Dharmmarāja** iti sūnur-adhiti(dhīta)-śās-traḥ | (|)[1] tasy-ā

29 ti-ni(nī)rmmala-yaśaḥ parivardhamāna[ṁ*] pādau Harēr-iū(iva) na māyati martti-lōkyāḥ[10] || [13||*][11] Rājyam lavdhā(bdhvā) pra-

30 darpād-aviganita-tayō[12] Mādhavō j[ē](jyē)shṭha-bhāvām(vān) |[1] tasyā tasmād-apas-tram [13] kṛita-vishama-mati[r*]-vigra-

31 hē Phāsikāyām | yuddha-kahōbhēna(ṇa) la(bha)gnō nṛipatiparam-asau samā ṛi (śri)tas T[(riva)]r-ākhyaḥ[14] |[5] pa-

32 śchāṁ(śchāt)-tēn-āpi sārddham punar-api vijitā(tō) Vindhya-pādēshu jīrṇṇāt (jīrṇaḥ) || [14||*] Śau[ryaṁ] śrīr-yauvanaṁ

33 rājyam-ēkaikya(ka)ṁ mada-mā(kā)rakaṁ | sarvaṁ śrī-**Mānabhitasya** ni[rvi]kār-am-upasthita)(taṁ) || [15||*][15] Ala-

Third Plate ; Obverse.

34 ṭālaṅghapura[16]-kōṭāt | Parama-māhēsvarō mātā-pitṛi-pādānudhyātō(taḥ) Pa-

35 rama-bhaṭā(ṭṭā)rakō Mahārā[jā*]dhirāja[17]-paramēsvara[ḥ*] śrī[ma*]d-**Dharmmar[ā*]-jadēva[ḥ*]** kuśalī || Āsmit[18]-Kōṅgō-

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[1] Read *baddh-āmarsham-akhinnaṁ*.

[2] Pārikud and Kōṇḍōḍḍa grants have *pun-navatē sapragalbhaḥ*.

[3] Pārikud grant reads : *sārddham-acharanti-sthitā*.

[4] What looks like an *anusvāra* above *ti* is merely a depression on the plate.

[5] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

[6] Read *sahasra-kirana-* as in the Pārikud grant.

[7] Pārikud grant has two verses (12-13) in this connection, while Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant omits one. Here we have only the first half of the previous verse and the whole of the latter, the second half of the former being omitted most probably, by oversight. [Reading given in both is wrong. One should expect something like *Ēk chid-*[illegible] *rāmamāṇāṁ tena*—Ed.]

[8] Pārikud and Kōṇḍōḍḍa grants read *niratā*.

[9] Read *dēva-pano-dhṛid rājyē-pi*.

[10] Read *martya-lōkaḥ*. The suggestion to read *sabdaḥ-krita* in the Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant is not correct. In the Tekkali Plate the reading is *na sahyi na martiya-lōkē*. It is to be noted however that the root *mā* (in the Div.ādi group) is [illegible].

[11] Verses 12-14 of the Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant have been omitted from the present record.

[12] In the Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant also the reading is *tayō* which has been wrongly read as '*tapō*'; *taya* has been used here in the sense of 'protection'.

[13] Read with the Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant ; *Āśād-asmād-upāstam*.

[14] Read *Trivar-ākhyaś* or *Tri°* as in the Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant. In the former case, however, the meter suffers.

[15] Kōṇḍōḍḍa grant records two more verses after this.

[16] The reading of the first letter is not very certain.

[17] *Ja* is written in a smaller letter between *rā* and *pa*. Evidently it was inserted later, on finding out the error.

[18] Read *Asmin*-

NIVINA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF DHARMARAJADEVA.

i



iia



iib



K. N. DIKSHIT. SCALE : TWO-THIRDS. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

iiia

34 36 38 40 42 44 46

iiib

48 50 52

36 da-maṇḍalē śrī-sāmanta-mā(ma)hāsāmanta-mā(ma)hārājanakarājaka[1] - rājaputtrāḥ(tr-ā)
[ntara*]ṅga-daṇḍanā-

37 yaka-[dāṇḍa*]pāšik-ōparika-stakad(ṣṭad)(tadāyuktaka—Ed.)-viniyuktaka-sakaraṇa-vyavahā-
riṇa-nānyāṁś-cha[2] vrā(brā)hmaṇa-

38 purōg-ādi-vēshaika[3]-janapadāṁ(dān) yath-ārha[ṁ*] mānaya[ti*] vō(bō)dhayati jñāpa-
yati viditam astu

39 bhavatām Khiḍiṅgahāra-visha[ya*]-sammaṁdha[4]-Nivinā-grāmāt(maḥ) | [5] Savaridēva-
dikhida ||[5](dīkshita)-

40 bhaṭṭa(bhaṭṭāya) Vachchha(tsa)-gōtrāya pañcha-risha-pravara-anupravarāya[6] Kau-
thuka(ma)-śākhāya Chhandō[7] -charaṇāya

41 mātā-pitrōr-ātmanaś=cha puṇy(ṇy)-ābhivṛi[d*]dhayō(yē) salila-dhārā-pura[ḥ*]sarēṇa
chandr-ārka-kshiti-sama-kāla[m*]=ā-

42 kari(rī)kṛitya tāmvra(mra)-śāṣa(sa)tvē(nē)na pratiprā(pā)dita(tō)='smat[8] na kōchit
(kēnachit) vighātita[vya*]m-iti || grāmasya śimā kata[9]

43 Paschima-diśahi(diśi) Tṛikuṭa Jōḍapāpādi vaṇarāī vālmika-vaṁhka(ṁka)-
sila-vaṇarāi[|*] Uta(tta)ra- diśahi(diśi)

44 Tṛikuṭa | Pāṇi-sākha(?)traimanivāḍhaivaṇ [|*] Uta[10](tta)ra-diśahi(diśi) digha-sila [|*]
Pūvēhi (Pūrvasyāṁ) jōḍavaṇarāi

45 vaḍa[|*]Pūva-utara-kōṇēhi sōmaṇi[10] Tṛikuṭa | Pūva-uakhiṇ[ē]hi sē. . ma Tṛikuṭa |
Pūva-diśahi khō-

46 ḍāḍa[|*]Pūva-dakhiṇa-kōṇahi vāgha-guhu(guhā?) Tṛikuṭa [|*] Dakhiṇa-diśa pavaḍi
sila gāḍi savatiḥ ||

Third Plate; Reverse.

47 'paradvau ṭimpiraḥ[11] || Samvat [9*] [Vai]śākha-sudi-prathama-paksha-dviti[yā *]

48 Uktañ=cha dharmma-śāstrē[|*] Vahubhiḥ (Bahubhir=) [vasu]dhā datām(dattā)
rājā(ja)bhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ[|*]

49 rya(ya)sya yasya yadā bhūmi[s*]=|[12] tasya tasya [tadā phalaṁ] || [16||*] Sva-
dat[t*]āṁ para-dat[t*]āṁ=vā yō ha-

50 rēti(ta) vasundharāṁ[|*] sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=[bhūtvā] pitṛi[bhiḥ*] saha pachyatēḥ
(tē) || [17||*] Itikō(Dūtakō)-

51 tra mahākshapaṭa[la?] . . . . dēvō(vaḥ) [pradhānatama(maḥ) ?] | Lāñchhitaṁ Jayasiṁghēna

52 utkīrṇṇaṁ Chchā[hibhayē ?]naḥ(na) mitiḥ(iti) ||

No. 9.—TWO PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS.

By R. R. Halder, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.

About the beginning of the 10th century A.D. a branch of the Paramāras of Mālwā was founded by Ḍambarasiṁha, the younger brother of Vairisiṁha of Mālwā. The rulers of this

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[1] Read -rājānaka-. [2] Read °kāriṇaś=ch=ānyāṁś=cha. [3] Read -mahāyaka-.
[4] Read -sambaddha-. [5] Daṇḍa unnecessary.
[6] Read pañcharshi-pravar-ānupravarāya. These five ṛishis are: Aurva, Chyavana, Bhārgava, Jamadagnya and Āpnavāna.
[7] Read Chhāndogya-. [8] Read °dhvasmābhir-.
[9] Read sīmā kṛitā. [Kata, disahi, etc. are evidently Prakrit formations.—Ed.]
[10] The first syllable may be read srē.
[11] The meaning of this expression is not at all clear. The sign at the commencement looks like that of an avagraha but it cannot be connected with the previous line.
[12] Daṇḍas unnecessary.

family may be called the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa from the name of the territory over which they ruled and which comprised the present Bānswāra and Dungarpur States. These rulers, who were subordinate to the Paramāras of Mālwā, had for a long time their seat of Government at Uthhūṇaka, the modern Arthūṇā in the Bānswāra State in Rājputāna. The two inscriptions edited below belong to the rulers of this family and were found in the Bānswāra State. These documents, together with the ones already published,[1] throw much light on the history of this branch of the Paramāras.

A.—PANAHERA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASIMHADEVA OF MALWA: [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1116.

This inscription has already been noticed in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1916-17.[2] It is engraved on a stone slab which is built into a wall of the temple of Mandlesar (Maṇḍalēśvara) Mahādēva at Pāṇāhēṛā in the Bānswāra State of Rājputāna. The slab is broken into pieces and at present only the two sides, right and left, are available, the middle portion being altogether missing.

The inscription is written in the **Nāgarī** characters of about the 11th century A.D. But *ś* in *śva* (l.20) and *ś* in *Īśānēna* (l.2) have forms which are generally found in the inscriptions of an earlier period.[3]

The inscription consists of 38 lines of writing and is written in verse with the exception of a few words in ll.1, 26, 36 and the concluding portion of l.38 which are in prose. The **language** is Sanskrit throughout.

In respect of **orthography** the following points may be noted: *v* and *b* are not distinguished as in *vāndhavā* (l.8), *valavat* (l.15), *etc.*; *s* is used for *ś* in *sundārā* (l.9), *kīsam* (l.11), *sitasi* (l.16), *etc.* and *ś* for *s* in *atr-āśīt* (l.20), *tapaśvī* (l.34), *etc.*; consonants with a superscript or subscript *r* are usually doubled as in *yair mmukha-* (l.12), *darppō* (l.14), *-ādhāttri* (l.11), *pattra* (l.13), *etc.*; *anusvāra* is used for nasals in *śaśāṁka-* (l.2), *bhujaṁga* (l.3), *etc.* as well as at the end of stichs and hemistichs as in *mahāmalaṁ* (l.26), *phalaṁ* (l.33), *etc.*

The inscription is a *praśasti* of the Paramāra kings of Mālwā and their subordinate rulers, the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa. It consists of two parts: the first part in 25 verses is given to the Paramāras of Mālwā and the other part, beginning from verse 26, to those of Vāgaḍa. Its **object** is to record the foundation of the temple of Maṇḍalēśvara (Śiva) at **Pāṁsulākhēṭaka** (Pāṇāhēṛā) and various endowments in that connection, by the Paramāra ruler **Maṇḍalīka**. After the usual praise of the god Śiva in the first five verses, the inscription gives, in verse 6, the familiar legend of the origin of the Paramāra family from the sacrificial fire on the Arbuda mountain. It then describes the army of some king, evidently an early Paramāra ruler, and the scene of a battle (vv. 7-9). **Muñjadēva** is then mentioned (v. 10) who is said to have won victory in a battle (v. 12). **Sindhurāja** is spoken of in verse 13 and his army is extolled in this as well as in the next two verses. Verse 16 states that from him sprang a king whose name is not preserved in the inscription but which was most probably **Bhōjarāja**. The next four verses are devoted to the

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 80 and above, Vol. XIV, pp. 297 ff.
[2] Pp. 2 f.
[3] Above, Vol. IX, p. 200 and Vol. XVIII, p. 98.

praise of this king and his army. King **Jayasiṁha** is mentioned in verse 21 and the splendours of his army are likewise described, while his superiority and control over other kings are spoken of in the next four verses. Here ends the first part of the inscription.

The second part commences by saying that in the Paramāra family was born **Dhanika**, who built the temple of Dhanēśvara near Mahākāla (*at Ujjain*) (vv. 26-27). After him, his brother's son **Chachcha** became king (v. 28). Verse 29 tells us that a ruler of the same family, whose name is lost in the present portion of the record, gave battle to **Khōṭṭigadēva** at **Khalighaṭṭa** on the bank of the Rēvā (Narmadā) in the cause of **Sīyaka** and went to heaven. Verse 31 introduces **Satyarāja** who is said to have received a fortune from king **Bhōja** and fought with the **Gūrjaras**. He married **Rājaśrī** of the Chāhamāna family from whom was born **Limbarāja** (vv. 32-33). His (*i.e.*, Limbarāja's) younger brother was **Maṇḍalika**, who took General **Kanha** prisoner and handed him over to **Jayasiṁha** (vv. 34-37). Maṇḍalika is glorified in verse 39 and is said to have built the temple of Maṇḍalēśvara (Śiva) at Pāṁśulākhēṭaka (vv. 45-47). This king Jayasiṁha is said to have assigned to the god, *for defraying the expenses of worship*, one *viṁśōpaka*[1] on every bull (*that passed*) on the road and also some land at Pāṁśulākhēṭaka. Maṇḍalika also granted to this temple, for his own spiritual welfare, some lands and a garden behind Nagna-*taḍāga* and (*the temple of*) Varuṇēśvarī together with some rice-fields as well as lands in the villages of Naṭṭapāṭaka, Pānāchhī and Maṇḍaladraha (vv. 47-52). The **date** is given at the end as **Vikrama-Saṁvat 1116** (A.D. 1059). The inscription was engraved by Āsarāja, son of Kāyastha Śrīdhara of Valabhī.

As to the **personages** spoken of in the inscription, kings Sīyaka, Muñjadēva, Sindhurāja, Bhōjadēva and Jayasiṁhadēva are the well known Paramāra rulers of Mālwā. Up till now only one copper plate inscription[2] dated V. 1112 (A.D. 1055) of the time of Jayasiṁha (I) has been discovered, so this inscription carries his reign to a further period of some four years. Among the rulers of Vāgaḍa, Dhanika, Chachcha, Satyarāja, Limbarāja and Maṇḍalika are mentioned in the inscription. The names of Kaṅkadēva and Chaṇḍapa, the two rulers after Chachcha, which are found in the Arthūṇā Inscription of V. 1136[3] are not preserved in the present record. The battle fought against Khōṭṭigadēva at Khalighaṭṭa (v. 29) is evidently the one mentioned in the Arthūṇā Inscription of V. 1136 (verse 19) as being fought by Kaṅkadēva against the Rāshṭrakūṭa king of Karṇāṭa.

From verse 36 of the present record, Maṇḍalika who is called Maṇḍaladēva in the Arthūṇā Inscription, appears to have been the feudatory of King Jayasiṁhadēva (I) of Mālwā.

Many of the **localities** mentioned in this inscription may be easily identified. Thus **Pāṁśulākhēṭaka** (vv. 39, 46) is the village of Pāṇāhēṛā where the inscription was found. **Naṭapāṭaka** (v. 50) is the village called Nāṭāwāṛā lying about two miles to the west of Pāṇāhēṛā. **Dēulapāṭaka** is the modern Dēlwāṛā situated about 4 miles south-west of Jagapurā. **Bhōgyapura** is the village Bhagōrā which stands about 3 miles to the north-west of Pāṇāhēṛā. **Pānāchhī** is now called Pānāl and is situated at a distance of about 4 miles from Pāṇāhēṛā. **Maṇḍaladraha** is Māḍaldā of the present day and is about 4 miles to the west of Nāṭāwāṛā. **Nagna-taḍāga** (v. 48) is a tank called Nāgēlātalāva and is to be seen at the foot of the temple of Maṇḍalēśvara at Pāṇāhēṛā. **Khalighaṭṭa** (v. 29) was evidently the name of a ford on the bank of the Narmadā. I am unable to identify the other localities mentioned in the inscription.

[1] For the meaning of this word see above, Vol. I, p. 166.

[2] Above, Vol. III, p. 46.

[3] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 297 ff.

TEXT.[1]

[Metres :—Vv. 1, 2 (?) and 52, *Āryā* ; vv. 3-6, 8, 11, 13-15, 23, 26, 29, 31, 32, 39 and 60, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 7 and 16, *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 9, 10, 12, 17, 18, 22 and 33, *Sragdharā* ; vv. 19, 20, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 34, 36, 37, 44-51, 53-59 and 61, *Anushṭubh* ; v. 21, *Mālinī* ; v. 35, *Śālinī* ; v. 38, *Upajāti* ; vv. 40-43, *Toṭaka*.]

1 [2]ओं ओं नमः शिवाय ॥
धृतगगनबिंदुपदः शैलसुताग्रासभंजिकासुभगः । जयति जगत(त्)प्र-
मंडपमूलस्तंभो महादेवः ॥१[॥*] जयति शिवो यन्मू[र्धि] . . . .
. . . .[।*]— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —[॥२॥]— —
— ◡ ◡ —[श—]

2 शांककलया सद्यः प्राप्यामृतं
वामः प्राप्य सुरो जगाम गरलग्रामादघोरः सुखं ।
ईशानेन समुद्रमंथनविधौ नेत्रोद्धृतः पश्चगो— — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡
◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ —[॥३॥*]— — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡
— — — ◡ — — ◡

3 तेदूर्मैस्मैसमिलिताः पुनश्च दलिताग्चूडेंदुलेखांशुभिः । भूयः स्फारभुजंग-
भोगश्र(ग)वलग्राशोर्मिभिः संसृताः शंभोः पांतु कठोरकंठ ◡ ◡ —
— — ◡ — — ◡ — [॥४॥*] — — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — —
— ◡ — — ◡ — — — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ —

4 देवे कुटुंबे(बे) हरिः ।
मेनाकाम्बु(म्बो)दयोः श्वसुश्च घने को नाथ मे वर्तते मिथ्यार्थं
भवतः शिवेलगसुताविमो हरः पातु वः ॥५[॥*] यत्राम्बु(म्बो)द
— ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ — — — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ —
◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ —[।*] — — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ [त्रि*]-

5 तो भीमक्रियामक्ले
कुंडाग्ने: परमार इत्यभिधया दिव्यः पुमानुत्थितः ॥६[॥*] चाकोट-
कंठभुजदर्पकठोरवैरिकंठास्थिनिर्दलनदंतुरखड्ग[धारः।*]— — ◡ — ◡ ◡
◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — —
[॥७॥*]— — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡

6 मध्ये संज्ञापनार्थं मृद-
ङ्गचंडोड्डामररावरवचकुभि ढामाहिते दुंदुभौ । येषुः पोलुघटातुरंगम-

[1] From an impression.

[2] Expressed by a symbol. [It is preferable to read the symbol as *siddham*.—Ed.]

चमूसंघट्टदर्पोत्कटाः सामन्ताः कटकाय — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ —
— ◡ —[॥८॥*]— — — — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ —
— ◡ नेत्रैर्व्वितालैः स्नातुकामै-

7 रनवि(वि)गततलाम्तस्य युद्धस्थलीषु ।
दोर्द्दण्डोद्दण्डखड्गाहतकरटिघटाघोरकंकालकूला: भयः कीनाशनद्यः स्फुटित-
नरशिरःपङ्क — — ◡ — —[॥९॥*]— — — — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — — [उद्य]द्विद्वंठपीठस्फुटविमलदर्शाञ्च-

8 ज्ञसंग्रामरंग: ।
राजा श्रीमुंजदेवः समभनि क्षतिनां बां(बा)धवो यस्य कीर्त्तिः
कुंजे कुंजे गिरीणां प्रकटितपुलकं गीयते किन्नरीभिः [॥१०॥*]
— — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ — — —
— ◡ [म]ब्बातरेण मनसा चां(चं)चत्कृपाणमंडलः ।

9 तेभि(ऽ)नंतरमेव सौख्यमतुलं तुच्छामपश्यन्नत्रो
त्वंगत्तु(त्तुं)गत्तु(तु)रंगनिष्ठुरखुरक्षोदोद्धतैः पांसुभि ॥११[॥*] मुंडा(मुण्डा)रा
डाकिनीनां [च] ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — — — —
— — ◡ — —[श्र]तकरटिघटाः सत्वरं जित्वरेण । येन्या(ना)-

10 दीयन्त मूर्ध्नि स्फुरदसिसलिलं पातयित्वारिसैन्ये
स्तद्व(ध्र)खीणां रटंप्र(द्रु:) श्रुतवदनपलासीधवो यौद्व(द्धु)कंठाः ॥१२[॥*]
रंभावा(द्या)[इ?] ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ — — —
— ◡ ◡ — पराक्रमनिधिः श्रीसिंधुराजो नृपः । भेजे यस्य

11 विसर्प्पिकुंजरघटासंघट्टहेलानम-
द्वासोमंडलभारधारणपरिक्लेसं(शं) भुजंगीश्वरः ॥१३[॥*] कः स्यातुं क्षमते
पराक्रम- — — — ◡ — — ◡ — — — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡
◡ ◡ [ते]प्रोद्दामगर्व्वं वचः ते दृप्यंतु क[बंध]नामरिप-

12 वः सौ(शौ)र्यप्रतिस्पर्द्धया
दध्रे येर्म्मुख एव यस्य यस(श)सा विवासितः कालिमा ॥१४[॥*]
आता यागसमंजसा भवत[ला]दुम् ◡ — — ◡ — — — — ◡ ◡ —
◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — [य*]हा स्तद्वे यादृसं(शं) । कु(क्रु)त्वा यद्गज-
दंडपीडितधनु-

13 ष्टंकारसाराङ्गनं
गाढायाचिंडपानद्ध: परमभूदे(दि)त्यैव विद्वेषिणां ॥१५[॥*] तस्मादजायत

[8] Read कुतश्चन.

सरोरुहपत्रनेत्रो विद्यानि[धि:*] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — [।*]
— — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ मंडलपाणदंडव्यापारवीर(र)नविदग्धभुजो नरें-

14 द्र: ॥१६[॥*]
सर्पल्लुहामदर्पोत्कटकरटिघटामेदुरे यस्य सैन्ये मेदिन्यामन्तरायासमसहम-
रधुरां धर्तुमुद्वर्तुकाम: । — — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑
— — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — कर्षी मनीव्यथाभि: कमठानि निकृत:(त:)
प्रागशेषन्तु

15 [शे]ष: ॥१७
[॥*] यस्मिन्नुर्व्वीं विजेतुं प्रचलति च(ब)लवत्तुंगमातंगसैन्यक्षोभक्षीण-
प्रवाहा: प्रसभविलनतिलीमंडपोड्डीनवंशा: [।] — — — — ⏑ — — ⏑
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — वैरिस्रोता(ता)स्यपूरैर्ब्बहु
ससभव(व)न्तोपि कूपा:

16 [श]निक्षा: ॥[१८॥*]
दर्शयन्नात्मनो रूपं विद्याश्र(स्र)विमविभ्रमै: । यस्तलापांव(बु)दो
भूत्वा का(दा)नवर्षी प्रजास्वभूत् ॥१९[॥*] भुक्ता भि(श्रि)रसि प्र नूपां
स्वप्न . . . . ⏑ — ⏑ . . [।*] . . . . ⏑ — — . . . .
. . . . . . ⏑ — रियं ॥ २०[॥*] तमनु विनतभूभृच्चक्रचूडार्च्चितां-
घ्रि: प्रतप-

17 ति जय[सि]ह: पार्थिवो माय(न)वानां ।
चटुलतुरगसेनापांशुभिर्य: प्रयाति अनुघयति चतुर्णामर्णवानां पयांसि
॥२१[॥*] यद्रा(द्दा)ह्व: श्रौ(शौ)र्यवेगो ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ —
— ⏑ — — — — — — ⏑ — — [अ०]मरयुवतिभि: क्रीयंते
पुष्पवष्या । हेलाकृष्टासिदंडाहतसु-

18 भटघटाकंधकंडा[1]स्रखंड-
प्रयोतद्रक्तधाराप्लुतसमरधराव्हतलत्वं(वं)ध: ॥२२[॥*] ना: कंडुश-
कपोलकेलिकषणाभ्यस्तकठोर[द्रुमा*] — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑
— — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [।*] दोर्दण्डविमाकदंब(न)रवाणसंघाभिघाराकले
दाम्न(म्ना)व्यांति वि-

19 पच्चवारणघटा: संग्राममोमाश्रया: ॥२३
[॥*] यस्याजौ यमजिह्वाभं खड्गमालोक्य विद्विष: । षमाशेष्याशुच:
का . . . . . म्मुचंति जीवि[तम् ॥२४॥*] . . . . . . ⏑ — — . . . .

[1] Read कंधकंडा.

. . . . ⏑ — ⏑ . . [।*] [त्व*]त्वं प्रणीश्वतविष सुष्टिमत्त्वे निवेसि(शि)तारः ॥२५॥

20 अथाशो(श्रो)त्परमारवं[श]वितती लक्षा(ब्धा)न्व[यः] पार्थिवो नाम्ना श्रीधनिको धनेश्व(श्व)र इव त्यागैककल्पद्रुमः । — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — निज्ञं स्वकीयं वपुः ॥२६॥ श्रीमहाकालदेवस्य निकटे हिमपांडु-

21 रं । श्रीधनेश्वर इत्युच्चैः कीर्त्तनं यस्य राजते ॥२७[॥*] तस्यनामाभवे(व)-त्व(त्त)स्मात्पुत्रस्तनुमंकान्नृपः । रणे . . . . ⏑ — — . . . . ⏑ — ⏑ . . [॥२८॥*] — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — — ख्यया विख्यातः करवालघातदलितद्विड्कुंभिकुंभस्थलः । यः श्री-

22 खोट्टि(ट्टि)कदेवदत्तसमरः श्रीसीयकार्थे कृतो रेवायाः खलिघ[ट्टा]नामनि तटे युध्वा(द्ध्वा) प्रतस्थे दिवं ॥२९॥ . . . . ⏑ — — . . . . ⏑ — ⏑ . . [।*] . . . . ⏑ — — . . . . ⏑ वासितां ॥३०[॥*] आतः[1] कीर्त्तितरंगिणीस(सु)त(सु)चितत्रैलोक्यसीमांतरस्त्यागी

23 सत्यपराक्रमो [गुण*]निधिः श्रीसत्यराजोभवत् । यः श्रीभोजनरेंद्रदत्तविभवः सार्द्धं रणे गूर्ज्जरैः ज्ञात्वा[स] ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [॥३१॥*] — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — माम्यमागीरथीमेत:(तुः) कीर्त्तिषु धाम्मान-मङ्गतां वंशोद्भवा लभ्यते । रा-

24 ज्ञीः सत्यमेव येन सहजन्मीमस्थातिः स्वामिना यस्याः स्यादुपमानमादिपुरुष(षा)पीत[स्त]नी देवकी ॥३२[॥*] तस्या — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ख्यातः श्री लिंव(ब)राजः प्रकटसुभटता(तः) सृष्टिषु य(अ)ग्रकश्यः [।*] सत्यश्री-

25 भूरिदाता नयविनयमहापंडितस्तच्चरित्रः स्वि(स्व)र्गं प्राप्तस्तकिला कलि]युगमथिपदेयिणो निर्दलिला [॥३३*] भोगत्यागी स्वर्गो[त्वा] . . . . ⏑ — ⏑ . :। श्रीमंड-

[1] Correctly अतः. The first syllable is lengthened for the sake of the metre.

लोक इत्यस्य जातुस्यातामभवे(व)न्नृपः ॥२४[॥*] गु(गु)रस्त्यागी मर्मा-
श्रोत्रो वि-

26 पश्चित्

कंदर्पाभः कामिनीचित्तचोरः । सामंतानां मूर्ध्नि दत्तांह्रिरेको
राजत्युर्व्वीमंडले मंडलोकः ॥२४(२५)[॥*] अपि च ॥ भोज . . . .
◡ — — . . . . ◡ — ◡ . . [।*] . . . .
◡ — — . . . . ◡ — ◡ . . ॥२५(२६)[॥*] येना-
द्याय रणे कर्णं दंडाधीसं(शं) कडाव(ब)लं । अर्पितं जयसिंहाय
सा[र्द्ध]

27 गजसमन्वितं(तं) ॥२६(२७)

[॥*] जयत्यसौ श्रीपरमारवंशी यत्र प्रभुः श्रीजयसिंहदेवः । जातः
प्रसा(शा)स्वासु च यस्य तुंगसामंतपूज्य ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — [॥२७(२८)
॥*] — — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ —
भक्त्याकार्यत मंदिरं स्मररिपोस्तत्पांशुलाखेटके । यस्योत्तु(त्तुं)गशिरः-

28 प्रदेशनिहितैर्दीपोत्सवे दीपकै-

र्हैत्तं कलशमंजयंति नयनान्यादायसिद्धश्रियः ॥२८(२९)[॥*] तृण-
मुष्टिमुपाहृतवानपि यः f. ◡ — ◡◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — [।*]
◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — भुवि सोप्यवतीर्य भवेन्नृपतिः
॥३९(४०)[॥*] मरदारुसदालयमोशकृते

29 सुरतेष्यच[नी] दिनमेकमपि । दिवि सर्वमहासुपास्य सि(शि)वं
पुनरत्र महीपतितः प्रभवेत् ॥४०(४१)[॥*] इ(दृ)ढदाम ◡ — ◡ ◡
— ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — [।*] ◡ ◡
वामयतेपि महेंद्रपदंसुरनाथमपि स्वलयेदचिरात् ॥४१(४२)[॥*]

30 यदि पक्वमहेष्टकया तदभिर्व्वरसारस(शि)लाघटितैर्घटयेत् । निखिला-
मरसे(शे)खरघट्टनया निविसे(शे)हिवि उष्टपदोत्तु(त्तुं)गचः ॥४२(४३)[॥*]
. . . . ◡ — — . . . . विधाणाजं ।
प्रासादमत्र माधियं शिव एव करोति यः ॥४३(४४)[॥*]

31 राजा श्री(श्री)जयसिंहेन धर्म्मे देवाय भक्तितः ।
हयमं प्रति भोगार्थं ग्रामं पिसो(शो)पको दत्तः ॥४४(४५)[॥*]

पांसुलाखिटके स्थाने कच्चोक . . ⏑ — ⏑ . . [।*] . . . .
द्वितीयस्तु दत्तः शंभोः स्वभक्तिना(?)॥४५(४६)[॥*] वंदनाख्ये(ऽ)रघट्टे च
भूमे(मि)-

32 भींगद्वयं तथा ।
दत्तं श्रीमंडलीकेन स्वश्रेया(य)य(से) मडेस(श)तः ॥४६(४७)[॥*]
पृष्ठे नन्नतडागस्य वक्षेस्व(श्व)र्यांश्चयेव च । वाटिका सुभगा दत्ता-
. . . . ⏑ — ⏑ . . ॥४७(४८)[॥*] . . . . . एवादितः
कृत्वा यावच्चंद्रदिवाकरौ । भूमिर्दत्ता सकेदारा बुध्वा(बुद्धा)

33 सांसारिकं फलं ॥४८(४९)[॥*]
महापाटकग्रामे भूरन्या देउलपाटके । भीम्यपुरे च ग्रामाख्यामपरा
मंडलद्रहे ॥४९(५०)[॥*] एवमेतेषु ग्रा[मेषु*] . . . . ⏑
[क*]ल्पिता। भूमिः श्रीमंडलीकेन दत्ता श्रीमंडलेश्वरे ॥५०(५१)[॥*]
एतच्च पु-

34 रं ललनानूपुरझंकारसुखरिताभोगं ।
भोगनिमित्तं शंभोर्दत्तं श्रीमंडलीकेन ॥५१(५२)[॥*] पुरेच नलद्रव्यस्य
भूरघट्टादिकस्य च [।*] म . . . . . . ⏑ — — . . . . शः
प्रकल्पितः ॥५२(५३)[॥*] तपस्वो(स्वी) ब्र(ब्र)ह्मचारि(री) यं(यः)[श]चि-
दांता(तो) जितेंद्रि-

35 यः ।
तेनात्र न(स)तिः(तिः) कर्त्तव्या शारिकैः सह सर्व्वदा॥[५४*॥]-श॥
भरतो धुंधुमारश्च कार्त्तवीर्यो शिबिवं(बि)लिः । हरिश्चंद्र(चन्द्र)स्तु
मांधाता नलो वेणनृपाद[यः] [॥५५॥*] . . . . ⏑ — —
. . . . जाताः(ताः) सरपूरिताः । तस्यायुषि परिक्षीणे म[ताः]
कर्ता(कार्त्ती)तिकं पुरं [॥५६॥*]

36 सर्वे[ष*]ह्यस्थिरं सर्वं राज्यमायुर्धनं नृपैः ।
न कोर्त्यं सि(शि)वसंबंधि वस्तु स्तोकं(कम)पि यद्भवेत् [५७॥*] यतः
[।*] भवस्थानात्स्थमत्ता(त्त)न्नादाम्भितं जरजोद[रे] [।*] . . .
. . . . . . ⏑ — — . . . . हरिद्विपः ॥[५८॥*] विसि(शि)ष्टतः ।
पश्चाद्वंसे(शे)य — — विषये भो-

37 क्ता च यो भवेत् ।
तस्यास्माभिः कृताभ्यर्था (र्थ्या) सि(शि)वदत्तं न चालयेत् ॥[५९॥*] यस्ति
मल्लवनीम(श)चक्रमुकुटस्पृष्टाङ्घ्रिपीठस्थितः ।[1] श्रीकोटङ्कचतु[र्भ]-
— ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [।*] [ते*]नैवं स्फुटवर्णपा-
कपटिमप्रौढैः पदार्थै[व(ब)द्धैः] संदृब्धा शुभ-

[1] *Danda is not necessary.*

38 [न:]प्रवो(वो)धजननो शंभोः प्रशस्तिगृंहे ॥[६०॥*]

यावच्चांद्रो कला शंभोर्यावित्ते कूटमंडपे । कीर्त्तिः श्रीमंडलीकस्य तावद-

स्त्वक्षया भुवि ॥[६०'(६१)[॥*] संवत् वि[क्र]म- ११६६ . . .

[वा]नभ्यकायस्थश्रीधरसुतासराजेनेयमुत्कीरिता(र्णा?)[नृ(धृ)डा] ॥

B.—ARTHUNA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VIJAYARAJA: VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1166.

This record was found at Arthūṇā in the Bānswāra state in Rājputāna[1] and is now preserved in the Rājputāna Museum, Ajmer. It consists of thirty-one lines of writing, covering a space of 1′ 7¾″ × 1′. Excepting a few letters, the inscription is well preserved.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of a type which was common in Rājputāna during the period to which the record belongs. The average size of the letters is about ½″. The letter *i* is differently written in lines 15 and 21.

The **language** is Sanskrit throughout. With the exception of a few words at the beginning of l. 1 and at the end of verses 25, 26 and 30, the record is written in verse.

In respect of **orthography** it may be noted that *v* is used for *b* in *vahuśā* (l. 2), *vōdha* (l. 12), *etc.*; *n* for *ṇ* in *nirṇnita* (l. 7); *s* for *ś* in *sāsana* (l. 15), *nasvara* (l. 19), *etc.* and *ś* for *s* in *śalilam* (l. 31). Consonants with a superscript *r* are doubled in *-patr-vvidhana-* (l. 2), *sarvv-āyurvvēda* (l. 7), *etc.* *Anusvāra* is used for nasals in *Maṁḍalika* (l. 2), *-chaṁcharika* (l. 16), *etc.* Rules of *sandhi* have been frequently violated. *Jihvāmūlīya* has been used in lines 29 and 30.

The **subject** of the inscription is the foundation of a Jaina temple and the consecration of the image of Vṛishabhanātha at the town of Utthūṇaka during the reign of **Vijayarāja**, the Paramāra ruler of Vāgaḍa. After paying homage to Vītarāga in verse 1, the inscription records in verse 2 that **Maṇḍalīka** of the Paramāra lineage killed the general **Kanha** and **Sindhurāja**. It then speaks of Maṇḍalīka's son **Chāmuṇḍarāja** as having destroyed the army of the **lord of Avanti** in the **Sthalī** country. Verse 3 speaks of his son **Vijayarāja**, who was a brave and famous ruler and a conqueror of his foes. The inscription then turns to the description of the Jaina family one of whose descendants caused the temple of Vṛishabhanātha to be built. Verses 4-5 inform us that in the territory of Vijayarāja there was a town called Talapāṭaka, the residence of Ambaṭa, a learned Jaina physician and jewel of the Nāgara family. His son was Pāpāka, who knew the whole of Āyurvēda (v. 7). He had three sons, Ālāka, Sāhasa and Lallāka (v. 8). Ālāka was benevolent, well versed in history and a pupil of Chhatrasēna of the Māthura family (vv. 9-11). He had three sons by his wife Hōlā. The eldest was Pāhuka who was well versed in Śāstras and who became a recluse (vv. 12-14). His younger brother was Bhūshaṇa, a pious Jaina whose glories are described in verses 15-19. He had two wives, Lakshmī and Sīlī. By the latter he had three sons, Ālāka, Sādhāraṇa and Śāntimukhya. It was Bhūshaṇa who established this Jaina temple (vv. 20-22). His younger brother was Lallāka. His elder brother Pāhuka had a son named Ambaṭa by his wife Sīukā (vv. 23-24). Verses 25-26 and the prose line between them inform us that an image of Vṛishabhanātha was established by Bhūshaṇa in the town of Utthūṇaka in **the year 1166 of the Vikrama era**, while Vijayarāja was reigning in the province of Sthalī and that the image was consecrated on **Monday, the 3rd day of the bright**

[1] *P. R. A. S. W. C.*, 1909-10, p. 49.

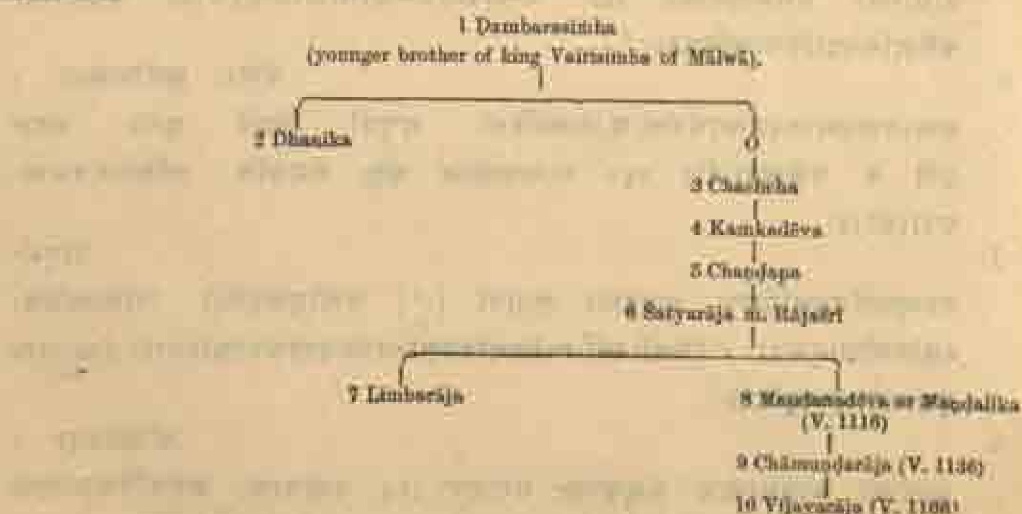
half of **Vaiśākha** of the same year which regularly corresponds to **Monday, the 5th April, 1109 A.D.** The next two verses inform us that 16 verses from the fourth as well as the first verse were composed by the learned Kaṭuka while the rest was the work of Bhāṭuka son of the Brahman Sāvaḍa who was the son of Bhāilla of the Valla family. The *praśasti* was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika* Vāmana, son of Kāyastha Rājapāla of the Vālabha family (v. 29). The inscription was engraved by the *vijñānika* Stamāka. The *praśasti* practically ends with line 26. The next five lines, which seem to have been added later, are herein styled *śāsana-anuśāsana*.[1]

As regards the **personages** mentioned in the inscription, much is already known about Maṇḍalika and Chāmuṇḍarāja from other inscriptions. The inscription A says that Maṇḍalika took general **Kanha prisoner and handed him over to** king Jayasiṁhadēva, whereas in the inscription B he is said to have killed him. Again, in the Arthūṇā inscription of V. 1136,[2] Chāmuṇḍarāja, son of Maṇḍanadēva, is said to have overcome Sindhurāja, whereas in the present record Maṇḍalika is said to have killed him which would be impossible unless the two Sindhurājas were different persons, or the word 'Sindhurāja' was used in the general sense of 'a ruler of Sindhu'. Thus the facts mentioned in inscription A and the Arthūṇā inscription of V. 1136 do not agree with those found in the present record.[3] The former inscriptions are earlier and, perhaps, more reliable than the present record.

Vijayarāja, in whose time this inscription was written, was the last known ruler of the Vāgaḍa branch. No trace has yet been found of his successors. It is known, however, that Vāgaḍa, after a few decades, went under the control of the Guhila king Sāmantasiṁha of Mewār, who established a kingdom there in about V. 1236 (A.D. 1179) and thus became the founder of the present State of Ḍungarpur in Rājputāna.[4]

As to the **places** mentioned in the inscription, **Utthūṇaka** is the modern Arthūṇā which is about 28 miles south-west of Bānswāra. **Talapāṭaka** is now a village called Talavāḍā lying about 12 miles to the south of Bānswāra.

The genealogy of the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa according to the inscriptions now available would stand thus :—



[1] [This, I understand from Muni Puṇyavijaya of Pāṭan, is some small Jaina work.—Ed.]

[2] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 297 ff.

[3] See Dr. Barnett's remarks in the last para. on page 298 of *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIV.—Ed.

[4] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIII, pp. 101 f.

TEXT.[5]

[Metres :—Vv. 1, 13 and 14, *Mālinī* ; vv. 2, 5, 6, 22 and 30, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 3, 25, 26, 31, 32 and 33, *Āryā* ; vv. 4, 11 and 17, *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 7, *Sragdharā* ; vv. 8, 20, 23, 24, 27-29 and 34-38, *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 9 and 10, *Mandākrāntā* ; vv. 12 and 21, *Upēndravajrā* ; vv. 15, 16 and 39, *Śikhariṇī* ; v. 18, *Pṛithvī* ; v. 19, *Hariṇī*.]

1 ओं[6] ॥ ओं नमो वीतरागाय ॥

स जयतु जिनभानुर्भव्यराजीवराजीजनितवरविकाशो दत्तलोकप्रकाशः ।
परसमयतमोभिर्न स्थितं यत्पुरस्तात्क्षणमपि चपलाभ्रद्राविखद्योतकैश्च ॥१॥

2 श्रीमोच्छ्रीपरमारवंशजनितः श्रीमंडलीकाभिधः कान्हस्य ध्वजिनीपतेर्विधमकाच्छो-
भिंधुराजस्य च । जज्ञे कीर्तिलतालवालक इतश्चामुंडराजो नृपो योवंति-
प्रभुसाधनानि ब(व)हुशो हंति स्म

3 देवी स्वसो(श्चाम्) ॥२॥

श्रीविजयराजना[मा] तस्य सुतो जयति जगति विततयशाः । सुभगो
जितारिवर्गो गुणरत्नपयोनिधिः शूरः ॥३॥ देशेऽस्य पत्तनवरं तलपाटकाख्यं
यस्याङ्गनाजनजिता-

4 मरसुंदरीकम् ।

अस्ति प्रशस्तसुरमंदिरवैजयन्तीविस्ताररुद्धदिननायकरप्र[चा]रं ॥४॥ तस्मिन्नाग-
रवंशशेखरमणिर्निःशेषशास्त्राम्बु(म्बु)धिर्जैनेंद्रागमवासनारससुधाविद्धास्थिम[ज्जो]भवत् ।

5 श्रीमानंब(ब)टसंज्ञकः कलिब(व)लिभेत्ता भिक्ष(क्षा)मणीर्गांभीर्येपि निष्कंचितास-
प(प्र)सरो देशव्रतालंकृतः ॥५॥ यस्याशस्यकम्मनिहितमति[नि]ष्ठा घनांतिमत्र-
संतिवालिनदाक्षिताञ्जलिपुटा-[7]

6 वीराः कलोपासनाः ।

यस्यानन्यसमानदर्शनगुणैरन्त[श्च]मत्कारिता शुश्रूषां विदधे सुतेव सततं
देवी च चक्रेश्वरा(री) ॥६॥ पापाकस्तस्य सूनुः समजनि जनितानेकभव्य-
प्रमो(मो)दः

7 प्रादुर्भू-

तप्रभूतप्रविमलधिषणः पारदृश्वा श्रुतानां [।*] सर्व्वायुर्व्वेदवेदी विदितसकल-
कल्यांतलोकानुकंपो ।[8] निर्व्वा(र्वा)ताशेषदोषप्रकृतिरपगदस्तत्पलोकावसारः ॥७॥ तस्य
पुत्रास्त्रयोभूवन्भूरिशा-

8 स्त्रविशारदाः ।

वातकः शालसाल्यश्च लक्ष्मुकाख्यः परोनुजः ॥८॥ दक्षस्तत्राद्यः सहजविशदप्रज्ञया
भासमानः स्वांतादर्शस्फुरितसकलैतिह्यतत्त्वार्थसारः । संवेगादिस्फुटतरगुणस्व-

[5] From the original inscription.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] The strokes are redundant.

[8] Danda unnecessary.

TWO PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS: B. ARTHUNA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VIJAYARAJA, VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1166.

HIRANANDA SASTRI. SCALE: THREE-FIFTH. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

18 इभंयावय[त्रा]दुदतारि च

स्थिरमतिमहात्मात्मा गौनी विभूतिगिरिः शिरः ॥१८॥ दे भार्ये भूवणस्य स्तः

लक्ष्मीश्रीर्गौरितिविश्रुते । पतिव्रतत्वसंयुक्ते चारित्रगुणभूषिते ॥२०॥[।*] स [श्री]-

19 लिकायामुदपादि पुत्रास्त्रयामयोम्यास्गुरुदेवभक्तः ।

पल्लोकमाधारणशांतिमु[ख्या]म्भवंभु(वन्धु)चित्ताब(ज)विकाशभानून् ॥२१॥ पाद्युस्त-

ममशोभमारनिचितस्तोकाम्बु(म्बु)ववस्र(म्र)वं

20 संचिंत्य दिपकर्णचंचलतरां लक्ष्मीच दृष्ट्वा स्थितिं । ज्ञात्वा शास्त्रमुनिश्चया-

त्स्थिरतरं नूनं ⏑ — — ⏑ मी तेनाकारि मनोहरं जिनगृहं सुमेरिदं

भूवणं(णम्) ॥२२॥ भूवणस्य क-

21 निष्ठो(ष्ठः) श्रीवल्लाक इति विश्रुतः ।

देवपूजापरो नित्यं भ्रातुर्वादेशकस्सदा ॥२३॥ ज्येष्ठो(ष्ठः) पाडुकनामा यः श्रीड-

कायामजीजनत् । शुभलक्षणसंयुक्तं पुत्रमष्ट(ष्ट)टसंज्ञकं(कम्) २४[॥*]

22 वर्षशते याते षट्षष्ट्युत्तरशतेन संयुक्ते ।

विक्रमभानोः काले स्थविर(रो)विषयमवति सति विजयराजे ॥२५॥ विक्रम-

संवत् ११६६ वैशाख सु(शु)दि ९ सोमे वृषभनाथस्य प्रतिष्ठा ॥

23 श्रीवृषभनाथनाम्नः प्रति[ष्ठि]तं भूवणेन विंब(बिम्ब)मिदं ।

तद्भूणकनगरेस्मिन्विह जगती(त्यां) वृषभनाथस्य ॥२६॥ युग्मं ॥०॥ तुर्यंहस्ता

समारभ्य हस्ताष्टे(ष्टौ)तानि पोडश । चाथवृन्ने-

24 न युक्तानि ज्ञातव्यानदृको बु(बु)धः ॥२७॥

भाद्रको चन्द्रवंशे(शे)भूत्तत्त्वः श्रीमावडो द्विजः । तत्सूनोर्भाट्टकस्येयं निःशेषाशा-

परा कृतिः ॥२८॥ वालभ्यान्वयकायस्थराजपालस्य

25 सूनुना ।

संधिविग्रहसंस्थेन लिखिता ताम्र[ने]न वै ॥२९॥ यावद्राघवरामयोः सुचरितं

भूमौ जनैर्गीयते ।[1] यावद्विष्णुपदी जलं प्रवहति व्योम्नास्ति यावच्छशी । चक्र-

26 दक्षविनिर्मितं ग्रहगणैः यावत्पु(च्च)लं पत्वाले तावत्कीर्त्ति-

रियं चिराय जयतात्संस्तूयमाना(ना) जनैः ॥३०॥ उत्कीर्णा विज्ञानिकसुमा-

केन ॥ मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥

27 श्रीं ॥ लक्ष्मीनिवासनिलयं विलीनकिल(कलु)षं निधाय हृदि वीरं ।

धात्मानुशाय(य)नमर्च य[स्सो] वायकल्याना[2](?)॥१३(३१) दुःखाडि(डि)भेपि नितराम-

भिवांच्छसि सुखमतोहमध्यात्मन् । दुःखापहारि सुख-

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[1] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

[2] Perhaps we have to read भीचाय रेचार्म(?)]—Ed.

28 कश्मलुमा(श्मा)स्मि न[वा]नुम[त]मेव ॥२(३२) ॥

यद्यपि कदाचिदात्मविपाकमधुरं तदात्वकटु किंचित् । त्वं तस्मान्मा भैषी-र्यथातुरो भेषजादुग्रात् ॥३(३३)॥ जना धनाश्च वाचालाः सुलभाः स्युर्हंसो-त्थिताः । दुर्ल-

29 भा ह्यंतरार्द्रास्ते जगदस(न)भिहोधेव: ॥४(३४)॥

पराधत्तासुखाद्दुःखं स्वायत्तं केवलं वरं । अन्यथा सुखिनामानकृषका[र्ता]-स्तपस्विनः ॥५(३५)॥ उपायकोटिदूरस्थे स्वतस्तत स्वतोऽन्यतः । सर्वतः पतनप्राये

30 काये कोयं तवाग्र्य वः ॥६(३६)॥

यदवश्यं(श्यं) नश्व(श्व)रैरभिराद्युःकायादिभिर्यदि । सास्व(श्वा)तं पदमायाति सुधायातमवेहि ते ॥७(३७)॥ गंतुमुच्छात्मनिःस्वासे[1]रभ्यस्यत्येव संततं । लोकः प्रर्थमितो[2] वांछत्यात्मा-

31 [नमज*]रामरं ॥८(३८)॥

गलत्यायुः प्रायः प्रकटितघटीयंत्रा(न्त्र)सलिलं खलुः(लः) कायोप्यायुः गतिमभिपतत्येव मतत । किमत्र(त्र)न्यैरन्यैर्दयमयमिदं जीवितमिह स्थितो भ्रांत्वानाविल(?)-मिव मनुजे स्वास्थ्य मरणं(णम्)[2] [।*] ९(३९) [॥*]

No. 10.—MATHURA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 28.

By Sten Konow.

In a field opposite the Chaurāsī Jaina temple in Mathurā, 200 yards due south of the Govardhan Road, is a well called Lāl Kūvā. Some eight or nine years ago a pillar of red Mathurā sandstone was found here, and left on the surface till it was deposited in the Mathurā Museum, as No. 1119, on the 13th June, 1929, at the instance of the late Pandit Radhakrishna.

The pillar is 6′ 7″ high and 11·8″ broad at the bottom. Up to a height of 2′ 7″ it is square, above that, octangular.

The pillar bears an inscription, 14″ high and 11″ broad, consisting of thirteen lines. The height of individual letters varies between ½″ and 1″. The beginning of ll. 12-13 has peeled off. In other respects the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation.[3]

The characters are Brāhmī of the Kushāṇa type. In l. 1, after the word *siddha*, we find the crescent-like stroke with a bar in the middle, which occurs in two other Brāhmī records, in the same position. Bühler[4] explained it as a stop, of the same kind as the crescent used after

[1] Read श्वसितो.

[2] मरणं is written on the left hand margin with the sign of *kāka-pada* before it.

[3] After my manuscript was sent to press, the inscription was published by Mr. Jayaswal, *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVIII, pp. 4 ff., and noticed by Mr. Hari Krishna Deb, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII, pp. 117 ff. These papers have not brought me to modify my views.

[4] *Indian Palaeography*, § 36, C. 5.

the first edicts in the Kālsī version of Aśōka's inscriptions. It is, however, possible that it is used to denote final *m*.

Of numerical symbols we find those for 1, 3, 5, 8, 20, 50 and 500.

The characters are well cut, but the shape of individual *aksharas* is not always quite the same. Thus the long *ā* is sometimes straight, and sometimes curved; *cf. anādhānām*, l. 8, where we find both forms used side by side. In *śā*, ll. 2 and 4, it is placed about the middle of the bar, in *sā*, l. 6, at the bottom. The *u-mātrā*, which also stands for *ū*, is a straight downward stroke after *n* (l. 4), *p* (ll. 1, 2, 4, 6, 9-13), *m* (l. 6) and *h* (l. 10); an upward slope after *t* (ll. 3, 4) and *ś* (l. 4); a downward slope after *k* (l. 7) and *r* (l. 2), and a forward stroke after *s* (l. 11). *R* is straight in ll. 1, 6, 7, 12, while the bottom is curved to the left in ll. 2, 3, 5, 12, 13. The central bar of *ya* in *dhāriya*, l. 5, is bent to the left, so that the letter looks like a *yē*. The object was perhaps to avoid its running into the subscript *ya* standing above it.

There are some cases of carelessness. The *anusvāra* is frequently omitted; *cf. siddha*, l. 1, if we should not read *siddham*; *puṇya*, ll. 9, 11, and several plural genitives. Short vowel is written for a long one in *sīvi*, l. 3; *sivi*, l. 11; *yachatra* for *yachchātra*, l. 9; *patina* side by side with *patinā*, l. 3; *pibasitānaṁ*, l. 9, etc. Other mistakes are *tatē* for *tatō*, l. 3; *bubhukshitāna pibasitānaṁ* for *bubhukshitānām pipāsitānām*, l. 9; *anādhānāṁ* for *anāthānām*, l. 8; *sarvāyē*, l. 11; *visarga* before *t*, l. 10, *etc.*

Some of these inconsistencies and mistakes are due to the fact that the writer attempted to write Sanskrit, but was not able to do so correctly. The **language** is the mixed dialect, though the Sanskrit element is exceptionally strong. Thus the *ṛi*-vowel occurs in *vṛiddhitō*, l. 3; *kritēna*, l. 8. The form *lavriga* for *laśuna*, l. 7, may be of interest, because the origin of this word, which makes its first appearance in the *Āśvalāyana-Śrautasūtra* and the *Chhāndōgya-Upanishad*, is not known. It is, however, not probable that the *ṛi* is anything else than a misunderstood Sanskritization. The three *s*-sounds are distinguished as in Sanskrit. The word *śaku*, l. 7, seems to be certain, but I cannot explain it. *R*-compounds such as *pr*, *br* and *tr* are preserved throughout, and the *ts* in *saṁvatsarē*, l. 1, is also in accordance with Sanskrit phonetics. Similar cases are, however, well known from other inscriptions in the mixed dialect and from the North-Western Prakrit. Forms such as *brāhmaṇa*, l. 5, *yachatra*, *i.e.*, *yachchātra*, l. 9, *prīṇō*, *yēshā*, *tēshām*, l. 10, are Sanskrit.

There are, however, numerous **Prakritisms**. Compare *puṇathō*, l. 7; *dēvaputra*, l. 10; *ādhakā*, l. 6; *shāhisya*, l. 10; *sālāyē*, l. 6; *prithivīyē*, l. 11; the frequent shortening of the termination of the genitive plural; pronominal forms such as *ayaṁ* for *ayam*, l. 1; *taṁ* for *tad*, l. 9; *ētaṁ* for *ētad*, l. 8; *dinaṁ* for *dattā*, ll. 3, 11; *dhāriya*, l. 6; *chatudisi* for *chaturdiśi*, l. 4, *etc.*

The **record is dated on the first day of Gurppiya in the year 28**, and we learn from ll. 9f. that the Dēvaputra Shāhi Huvishka was then on the throne.

Gurppiya is the Macedonian month Gorpiaios, corresponding to the Indian Prōshṭhapada, and **this is the only known example of the use of a Macedonian month in a Brāhmī inscription.** We have, on the whole, no other example of the use of the Macedonian calendar in Mathurā, and it is *a priori* likely that the person at whose request the inscription was drawn up was a foreigner, from a country where that calendar was known and used, *i.e.*, that he came from the North-West. This inference is also borne out by other considerations, as we shall see below.

The Hidda inscription is dated in the same year as our record, *viz.*, on the 10th Apellaios 28. According to Dr. van Wijk's calculations the corresponding Christian date is the 24th November 155 A.D., and that of our record, the 19th August 156 A.D.

As set out in the introduction to my edition of Indian Kharōshṭhī inscriptions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II. Part I, this dating is based on the assumption that the epoch of the era used in these inscriptions is the year 128-9 A.D., and I am still convinced that it cannot be put earlier, but may be later. The common opinion among scholars in India and Europe is, however, apparently that we must refer them to the historical Śaka era.[1]

This theory is not based on any indication in Indian sources, but simply on the assumptions that the founder of the era was a Saka, and that this Saka must have been Kanishka, the most famous of the Kushāṇa rulers of India.

I have no doubt that the former assertion is correct. Dr. Fleet's remarks about this point are unanswerable. The only question is about the individuality of this ruler. I fail to see how it is possible to get away from Dr. Fleet's remark that the Śaka era is emphatically a southern reckoning.[2] It must have been instituted in commemoration of an event which was of importance in the history of Southern India, but was of no consequence for the development of Northern India. Else it would be difficult to account for the fact that it has not with certainty been traced in northern inscriptions before the year A.D. 862.

As I have stated in the introduction to the *Corpus*, Vol. II. Part I, we have a tradition about its introduction in the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*, to the effect that it was introduced by a Saka ruler who repeated an older Saka conquest of Mālava, and uprooted the dynasty of Vikramāditya, the ruler who had, in his turn, overthrown the earlier Saka conquerors. It is expressly stated that the narrative is an incident, introduced in order to explain the origin of the Śaka era: *ayaṁ pāsaṁgiyaṁ samakkhāyaṁ Sagakālajāṇaṇatthaṁ*. It is evident, therefore, that the author of the text knew a tradition about a Saka ruler, who effected a reconquest of that part of India, and that this second Saka conquest was commemorated through the introduction of the historical Śaka era, to replace the reckoning introduced by Vikramāditya.[3] And we know from Chinese sources that a similar tradition about a reconquest was known at a much earlier date. For the *Hou Han-shu* states that Yen Kao-chen, *i.e.*, Wima Kadphises, *again* extinguished T'ien-chu or Shen-tu, and, according to Professor Karlgren, the Chinese word for *again* cannot be twisted to mean anything else than *again, afresh*. Now Yen Kao-chen's predecessor, K'iu-tsiu-k'io, *i.e.*, Kujūla Kadphises, did not conquer T'ien-chu, and the word *again* must therefore bear reference to an earlier conquest by kindred tribes. The author of the *Hou Han-shu* had heard about this earlier conquest, and introduced a reference to it, perhaps without noticing that some confusion was, in this way, introduced into the narrative.

It is, I think, unavoidable to draw the inference that two 'Saka' conquests of T'ien-chu were believed to have taken place at the time when the *Hou Han-shu* was compiled, *i.e.*, in the fifth century A.D. And the author states that his narrative is based on the reports of Pan-yung towards the end of the rule of the emperor An-ti (107-125 A.D.). In other words, the story about the two conquests was known in the first half of the second century A.D., and it has evidently been the same tale which was handed down in India and made use of by the author of the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*.

The only old traditional account of the introduction of the Saka era which we possess seems, accordingly, to indicate that it was due to Wima Kadphises. It is not necessary to assume

[1] *Cf.* especially Professor Rapson, *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 186 ff.

[2] *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, pp. 987 ff.

[3] In face of the facts drawn attention to by the late Haraprasād Shāstri, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 320, I do not understand Professor Rapson's remark that Dr. Fleet has proved that "later research, however, has shown that there was no such King Vikramāditya, and that that story is nothing but a myth, dating from the ninth or tenth century A. D."

that he effected the reconquest in person. That may have been done by one of his governors or generals, *e.g.*, by Nahapāna. And subsequently the Saka rulers of these reconquered districts began to date their records from this reconquest, through which their rule had been established.

There are also other considerations which speak against ascribing the introduction of the historical Śaka era to Kanishka. It is hardly possible to deny the justice of the remark made by M. Sylvain Lévi[1] about the defeat of the Yue-chi Shāhi by Pan-ch'ao and about the Yue-chi ruler paying tribute to China in A.D. 90, that 'it was not Kanishka, at the apogee of his reign and power, who consented to such a humiliation'.

So far as I can see, weighty reasons speak against the theory that Kanishka's era was the historical Śaka era. It cannot be proved simply by being repeated, without any real reasons. We cannot definitely settle the question about its epoch, but we can confidently state that it was not A.D. 78.

Traditional tales, corroborated by epigraphical evidence, lead to the conclusion that Kanishka added a large territory in Northern India to the Scythian Empire, and it is not to be wondered at that his era was introduced everywhere in the north, though an old Śaka era still lingered on in the North-West, and even seems to have been occasionally used in Mathurā.[2]

Our inscription brings an addition to our knowledge about the chronology of his successors, in so far as it reduces the interval between Vāsishka and Huvishka to some few months. The latest recorded date of Vāsishka is some day in the third month of Hēmanta, *i.e.*, of Pausha, in the year 28, and our record shows that Huvishka was on the throne less than eight months afterwards. He is designated as *dēvaputra Shāhi*, and the imperial title is not applied to him in any record before the year 41. It is therefore possible that another Kushāṇa was the real suzerain at the centre of Kushāṇa power, in Badakshān. But it is evident that the person at whose request our record was drawn up in Mathurā owed allegiance to Huvishka.

The **purport** of the inscription is to record the endowment of a *puṇyaśālā*, a hall for acquiring merit through distribution of alms, with an *akshaya-nīvī*, *i.e.*, a permanent endowment, wherewith the capital could not be touched. On behalf of the donor, about whom I shall make some remarks below, two *śrēṇis* or guilds were entrusted with the management of 550 *purāṇas* each. The name of the first *śrēṇī* is written in the part of the stone which has been broken off, and I can only read the last two *aksharas rāka*. The second was the *samitākara-śrēṇī*, *i.e.*, probably the makers of *samitā*, wheat-flour.

Out of the interest realized from month to month the expenses are to be covered for serving hundred Brāhmaṇas in the hall, and for daily keeping some provisions at the door for the benefit of hungry and thirsty indigent people, and distributing them on the same day (supposing *sādyaṃ* to be synonymous with *sadyaḥ*), *viz.*, 3 *āḍhaka* of groats, one *prastha* salt, one *prastha* *śaku*, 3 *ghaṭaka* and five *mallaka harita-kalāpaka*. The reading *saktunā*, *i.e.*, *saktūnām*, is uncertain, the akshara *ktu* being apparently identical with *kri* in *krītena*, l. 8. The meaning of the word *śaku* is, as already remarked, unknown to me. *Harita-kalāpaka* must be bundled fresh vegetables. The measures *āḍhaka* and *prastha* are known, the latter being a fourth of the former. I do not know anything about the size of the *ghaṭaka*, jar, and *mallaka*, bowl.

The *puṇyaśālā* is characterised as *prāchinī*, *i.e.*, evidently 'eastern,' perhaps in order to distinguish it from another, western, hall. It is further said to be *chatudiśa*, *i.e.*, *chaturdiśa*, opening towards the four quarters.

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[1] *J. A.* IX, ix, 1897, p. 26, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXII, 1903, p. 422.

[2] *Cf.* the Kaṅkālī Tīlā inscription of the year 299, if this is a genuine record.

The principal donor is designated *Kanasarukamānaputra Kharāsalērapati Vakanapati.*

The first term may be compared with *Kushāṇa[m]putra* in a Brāhmī inscription on the pedestal of a statue found by Pandit Radhakrishna at Māṭ near Mathurā and described by Professor Vogel.[1] Mr. Jayaswal[2] has explained this word as 'son of Kushāṇa', taking Kushāṇa to be the name of Wima Kadphises' father, whom he identifies with the *Maharaya Gushaṇa* of the Panjtar and the *Maharaja Rajatiraja Khushaṇa* of the Taxila silver-scroll inscriptions. He finds the same name in the *Kuei-shuang-wang* of the Chinese *Han Annals*, which is said to mean, "according to the established Chinese system," 'King Kuei-shuang,' *i.e.*, 'King Kushan', and in the last word of the coin-legend *shaonano shao Kaneshki Kushano*,[3] where *Koshano* is explained as *Kaushāṇa* meaning 'descendant of Kushāṇa.' I am afraid that these statements cannot well be upheld.

To judge from estampages which I owe to the kind assistance of the Government Epigraphist the beginning of the Māṭ inscription is *Mahārājā Rājātirājā dēvaputrō Kushāṇa[m]putr[ō shāhi Vamata] kshamasya*, essentially as read by Professor Vogel, *i.e.*, a string of titles in the nominative, followed by a name in the genitive, a feature which is well known from other sources'.[4] Here *Kushāṇa[m]putra* follows after *dēvaputra*, *i.e.*, 'a gods' son,' and not 'God's son,' and similarly *Kushāṇa[m]putra* might mean 'a Kushāṇas' son,' 'a Kushāṇa scion'. At all events the inscription does not in any way prove the existence of a personal name *Kushāṇa*.

I am not in a position to form an opinion about Chinese grammar. But Sinologists have not apparently thought of translating *Kuei-shuang-wang* as 'King Kuei-shuang,' no more than of rendering *Sai-wang* as 'King Sai.' The *Ts'ien Han-shu* says about Ta-hia that there were five principalities: Hiu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hi-tun and Kao-fu, each under one *hi-hou*. The *Hou Han-shu* states that the Yüe-chī divided the country into five principalities, giving the same names, only correcting Kao-fu to Tu-mi. It further relates how K'iu-tsiu-k'io, the *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, attacked the other *hi-hou* and styled himself king, the name of his kingdom being Kuei-shuang. These statements can hardly be reconciled with Mr. Jayaswal's new explanation.

Further the form *Koshano* in the coin-legends cannot represent *Kaushāṇō*. The legends are written in Saka,[5] and in Saka *koshano*, *i.e.*, *kushānu*, cannot be anything else than the gen. plur. of a base *Kusha*, which is rendered *Kiu-sha* in the Chinese translation of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, where it is stated that Kanishka belonged to the family of the Kiu-sha.[6] We accordingly know that the name of Kanishka's family was *Kusha*, and *Kushāṇa[m]putra* might accordingly be two words, *Kushāṇaṁ putra*, a son, *i.e.*, scion, of the Kushas, as proposed by Baron A. von Staël-Holstein[7] who reads *Kushāṇaṁ putrā*. So far as I can see, that reading is probable, but also *Kushāṇa* can very well be the gen. pl. of *Kusha*. On the other hand, an adjective *Kushāṇa* might be formed from *Kusha*, just as we have Saka *balysāna*, lordly, from *balysa*, lord, and the existence of this derivative is proved by the use of the inflected base *gushaṇa*, *khushaṇa* in the Kharōshṭhī inscriptions mentioned above.

[1] *A. S. I.* 1911-12, pp. 120 ff.

[2] *J. B. O. R. S.* VI, pp. 12 ff.

[3] In the present connexion it is not necessary to give the Greek letters of the legend.

[4] We do not know this ruler from other sources. If there was an interval between Wima Kadphises and Kanishka, as stated by Sir John Marshall, *A. S. I. A. R.* 1912-13, p. 8, he may have been a successor of the former. Mr. Jayaswal's attempt to show that Wima Kadphises is meant is not convincing.

[5] *Z. D. M. G.*, 68, 1914, pp. 85 ff.

[6] Aśvaghosa, *Sūtrālaṁkāra*, traduit par Édouard Huber. Paris 1908, p. 158. The Sanskrit original has [*ku*]*la*, but the name of the family is not found in the fragment, s. Lüders, *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta*, Leipzig 1926, p. 67.

[7] *S. P. A. W.*, 1914, pp. 643 ff.

I therefore think that *Kushāṇa[ṁ]putra* in the Māṭ inscription must mean 'Kushāṇa-scion.' And similarly I would translate *Kanasarukamāṇaputra* in our record as 'the Kanasarukamāṇa-scion,' or, 'the scion of the Kanasarukamas', though it is possible that *Kanasarukamāṇa* is the name of a person.

It would be possible to read *prāchinīkana Sarukamāṇa putrēṇa*, by the scion of the eastern Sarukamas, but that would necessitate the assumption of rather many slips in one word, *prāchinīkana* in that case standing for *prāchīnakānāṁ*, and the other alternative seems to be preferable.

I am unable to offer any explanation of *Kanasarukamāṇa*, *Kanasarukama*, for *saruka* cannot well be separated out and compared with the ethnic name *Saraucae*, mentioned by Trogus,[1] for which other sources have Sakarauloi, Sakaraukoi, and Sacaraucae.

The other designations of the donor, *Kharāsalērapati* and *Vakanapati*, *i.e.*, the ruler of Kharāsalēra and Vakana, are likewise unexplained. *Vakanapati* is evidently the same title which occurs as *Bakanapati* in the Māṭ inscription, where the person who erected the chapel of Vamatakshama is described as *Bakanapatina Hum*[2]............ It is possible that *Bakana*, *Vakana* is the well-known Wakhān, which occurs as *Vokkāṇa* in other sources, such as the *Divyāvadāna*. But it would be unsafe to consider this identification as certain. If it should prove to be right, it would perhaps be possible to connect the incomplete *Hum*......following after *Bakanapatina* in the Mathurā inscription with the old name of Wakhān represented by Chinese *Hu-mi*, or that of the capital, Chinese *Hu-mo*.

As pointed out by Chavannes,[3] Badakshān remained the stronghold of the Yue-chi down to the fifth century. After their dominion had been established in Mathurā, it would be natural for chiefs from the North-West to pay occasional visits to that place, and the use of the Macedonian calendar in our inscription seems to point to a north-western origin of the donor. He was not an Indian, but came from abroad.

TEXT.[4]

L. 1 Siddhaṁ[5] Saṁvatsarē **20 8 Gurppiya** divasē 1 ayaṁ puṇya-

L. 2 śālā prāchini **Kanasarukamāṇa - putrēṇa Kharāsalē-**

L. 3 **rapatin[ā] Vakanapatinā** akshaya-nīvi dinn[ā] Tat[a]tō vṛi[ddhi]-

L. 4 tō mās-ānumāsaṁ śuddhasya chatudaśi puṇya-śāl[ā]-

L. 5 yaṁ brāhmaṇa-śataṁ parivishitavyaṁ divasē diva[sē]

L. 6 cha puṇya-śālāyē dvāra-mū(ā)lē dhāriyā sādyaṁ saktunā[6] ā-

L. 7 ḍhakā 3 lavaṇa-prasthō 1 śaku-prasthō 1 harita-kalāpaka-

L. 8 ghaṭak[ā] 3 mallak[ā] 5 ētaṁ anādh[ā]naṁ[7] kṛitēna dātavya[ṁ]

L. 9 bubhukshitāna pibasitānaṁ[8] Yach[ā]tra puṇya[*ṁ] taṁ dēvaputrasya

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[1] Prol. 41, 42: Deinde quo regnante Scythicae gentes Saraucae et Asiani Bactra occupavere et Sogdianos. Reges Thocarorum Asiani interitusque Saraucarum.

[2] To avoid misunderstanding I may state that I cannot accept Mr. Jayaswal's explanation of these terms.

[3] *T'oung Pao* II, viii, p. 187.

[4] For the facsimile see plate facing page 8, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVIII (1932).—Ed.

[5] Perhaps *siddha*. [6] Read *saktunā*. [7] Read *anāthānāṁ*. [8] Read *bubhukshitānāṁ pipāsitānāṁ*.

L. 10 Shāhiya **Huvishkasya**[1] yēshā[m*] cha dēvaputro priyaḥ tēshām =api puṇya[ṁ*]

L. 11 bhavatu sarvāyē[2] cha prithivīyē puṇya[ṁ*] bhavatu akshaya-nivī[3] dinn[ā]

L. 12 .... [r]āka-śrēṇ[ī]yē purāṇa-śata 500 50 Samitakara-śrēṇī-

L. 13 [yē cha*] purāṇa-śata 500 50

TRANSLATION.

Success. In the year **28**, on the first day of **Gorpiaios**, this eastern hall of merit was given a perpetual endowment by the **Kanasarukamāna-scion, the lord of Kharāsalēra, the lord of Vakana**. From what is cleared off month for month from the interest therefrom hundred Brāhmaṇas should be served in the open hall, and day for day, having kept it at the entrance to the hall, on the same day three *āḍhaka* groats, one *prastha* salt, one *prastha śaku*, three *ghaṭaka* and five *mallaka* of green-vegetable bundles, this should be given for the sake of destitute people, hungry and thirsty. And what merit is herein, may that accrue to the **Dēvaputra Shāhi Huvishka,** and also to those to whom the Dēvaputra is dear, and may the merit accrue to the whole earth. The perpetual endowment was given to the -*rāka*-guild, 550 *purāṇa*, and to the flourmaker-guild, 550 *purāṇa*.

No. 11.—ADDITIONAL PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA.

BY PROFESSOR J. PH. VOGEL, PH. D., LEIDEN.

In addition to the important inscriptions from **Nāgārjunikoṇḍa** edited by me in this journal,[4] Mr. Longhurst's excavations on that Buddhist site have yielded some more epigraphical documents which it is my intention to publish in the present paper. As regards the site, on which these records have been discovered, and the peculiarities in language and script noticed in them, I may refer to my previous article.

Āyaka-pillar Inscriptions belonging to Stūpa No. 5.

At the south-eastern foot of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Hill and about two furlongs from the Great Stūpa or *Mahāchetiya* there is a group of ruined buildings consisting of a monastery (No. 4), a *stūpa* (No. 5), two apsidal temples and a roofless *maṇḍapa*. The site of the *stūpa* was marked by a large mound of brick debris overgrown with jungle and locally known as Itikarāllabōḍu. A pillar inscription from this site published under the letter *G* in my previous paper records the foundation of a monastery by a Queen Bhaṭ(ṭ)idevā, who calls herself the daughter-in-law of Vāsiṭhiput(t)a Siri-Chātamūla, the consort of Māḍhariput(t)a Siri-Vīrapurisadat(t)a and the mother of Siri-Ehuvuḷa-Chātamūla, who evidently was the then reigning king. The *vihāra*, which according to this inscription was dedicated to the Masters of the Bahusut(t)iya sect, is no doubt the ruined monastery (No. 4) found on this site.

In the course of Mr. Longhurst's explorations two more inscribed pillars have come to light here. They are *āyaka*-pillars and must, therefore, have belonged to the *stūpa* No. 5. The information contained in these two epigraphs agrees with what is found in the pillar-inscrip-

[1] Looks almost like *Parushkarya*. [2] Read *sarvāyē*. [3] Read -*nīvī*.
[4] Vol. XX, pp. 1-37.

tion *G*. They are, however, valuable, because they settle some doubtful points in the latter inscription which has suffered much from exposure. The new inscriptions, which I call *G2* and *G3*, also supply the full date which is the second year of the reign of King Siri-Ehuvuḷa-Chāṭamūla, the sixth fortnight of Summer, the tenth day.

The inscription *G2* is remarkable, because the method of spelling shows an attempt at greater accuracy than is the case in the other inscriptions. Double consonants are indicated in several instances (*putta, saṁkappasa, Purisadattasa, bhayyāya, Bhaṭṭidevāya*) and even in *patti* where the doubling of the consonant is wrong. In the same way we find a ligature in *Virūpakkha, patiṭṭhapito, Ikkhākunaṁ, pakkhaṁ*. This practice, however, is not universally followed; we find a single consonant in *agithoma, savathesu, saṁvachharaṁ*, and in the genitive ending *-sa*.

The final *m* in *siddham* (l. 1) is expressed by a small letter written under the line.

Āyaka-pillar Inscription G2.

Transcript.

(L. 1) Siddham namo bhagavato Buddhasa Mahārājasa (l. 2) Virūpakkhapatti-Mahāsena-parigahitasa agihot-[*ā]giṭhoma-vājape- (l. 3) y-[*ā]samedha-yājisa aneka-hiraṇṇa-koṭi-go-sata-sahasa-hala-satasaha- (l. 4) [sa-padāyi]sa savathesu apatihata-saṁkappasa Vāsiṭhīputtasa Ikkhā[kunaṁ] (l. 5) Siri-Chaṁtamulasa suṇhāya mahārajasa Mā[ṭha]riputtasa Siri-Virapuri- (l. 6) sadattasa bhayyāya mahādeviya [Bhaṭṭidevāya] deyadhaṁma imaṁ savajātaniyuto (l. 7) vihāro achariyānam Bahusutiyāna[ṁ] patiṭṭhapito Raño Vāsiṭhīputtasa Ikkh[ā]kūnaṁ (l. 8) Siri-Ehuvula-Chatamūlasa saṁvachharaṁ bitiyaṁ gimha-pakkhaṁ chhaṭhaṁ 6 divasaṁ dasamaṁ 10.

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. This pious gift, a monastery provided with everything, has been erected for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the Bahusut[ī]ya sect by Mahādevī [Bhaṭṭidevā], (*who is*) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāsi[ṭ]ṭhīputta Siri-Chāṁtamūla of (*the house of*) the Ikkhākus, who is favoured (absorbed!) by Mahāsēna, the lord of Virūpakkhas, the offerer of Agnihōtra, Agnishṭōma, Vājapēya, and Aśvamēdha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (*of land*) and who is of unimpeded purpose in all (*his*) aims, (*and who is*) the wife of Mahārāja Māṭhariputta Siri-Vīrapurisadatta. In the second year of (*the reign of*) Rāja Vāsi[ṭ]ṭhīputta Siri-Ehuvula-Chātamūla of (*the house of*) the Ikkhākus, the sixth 6 fortnight of Summer, the tenth 10 day.

Āyaka-pillar Inscription G3.

Transcript.

(L. 1) Sidhaṁ namo bha[gava]to (l. 2) Budhasa Mahārajasa Vir[ū]pakhapati-Mahāsena- (l. 3) [pa]rigahitasa agihot-[*ā]githoma-vājapey-[*ā]samedha- (l. 4) yājisa hiraṇa-koṭi-go-sata-sahasa-ha- (l. 5) la-satasahasa-padāyisa savathesu apa- (l. 6) tihata-saṁkapasa Vāseṭhīputasa Ikhākuna[ṁ] Si- (l. 7) ri-Chaṁtamulasa suṇhāya mahārājasa (l. 8) Māḍhariputasa Ikhākunaṁ Siri-Virapu- (l. 9) risadatasa bhavāya mahādeviya Bha- (l. 10) -ṭidevāya deyadhamo ayaṁ Devi-vi- (l. 11) hār[o] sava-jātaniyuto ajariyānaṁ [Ba-] (l. 12) husutiy[*ā]na[ṁ] patiṭhapito Raño Siri-Ehu- (l. 13) vula-Chatamulasa sa[ṁ]vachhara bitiya gimha-pakha (l. 14) [chhuṭhaṁ] divasaṁ dasamaṁ.

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. This pious gift, the Queen's Monastery, provided with everything, has been erected for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the Bahu-

G-2.



G-3.



SCALE: THREE-TENTHS

PILLAR WITH INSCRIPTION L.



From a photograph.

L.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

suttīya sect by Mahādevī Bhaṭidevā (*who is*) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāseṭhiput[t]a Siri-Chāṁtamūla, of (*the house of*) the I[k]khākus, *etc.*, (see above, sub-*G* 2), (*and who is*) the wife of Mahārāja Māḍhariput[t]a Siri-Vīrapurisadat[t]a of (*the house of*) the I[k]khākus. In the second year of (*the reign of*) Rāja Siri-Ehuvuḷa-Chātamūla, the [sixth] fortnight of Summer, the tenth day.

Inscription on carved pillar found near Stūpa No. 9.

Next we have an inscribed carved pillar found underground near *stūpa* No. 9. This *stūpa*, measuring 42 feet in diameter, is an isolated monument near a fortified hill which stands on the south-western side of the valley and not far from the river. The pillar which is rounded at the top is carved with five panels placed one above the other. The carving has suffered from exposure; but, as far as we can see, the subject of the reliefs does not appear to relate to the Buddha legend or to any of the *jātakas*. The uppermost panel contains a domed building. The next one shows a corpulent male person, perhaps a king, seated in the midst of four females, one of whom seems to hold a *chāmara*. In the third panel there is apparently the same royal personage,[1] attended by five women, of whom three seated on the floor seem to be making music. The fourth panel shows an elephant mounted by two persons and surrounded by four marching attendants. The man seated on the neck of the elephant must be a *rājā*, as is evident from the parasol visible over his head and held by the attendant sitting behind him. The scene exhibited in the fifth or lowermost relief is very curious. It shows a group of eight men; most prominent among them is a bare-headed corpulent person who seems to hold a staff in his left hand. He wears sandals, but for the rest his dress is remarkably simple. Notwithstanding the plainness of his attire, he must be a king, for behind him we notice an attendant holding a parasol, the emblem of royalty, over his head. On his right there is another attendant holding a vessel in both hands. The other persons of which the group is composed have the appearance of monks. In the midst of the group there is what looks like a heap of stones.[2] Possibly the supposed stones are intended to be seen in perspective, so that in reality they are meant to be placed in rows on the ground. In that case, however, there is no reason why the legs of the attendant holding the vase should be partly concealed.

The inscription, which we call *L*, is engraved immediately under the last-mentioned panel. It consists of thirteen lines of close writing. The letters are small and partly worn like the carvings above. The result is that in several places the reading is uncertain. The main purport, however, is perfectly clear. The inscription records that the pillar was set up by the sisters, mothers and consorts of King Vāsiṭhiput(t)a Siri-Chāṁtamūla. The names of these ladies, thirty in number, occupy lines 7-13 of the inscription. It is dated in the twentieth year of the reign of King Chāṁtamūla's son, King Māḍhariput(t)a Siri-Vīrapurisadat(t)a.

As the pillar was evidently erected in memory of the deceased king Chāṁtamūla, perhaps on the spot of his cremation, there is some reason to suppose that the five reliefs carved on it relate to that ruler and that we may recognise him in the corpulent personage who occupies a prominent place in three of the five panels. The royal elephant-driver in the fourth panel would then likewise represent King Chāṁtamūla. In the fifth panel he seems to be shown in the act of performing some ceremony, perhaps a donation, as may be surmised from the vessel held by one of the attendants.

Pillar-inscription L.

Transcript.

(L. 1) Sidhaṁ Mahārājasa asamedha-yājisa aneka-hiraṇa-koṭi-[padā]yisa (l. 2) Siri-Chaṁtamūlasa putasa raño Mā[ḍha]riputasa [Ikhākunaṁ] Siri-Vīrapurisadatasa (l. 3)

[1] See my remarks in *A. S. R.*, 1929-30, Epigraphical Section, under Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.—Ed.
[2] Possibly ingots of gift-money.—Ed.

vasasataya saṁvachhara viṁsaya[ṁ] vāsa-pakhaṁ prathama[ṁ] divasa[ṁ] bitiya[ṁ] saga-gatasa (l. 4) raño agihot-[*ā]giṭhoma-vājapey-[*ā]samedha-yājisa hiraṇa-koṭi-go-satasahasa- (l. 5) hala-satasahasa-padāyisa savathesu apatihata-saṁkapasa V[āsi]ṭhiputasa (l. 6) I[khā]kusa [sāmi-]Siri-Chaṁtamūlasa sahodar[ā]hi m[ā]tahi mah[ā]devihi Sunitisiriya[¹] (l. 7) Khaṁdasiri[ya] Vijhaṭhavisiriya Mi[sa]siriya Samusiriya [Nā]ga-[va]nusiriya (l. 8) [Nā]gasiriya Khaṁdakoṭisiriya Mahisarasiriya Ratumatisiriya Mūlasiriya (l. 9) Ayakoṭasiriya Maduvisiriya [Nā]gasiriya [Rā]masiriya Golasiriya (l. 10) Velasiriya [E]dhisiriya Kha[ṁ]dasiriya Satilisiriya Parajatisiriya (l. 11) Paṁḍitasiriya Sivanāgasiriya Samudasiriya Bapasiriya Nadisiriya (l. 12) Ayasiriya ²Ratusiriya Si[vanāga]siriya subhatarikāhi cha (l. 13) Sarasikāya Kusumalatāya [i]ya[ṁ] ³kha[ṁ]bho.

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the twentieth year of the reign of Rājan Māḍhariput[r]a Siri-Vīrapurisadat[t]a of (*the house of*) the I[k]khākus, the son of Mahārāja Siri-Chaṁtamūla, the offerer of an Aśvamēdha, and the giver of many crores of gold, in the first fortnight of the rainy season, the second day, this pillar (*has been erected*) by the sisters, mothers and consorts of the late ² Rājan Vāsi[ṭ]hiput[r]a Svāmin Siri-Chaṁtamūla, *etc.*, (see above, sub-*G* 2), (*to wit*), by Sunitisiri, Khaṁdasiri, Vijhaṭhavisiri, Mi[sa]siri, Samusiri, [Nā]ga[va]nusiri, [Nā]gasiri, Khaṁdakoṭisiri, Mahisarasiri, Ratumatisiri, Mūlasiri, Ayakoṭasiri, Maduvisiri, [Nā]gasiri, Rāmasiri, Golasiri, Velasiri, Edhisiri, Khaṁdasiri, Satilisiri, Parajatisiri, Paṁḍitasiri, Sivanāgasiri, Samudasiri, Bapasiri, Nadisiri, Ayasiri, Radatusiri, Si[vanāga]siri and by the *subhatarikās* Sarasikā and Kusumalatā.

Fragmentary pillar inscriptions (M 1-19) belonging to the monastic hall (*maṇḍapa*) of Chāṁtisiri.

Not far from the Mahāchetiya and close to the eastern side of the first apsidal temple which, according to the long inscription on the pavement,⁴ was founded by Chāṁtisiri, the maternal aunt of King Siri-Vīrapurisadata in the 18th year of his reign, Mr. Longhurst discovered the remains of a large stone-paved hall. A number of stone pillars belonging to this building are still extant, but all in a broken condition. The tops of the pillars are provided with a groove or mortice to receive the longitudinal beams of the roof which must have been of timber. The pillar-shafts are inscribed, but, owing to their mutilated condition, not a single inscription has been preserved entire. Altogether twenty fragments were recovered, two of which can be pieced together (*M* 4). In some cases several lines of the epigraph are partly preserved (*M* 1 consists of eight lines), but some of the smaller fragments contain only a single word (*M* 18, 18 and 19).

Immediately above the inscription, the pillars were adorned with the carved figures of two recumbent animals, probably lions, turned sideways.⁵ From this we can tell that the two largest pieces (*M* 1 and 2), where these animals are visible over the lettering, must contain the upper portion of the inscription. One of the small fragments (*M* 16), too, shows a recumbent animal, perhaps a bull, so that the few *aksharas* preserved on it must have belonged to the first line of the inscription. By comparing these three fragmentary inscriptions, we arrive at the conclusion that the epigraphical records engraved on the pillars are not identical and do not represent a single text. On the other hand, the preserved portions show recurring passages,

¹ There is anusvāra above this letter and the akshara is more like ṭu. The reading might be Kaṭuṁka'.—Ed.

² Prakrit *saggagata*, Skt. *svargagata*, lit. 'gone to heaven'.

³ It seems to read *cha Ahga*.—Ed.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 21, First Apsidal Temple Inscription E, plate III.

⁵ In the same way the pillar on which the inscription *G* is found bears the figures of two animals (lions ?) running to the left. *Cf. Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, plate V.

which are also found in the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions belonging to the Mahāchetiya and in the first Apsidal Temple inscription *E*. This resemblance leads us to assume that the inscriptions on the pillars of the monastic hall, though somewhat different in their wording, were meant to record the same fact, namely, the foundation of the pillared hall or *maṇḍapa* by the same lady Chāṁtisiri (or Chātisiri), who was the foundress of the adjoining Mahāchetiya and the Chetiya-ghara or Apsidal Temple. Like these two edifices, the pillared hall, too, was dedicated to the Masters (*Ācharīyas*) of the Buddhist sect of the Aparamahāvinaseliyas.[1] The date of the foundation is preserved in the two combined fragments (*M* 4); it is the 15th year of the reign of Siri-Virapurisadat(t)a, the 8th fortnight of the rainy season, the figure indicating the day being lost.

It would seem at first sight that the fragments which were recovered, do not indicate what kind of building it was, the foundation of which the inscriptions were meant to record. One of the fragments (*M* 11), however, retains the *aksharas* -*ṭa* and -*va* which can easily be restored into *maṁṭava*. It should be remembered that the first Apsidal Temple inscription *E* refers to a stone hall, surrounded by a cloister and provided with everything at the foot of the Mahāchetiya (*savaniyutā*[*ṁ*] *chātusāla-parigahitaṁ sela-maṁṭava*[*ṁ*]). There can be little doubt that this stone *maṇḍapa* is the stone-paved hall with its inscribed pillars of stone which had been built three years before. No trace was found of the *chatusālā* mentioned in the inscriptions.

The inscriptions found at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa enable us to draw up the following chronological list showing the order in which the various Buddhist buildings were raised.

Reign of King Māṭhariputta Siri-Virapurisadatta.

6th year.—Mahāchetiya founded by Chāṁtisiri and dedicated to the Masters (*Āchariyas*) of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect.

14th year.—Second apsidal temple founded by the nun Bodhisiri.

15th year.—Pillared *maṇḍapa* founded by Chāṁtisiri and dedicated as above.

18th year.—First apsidal temple founded by Chāṁtisiri and dedicated as above.

20th year.—Carved pillar erected in memory of the late king Vāseṭhiputta Siri-Chāṁtamūla by his sisters, mothers and consorts.

[*20th year.*—Five *āyaka*-pillars erected near the eastern gate of the Mahāchetiya at the village of Velagiri (now Jaggayyapeṭa) by the artisan Siddhattha.]

Reign of King Vāseṭhiputta Siri-Ehuvula-Chātamūla.

2nd year.—Monastery (No. 4) founded by Bhaṭ(ṭi)devā, the mother of the reigning king, and dedicated by her to the Masters (*Āchariyas*) of the Bahus(s)utiya[2] sect.

11th year.—Monastery (No. 5), founded by Kodabalasiri, the sister of the reigning king and consort of the king of Vanavāsa, and dedicated by her to the Masters of the Mahisāsaka[3] sect.

Pillar-inscriptions M1-19.

Transcripts.[4]

Pillar-inscription M 1.

(l. 1) Mahārājasa asamedha-yājisa (l. 2) aneka-hiraṁṇa-koṭi-padāyisa Siri-Chaṁtamūlasa (l. 3) sahodarā bhagini mahāsenāpatisa (l. 4) mahātalavara-Vasiṭhiputasa Pūkiyānaṁ (l. 5) Kaṁdasirisa bhari[yā] mahātalavari Chāṁtisiri (l. 6) [a]pano jāmātukasa tathā

[1] Sanskrit *Aparaśailīya* (?).

[2] Sanskrit *Bahuśrutīya*, Pali *Bahussutiya*.

[3] Sanskrit *Mahīśāsaka*, Pali *Mahimsāsaka*.

[4] Owing to the very incomplete condition of these inscriptions we have abstained from giving translations.

Māṭharipu[*ta]sa Ikhāku[naṁ] (l. 7) [Siri]-Virapurisadatasa āyuvadhanike vejа[y]i[ke] (l. 8) [*apaṇo] cha ubhaya-loka-hita-sukhani [*vāṇathanāya]....

Pillar-inscription M 2.

(l. 1) [1][Apatihata-saṁ]kapasa [Vā]si[ṭh]iputa[sa] Pūkiyānaṁ] (l. 2) [Kaṁda]sirisa bhariyā Khaṁdasāgaraṁnaka-mātā (l. 3) [Siri-Virapu]risadatasa āyuvadhanike vejayike cha (l. 4) ...... atichhitam-anāgata-vaṭamāna[ke] nikapanike cha (l. 5) [mahāchetiya-pā]damūle Aparamah[ā]vinase[li]yānaṁ pari-[gahe] (l. 6) ....[bhikhu]saṁghasa patiṭhapitaṁ ti.

Pillar-inscription M 3.

(l. 1) atichhi[tam-anāgata-vaṭamānake] .... (l. 2) apano cha ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-nivāṇathanāya (l. 3) mahāvihāre mahāchetiya-pādamule pavajitānaṁ (l. 4) [nānā]desa-saman-āgatānaṁ mahābhikhu-saṁghasa pa[rigahe] (l. 5) Siri-Virapurisadatasa vasasanāya saṁva 10 [*+] 5 vā .... (l. 6) [Aparamā]hāvinaseliyānaṁ parigahe sa-chātu[sā]la (l. 7) ...... [pa]tiṭhapita[m]ti

Pillar-inscription M 4.

(l. 1) [ni]yutaṁ chātusāla-parigahita ....

(l. 2) [Si]ri-Virapurisadatasa saṁva 10 [*+] 5 vā pa 8 [diva] ....

Pillar-inscription M 5.

(l. 1) .... [Kaṁdasirisa] ....

(l. 2) .... [-m]ātā Chāṁtisiri apa[ṇo jāmātukasa]

(l. 3) ... [raṁño Māṭharipu-]tasa Ikhākunaṁ

(l. 4) ... [āyu-]vadhanike vijaya-vijayike

(l. 5) ... [hita-su]kha-nivāṇathanāya bhagavato

(l. 6) ..... mahāchetiya-pādamūle ....

Pillar-inscription M 6.

(l. 1) .... savathesu apat[ihata-saṁkapasa ...]

(l. 2) .... Ikhākusa Siri-Chaṁtamūlasa sa[hodarā ...]

(l. 3) ... [ma]hātalavarasa Vāsiṭhiputasa .....

(l. 4) ... [mahā]talavar] .....

(l. 5) .... Māṭha[riputasa] ....

Pillar-inscription M 7.

(l. 1) ...... ni ....

(l. 2) .... Kaṁdasirisa ....

(l. 3) ..... Chā[ṁ]tisiri apaṇo ....

Pillar-inscription M 8.

(l. 1) .... [asame]dhayājisa .....

(l. 2) .... [sata]sahasa-hala-satasahasa-[padāyisa] ....

(l. 3) .... [apati]hata saṁkapasa Vāsiṭhipu[tasa] ..

(l. 4) .... [bha]gini mahā[senāpatisa] ....

[1] There are traces of another line before this. See above, Vol. XX, p. 16, line 4 of inscription C 2.—Ed.

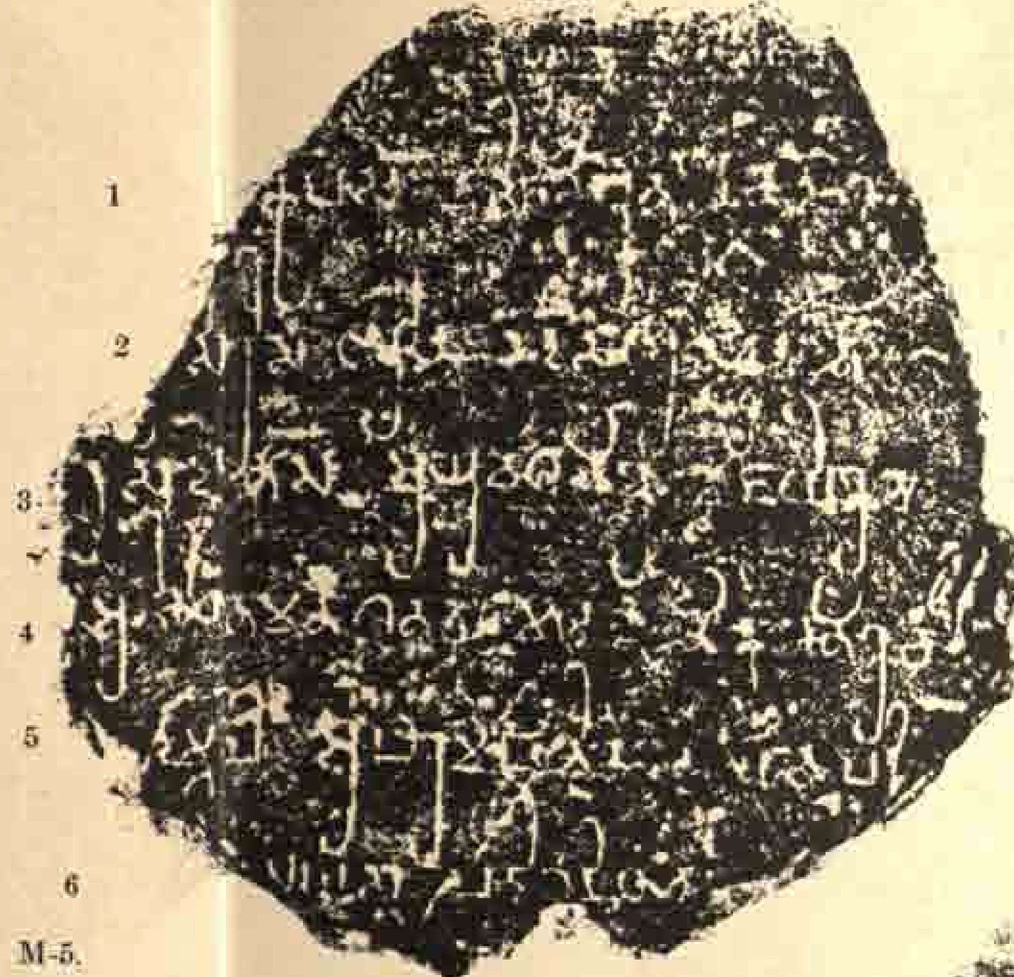
Additional Prakrit Inscriptions from Nagarjunikonda (II)

Pillar-inscriptions M 1—9.

M-1.



M-2.



M-3.



M-7.



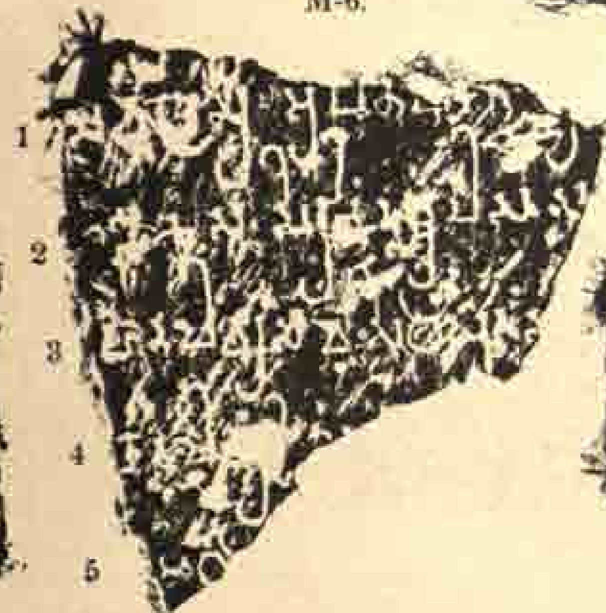
M-9.



M-5.



M-6.



M-8.



M-4.



Scale: One-third.

Hirananda Sastri.
Reg. No. 2966 E. 33-460
Survey of India, Calcutta.



PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS M 10—19 & N.

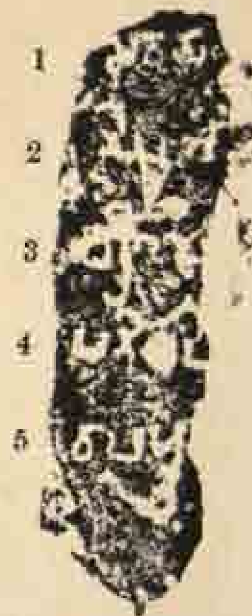
M-10.



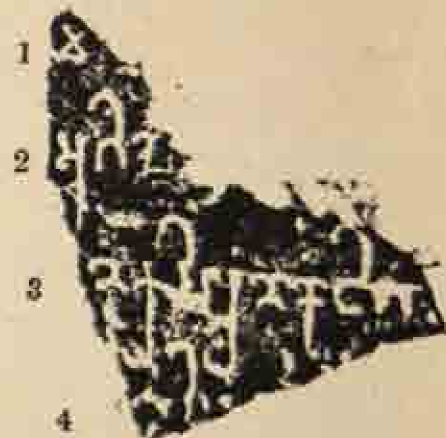
M-11.



M-12.



M-13.



M-14.



M-15.



M-16.



M-17.



N.



M-18.



M-19.



HIRANANDA SASTRI.
Reg. No. 2966 E. 33.

SCALE: ONE-THIRD.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Pillar-inscription M 9.

(l. 1) .... agihot-[ā]giṭhoma-vā[japeya-] .....
(l. 2) .... padāyisa savathesu ....
(l. 3) .... [Vā]sithīputasa Puki[yānaṁ] ....
(l. 4) .... Ikhākunaṁ Siri-Virapu[risadatasa] ..
(l. 5) .... [a]pano ubhaya-kulasa ....[1]

Pillar-inscription M 10.

(l. 1) .... na[ṁ] nānādesa-saman-[āgatānaṁ] ....
(l. 2) .... api cha apano ubhaya-kulasa at[ichhita] ....
(l. 3) .... nikapanike parināmetuna ma ....
(l. 4) .... parigahe savani[yutaṁ] ....
(l. 5) .... pariṭhapitaṁ

Pillar-inscription M 11.

(l. 1) .... nivāṇathanāya
(l. 2) .... tasa
(l. 3) .... n-āgatānaṁ
(l. 4) .... dhiva
(l. 5) .... naṁ
(l. 6) .... [maṁ]tavaṁ

Pillar-inscription M 12.

(l. 1) ...... -sa vasā- ....
(l. 2) ...... nikapa[nike] ....
(l. 3) .... parigahe .....
(l. 4) .... vā pa 8 .....

Pillar-inscription M 13.

(l. 1) .... ma ....
(l. 2) ...... agiho[t-ā] ......
(l. 3) ......neka-hiraṁṇa-koṭi-go[-satasahasa] ....
(l. 4) ....[-padā]yi[no] ....

Pillar-inscription M 14.

(l. 1) .... [sa]vajātan[iyutaṁ chatusāla] ....
(l. 2) ...... atano ubhaya-kulasa ....
(l. 3) .... [ke] parināmetuna ....
(l. 4) .... pu[ta] .....

Pillar-inscription M 15.

(l. 1) ...... [putasa] ....
(l. 2) . [mahācheti]ya-[pādamūle] pavaji[tānaṁ] ..
(l. 3) . [mahābhi]khu-saṁ[ghasa] ......
(l. 4) ...... na pari[nāme]tuna .....

Pillar-inscription M 16.

(l. 1) .... [-par]igahītasa

[1] Traces of another line are discernible below this line. See line 11 of inscription C 3 above, Vol. XX, p. 16.—Ed.

Pillar-inscription M 17.

(l. 1) .... [Siri-]Vira[purisadatasa] .....
(l. 2) .... [ve]jayike api[cha] .....

Pillar-inscription M 18.

(l. 1) ... mahāsenapa[tisa] ...

Pillar-inscription M 19.

(l. 1) ..... [Si]ri-Virapu[risadatasa] ....

Āyaka-pillar Inscription N belonging to Stūpa No. 9.

The Stūpa No. 9, to which we have had occasion to refer above, must have been provided with *āyaka*-pillars in the same manner as the Mahāchetiya. But only one inscribed pillar was recovered on this site, and the inscription engraved on it is incomplete. The preserved portion contains nothing but a string of names, so that a translation is superfluous.

Transcript.

(l. 1) ... rinaṁkānaṁ Mūlasirinaka[sa] Sidhatha- (l. 2) [ka]sa Chadamukhasa Pudhinakasa bālika[ā] (l. 3) Mahatuvanika Sidhaṭhamnikā Jakhasa .....

Addenda and Corrigenda to the previous article.

In the First Apsidal Temple Inscription *E*, translation, read 'stone hall' instead of 'stone shrine' (*sela-maṁḍava[ṁ]*) and '*chaitya*-shrine' instead of '*chaitya*-hall' (*chetiya-ghara*).

The Second Apsidal Temple Inscription *F*, line 3, contains the following passage:— *Kaṁṭakasele mahāchetiyasa puva-dāre sela-maṁḍavo.* As explained in the 'Glossary' (p. 35) the text has *Kaṁṭakasole*; but as in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions errors with regard to vowel-marks are very common, I ventured to correct the word into *Kaṁṭakasele*, which would correspond to Sanskrit *Kaṇṭakaśailē*. Cf. *Puvasele* (Skt. *Pūrvaśailē*) in the same inscription.

At the time it had escaped my notice that an inscription from Amarāvatī[1] contains the genitive singular of the noun *Kaṁṭakasolaka*, meaning 'a resident of K°'. As here the vowel-mark attached to the *s* is clearly the *o*-sign, we shall have to assume that, after all, the reading *Kaṁṭakasole* is correct. The form with *ŏ* agrees, indeed, more closely with Ptolemy's Κοντακοσσύλα. The entry in our 'Glossary of Geographical Names' *s.v.* *Kaṁṭakasela* should be corrected accordingly.

In this connection it may be pointed out that another Amarāvatī inscription makes mention of a locality, probably a town, of the name of *Vijayapura*.[2] It is, of course, impossible to decide whether this place is identical with the Vijayapurī referred to in the second Apsidal Temple inscription *F*, line 2, in the following passage: *Siripavate Vijayapuriya-puva-disā-bhāge vihāre Chula-Dhammagiriyaṁ chetiya-gharaṁ sa-paṭa-saṁthāraṁ sa-chetiyaṁ sava-niyutaṁ kāritaṁ upāsikāya Bodhisiriya.* It may, however, safely be inferred from this passage that the town once situated in the valley of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa was named Vijayapurī. For there can be little doubt that the *chetiyaghara* mentioned here is the Apsidal Temple, on the stone floor of which the long inscription is engraved. All details tend to corroborate this assumption. Not only does this building enshrine a *chaitya*, measuring 5 feet in diameter, and is it paved with

[1] J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, p. 106, No. 54.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 85, No. 30, plate LVIII.

stone slabs; but, what is more remarkable, it is associated with a monastery (*vihāra*) and both edifices are raised on the southern and higher end of a hill, now known by the name of Nāharāḷḷabōḍu, which rises on the eastern side of the valley in which the town of Vijayapurī was once situated.

The 'Glossary' contains the word *Aparamahāvinaseliya* which is the name of a Buddhist sect. It is of some interest that an Amarāvatī inscription mentions a locality *Mahavanasala*.[1] The vowel-marks are not very certain and we may perhaps assume that the correct form of the name is *Mahāvanasela* or *Mahāvinasela*. The inscription in question does not give any clue as to the position of the place, but in all probability it was situated in the lower Krishna valley.

GLOSSARY.

agihot-āgiṭhoma-vājapey-āsamedha-yāji (G 2, l. 2; G 3, ll. 3-4; L, l. 4; M 9, l. 1; *cf.* M 13, l. 2).
achariya (G 2, l. 7), *ajariya* (G 3, l. 11).
atichhitam-anāgata-vatamānaka (M 2, l. 4; M 3, l. 1 *ex conj.*).
aneka-hiraṁṇa-koṭi-go-satasahasa hala-satasahasa-padāyi (G 2, ll. 3-4; M 8, l. 2; *cf.* M 9, l. 2 and M 13, l. 3).
aneka-hiraṁṇa-koṭi-padāyi (L, l. 1; M 1, l. 2).
Aparamahāvinaseliya (M 2, l. 5; M 3, l. 6).
Ayakoṭasiri (L, l. 9), a personal name.
Ayasiri (L, l. 12), i.e. *Ayyasiri*=Skt. *Aryaśrī*.
asamedha-yāji (L, l. 1; M 1, l. 1; M 8, l. 1 *ex conj.*).
āyuvadhanike (M 1, l. 7; M 2, l. 3; M 5, l. 4).
Ikhāku (G 2, ll. 4 and 7; G 3, ll. 6 and 8; L, l. 2 *ex conj.*, and l. 6; M 1, l. 6; M 5, l. 3; M 6, l. 2; M 9, l. 4).
ubhaya-kula (M 9, l. 5; M 10, l. 2; M 14, l. 2).
ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-nivāṇathanāya (M 1, l. 8; M 3, l. 2; *cf.* M 5, l. 5 and M 11, l. 1).
Edhisiri (L, l. 10), a personal name.
Kamdasiri (M 1, l. 5; M 2, l. 2 *ex conj.*; M 5, l. 1 *ex conj.*; M 7, l. 2).
Kusumalatā (L, l. 13), a personal name.
Khaṁdakoṭisiri (L, l. 8)=Skt. *Skandakoṭiśrī*, a personal name.
Khaṁdasāgaraṁnaka-mātā (M 2, l. 2; cf. M 5, l. 2).
Khaṁdasiri (L, ll. 7 and 10).
gimha-pakkha (G 2, l. 8; G, 3, l. 13; also G, l. 10)=Skt. *grīshma-paksha* 'a fortnight of Summer.'
Golasiri (L, l. 9), a personal name. Cf. *Golā* in Bharhut inscription. Lüders' *List*, no. 836; also no. 596.
Chadamukha (N, l. 2), i.e. *Chandamukha*=Skt. *Chandramukha*, a personal name.
chātusāla-parigahita (M 4, l. 1). Cf. *sa-chātusāla*, and *chātusala* in E, l. 2.
Chāmtasiri (M 1, l. 5; M 5, l. 2; M 7, l. 3).
chhaṭha (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 11 *ex conj.*), i.e. *chhaṭṭha* 'sixth.'
Jakhana ..... (N, l. 3), a personal name (?). *Cf.* such proper names as *Yakhadāsī*, *Yakhadina*, *Yakhī* and *Yakhila*. Lüders' *List*, nos. 329, 211, 254, 500, 344, 376, 580, 546.
jāmātuka (M 1, l. 6; M 5, l. 2).
thaṁbha (L, l. 13)=Skt. *stambha* 'pillar'. Cf. *selathaṁbha* in C 2, l. 8.
deyadha(ṁ)ma (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 10)=Skt. *deyadharma* 'a pious gift'. Also in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37).

[1] Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 91, No. 35, plate LVIII. *Cf.* p. 105, No. 49, plate LX.

Devī(?)-vihāra (G 3, ll. 10-11) 'the Queen's Monastery'.

Nadisiri (L, l. 13), i.e. Nandisiri Skt. *Nandiśrī*, a personal name. *Cf.* the name *Nandisiri* in Nāsik cave inscription. Lüders' *List*, no. 1127.

Nāgavarusiri (?) (L, l. 7), a personal name.

Nāgasiri (L, ll. 7 and 9), a personal name, also found in Jaggayyapeta inscriptions. Lüders' *List*, nos. 1202-4.

nānādesa-saman-āgata (M 3, l. 4; M 10, l. 1 *ex conj.*).

nikapanika (M 2, l. 4; M 10, l. 3; M 12, l. 2), a word of uncertain meaning. Also in E, l. 2.

patipadā in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37). The word apparently indicates the object on which it is found.

Paṁḍitasiri (L, l. 11)=Skt. *Paṇḍitaśrī*, a personal name.

Parajatisiri (L, l. 10), perhaps=Skt. *Pārijātaśrī*, a personal name.

pariṇāmetuna (M 10, l. 3; M 14, l. 3; M 15, l. 4).

parajita (M 3, l. 3).

Pudhinaka (N, l. 2), a personal name.

Pūkiya (M 1, l. 4; M 9, l. 3).

Bapisiri (L, l. 11), a personal name.

Bahusutiya (G 2, l. 7; G 3, ll. 11-12; *cf.* G, l 8).

bālikā (N, l. 2) 'a daughter'.

bitiya or *bitiya* (G 2, l. 8; G 3, l. 13; also G, l. 9; L, l. 3)=Skt. *dvitīya* 'second'. Cf. *biya* and *bia* (Pischel, *Grammatik*, §§ 82, 165, 300 and 449).

Budhi in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37), i.e. *Buddhi*, a personal name.

bhagini (M 1, l. 3; M 8, l. 4 *ex conj.*). In footprint-slab inscription from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37) we have the form *bakini*.

Bhaṭ(ṭ)idevā (G 2, l. 6; G 3, ll. 9-10).

bhariyā (M 1, l. 5; M 2, l. 2) and *bhay(y)a* (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 9)=Skt. *bhāryā*.

maṁṭava (M 11, l. 6 *ex conj.*), i.e. *maṇṭava*=Skt. *maṇḍapa*.

Matharīput(t)a or *Māḍharīputa* (G 2, l. 5; G 3, l. 8; L, l. 2; M 1, l. 6; M 5, l. 3; M 6, l. 5 *ex conj.*).

Maduvisiri (L, l. 9), a personal name.

Mahatuvaṇika (N, l. 3), a personal name.

mahāchetiya-pādamūla (M 2, l. 5 *ex conj.*; M 3, l. 3; M 5, l. 6).

mahātalavara (M 1, l. 4; M 6, l. 3).

mahātalavari (M 1, l. 5; M 6, l. 4).

mahādevī (G 2, l. 6; G 3, l. 9; L, l. 6).

mahābhikkhu-saṁgha (M 3, l. 4).

mahāvihāra (M 3, l. 3).

mahāsenāpati (M 1, l. 3; M 8, l. 4 *ex conj.*; M 18, l. 1).

Mahisarasiri (L, l. 8)=Skt. *Maheśvaraśrī*, a personal name.

Misasiri (L, l. 7)=Skt. *Miśraśrī*, a personal name. *Cf.* the name *Misi*, i.e. *Miśrī* in F, l. 3.

Mulasiriniko (N, l. 1), a personal name.

Mūlasiri (L, l. 8)=Skt. *Mūlaśrī*, a personal name.

Moda in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37), a personal name.

Ratumatisiri (L, l. 8), a personal name.

Raṁtusiri (L, l. 12), a personal name.

Rāmasiri (L, l. 9)=Skt. *Rāmaśrī*, a personal name.

vasamanaya[1] (L, l. 3 ; M 3, l. 5), a term of uncertain meaning.

vāsa-pakha (L, l. 3) or *vā. pa.* (M 4, l. 2 ; *cf.* M 3, l. 5 ; M 12, l. 4) Skt. *varsha-paksha* 'a fortnight of the rainy season'.

Vāsiṭhiputa or *Vāseṭhiputa* (G 2, ll. 4 and 7 ; G 3, l. 6 ; L, l. 5 ; M 1, l. 4 ; M 2, l. 1 ; M 6, l. 3 ; M 8, l. 3 ; M 9, l. 3).

Vijhaṭhavisiri (L, l. 7), a personal name. *Cf.* the name *Vijha*=Skt. *Vindhya*, Lüders' *List*, no. 579.

Virūpa(k)khapati-Mahāsena-parigahita (G 2, l. 2 ; G 3, l. 2).

vihāra (G 2, l. 7).

vī(ṁ)saga (L, l. 3) 'twentieth'.

vejayike (M 1, l. 7 ; M 2, l. 3 ; M 17, l. 2) and *vijaya-vejayike* (M 5, l. 4).

Saka in footprint-slab inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 37)=Skt. *Śaka* 'Scythian'.

sagagata (L, l. 3), i.e. *sagga-gata*=Skt. *svarga-gata* 'gone to heaven'.

sa-chātusāla (M 3, l. 6).

Satilisiri (L, l. 10), a personal name. *Cf.* the name *Sātila*, Lüders' *List*, no. 259.

Samudasiri (L, l. 11), i.e. *Samuddasiri*=Skt. *Samudraśrī*, a personal name.

Samusiri (L, l. 7), a personal name.

Sarasikā (L, l. 13), a personal name.

savajātanigata (G 2, l. 6 ; G 3, l. 11 ; *cf.* M 4, l. 1 and M 14, l. 1).

savathesu apatihata-saṁkap(p)a (G 2, l. 4 ; G 3, ll. 5-6 ; L, l. 5 ; M 2, l. 1 *ex conj.* ; M 6, l. 1 *ex conj.* ; M 8, l. 3 *ex conj.* ; *cf.* M 9, l. 2).

savaniyuta (M 10, l. 4).

sa(ṁ)vachhara (G 2, l. 8 ; G 3, l. 13) or *saṁva* (M 3, l. 5 ; M 4, l. 2).

sahodarā (L, l. 6 ; M 1, l. 3 ; M 6, l. 2).

sāmi (L, l. 6 *ex conj.*) Skt. *svāmin*. A royal title found associated also with the name of the Āndhra king Siri-Pulumāvi. *Cf.* Amarāvatī inscription no. 1, Burgess, *Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati*, p. 100, pl. LVI, no. 1.

Sidhathaka (N, ll. 1-2), i.e. *Siddhatthaka*=Skt. *Siddhārthaka*, a personal name.

Sidhathaṁnikā (N, l. 3), i.e. *Siddhatthaṁnikā*, a personal name.

Siri-Ehuvula-Chātamūla (G 2, l. 8) or *°-Ehuvuḷa-* (G 3, ll. 12-13).

Siri-Chaṁtamula (G 2, l. 5 ; G 3, l. 7 ; L, ll. 2, 6 ; M 1, l. 2 ; M 6, l. 2).

Siri-Virapurisadat(t)a (G 2, l. 5 ; G 3, ll. 8-9 ; L, l. 2 ; M 1, l. 7 ; M 2, l. 3 *ex conj.* ; M 3, l. 5 ; M 4, l. 2 ; M 9, l. 4 *ex conj.* ; M 17, l. 1 ; M 19, l. 1 *ex conj.*).

Sivanāgasiri (L, ll. 11 and 12), a personal name.

Sunātisiri (L, l. 6), a personal name.

sunhā (G 2, l. 5 ; G 3, l. 7 ; *cf.* F, l. 3 and G, l. 5)=Skt. *snushā* 'a daughter-in-law'.

subhatarikā (L, l. 12), a word of uncertain meaning.

hiraṁṇa-koṭi-go-satasahasa-hala-satasahasa-padāyi (G 3, ll. 4-5 ; L, ll. 4-5).

POSTSCRIPT.

For the sake of completeness it should be mentioned that two words, apparently consisting of seven and two *aksharas* respectively, occur on an uncarved stone slab found near *Stūpa* No. 9. A third inscription, evidently a single word of four *aksharas*, is cut on the base of a carved slab belonging to the same monument. The lettering of these short epigraphs is partly indistinct and I have not succeeded in making out their meaning.

[1] Can it be *samattha* ?—Ed.

No. 12.—THE CLAY SEALS OF NALANDA.

BY HIRANANDA SASTRI.

Some sixteen years ago the archæological exploration of the ancient site of Nālandā was taken up by our Department and it has been continued all these years. During this period very valuable seals or sealings have been found but they have not been fully described anywhere as yet. In the memoir which I am writing on Nālandā I intend to notice them in detail but as that will take some time to come out I propose to publish here a few of them as specimens. These relics of the past, minor though they might be called, are invaluable not only for the past history of Nālandā but of Northern India as well.

For the sake of convenience these seals or sealings—I shall call them seals—might be put under two main heads, namely, Religious or Ecclesiastical and Secular or Civil. Under the former head I would classify those seals which are either votive or are connected with some religious congregation, communities or monastic orders, and under the latter head I would put such of them as are personal, whether they belong to royalties, officials or private individuals or are related to offices, villages and village communities. The majority of these seals are votive and Buddhistic, a number of them only giving in Sanskrit or in Prakrit the well-known formula

ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुन्तेषां तथागतो ह्यवदत् ।
तेषाञ्च यो निरोध एवं वादी महाश्रमणः ॥

which, we are told, Aśvajit read to Sāriputra, and is usually interpreted[1] as

'Of those things (conditions) which spring from a cause
The cause has been told by Tathāgata;
And their suppression likewise
The Great Śramaṇa has revealed.'

This formula is found written usually in the northern script of about the eighth century (A.D.), and even later, not only on the seals or plaques but also on a number of images, stones and bricks, excavated at Nālandā. Some of these seals or plaques only give a Buddhist text, while others bear the figure of the Buddha, single or accompanied by the attendant Bōdhisattvas, Maitrēya and Avalōkitēśvara, with or without the above-mentioned creed formula. Some have a text or the representation of a stūpa or stūpas. Such seals or impressions were, evidently, meant for offerings, or for being taken as mementoes. Among the seals connected with Buddhistic Congregations or *Saṅghas*, the majority belong to the Mahāvihāra of Nālandā and give the legend :—

श्रीनालन्दामहाविहारीयार्य्यभिक्षुसङ्घस्य,

meaning

'Of the Community of the Venerable Monks in the Mahāvihāra of *śrī*-Nālandā.' The symbol they bear is practically the same as the one connected with the 'Preaching of the Law' (धर्म्मचक्रप्रवर्त्तन) by the Buddha. They are mostly circular in shape and the device, which occurs in the upper field above a line of dotted ornament, consists of the Wheel of the Law flanked by two gazelles, recumbent, with heads upraised, looking towards the Wheel. This device is a copy of the insignia of the monastery at the "Deer Park" where the Buddha first turned the '*Dharmachakra*' (=Wheel of Law). It is an appropriate symbol for both the places. At Sārnāth or the Deer Park the Great Teacher preached the First Sermon. At Nālandā many *bhikshus* were engaged in expounding or preaching the 'Law'. To form an idea of what this device is,

[1] Kern, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 25.

reference is invited to the seal of Dēvapāladēva, attached to the copper-plate I excavated at Nālandā in 1921, which has already been published in this *Journal*.[1] That the Pāla kings of Bengal had adopted this symbol as their insignia is evidenced by their grants, a number of which have now been published. These rulers were very liberal patrons of Buddhism and the insignia was quite appropriate for them. But whether they adopted it from the symbol of the monastic order of Nālandā or whether the 'Ārya-bhikshu-saṅgha' of Nālandā took it from their royal patrons I cannot say for certain.

The other group, *i.e.*, the Civic or Secular seals, is historically much more important. A few of the seals or plaques coming under this category have already been noticed by the late Dr. Spooner,[2] Mr. Dikshit,[3] and the late Mr. R. D. Banerji.[4] I need not recapitulate what has been stated by them in regard to these seals including the seal of King Bhāskaravarman of Prāgjyōtisha.[5] At present I want to make a special notice of the two seals of **Śarvavarman Maukhari** and of **Harsha of Thānēsar** which were recovered in a much better state of preservation than the other specimens of the seals of these potentates. The original of the Asīrgadh seal is not forthcoming, and the Sonpat seal, as represented by the facsimile[6] given by Fleet, is too worn to give a clear reading. Consequently, these clay plaques are very valuable in that they help us in settling the reading of the legends and vouch for the genuineness of those two documents.

The seals of King Śarvavarman Maukhari.

One of the two seals of Śarvavarman, which I reproduce here, is almost entire, and might well be called, rather, a replica of the Asīrgadh seal. The other is cut into two parts almost perpendicularly, but gives the whole of the legend, excepting some of the initial letters of lines 3-6 and, perhaps, of line 7 also. The transversal break about the middle has damaged all the eight lines of it though the damaged letters can be restored easily. It would appear that these two seals are the impressions taken from different moulds or dice. A close inspection of the facsimile published by Fleet would show this. For instance, if we compare the symbols for *kha* in the word *Maukhariḥ*, occurring in the last line of the Asīrgadh seal, and the seal marked A, we shall see that they are not identical. Similarly, in A1, the symbol for *ta* in line 6 is practically clear but it it is not so in the Asīrgadh specimen. There are other differences also which it is needless to dilate upon here. But it is significant that the defects in the reading of the legend noticed by Fleet in the Asīrgadh specimen are to be met with in these two plaques also, as I shall show while giving the text below. The device is quite distinct in all these specimens. It shows a bull in the centre, walking to the proper right and decorated with a garland going round his body—though broken in A1. Over him there is, on the other side, an open umbrella, the staff of which is decorated with two streamers. In front [7]we see a man leading the bull and carrying a curved double axe in the right hand and a standard with a wheel on the top in the left. Behind the bull we see another male figure having in the left hand a long handled double axe and a *chowrie* stick in the right hand, apparently to drive the bull on. The exact significance of the whole symbol is not clear. The bull usually stands for *dharma*: वृषो हि भगवान् धर्मः.[8] The two male figures are, perhaps, the *chāṇḍālas*, who want to kill the

[1] Vol. XVII, plate facing p. 321. *A. S. R.*, 1922-23, plate XV(*d*).

[2] *Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India*, Eastern Circle, for 1916-17, p. 43.

[3] *Ibid.*, for 1917-18, pp. 446 ff.

[4] *Journ. B. O. R. Soc.*, Vol. V (1919), pp. 302 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. V (1919), p. 303.

[6] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, plate xxxii B.

[7] *Cf.* Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 219.

[8] *Manusmṛiti* (VIII. 16).

animal. The idea underlying the emblem seems to be that the tampering with the seal is as heinous as the killing of a bull or violating the *dharma*.

As to the text of the legend, there is hardly any difference from what was given by Fleet. One might say, it rather confirms his reading and is, practically, alike in all the three specimens. It runs as given below; the slight difference which is seen here and there is pointed out in the foot-notes.

TEXT.

1 Chatuḥ-samudr-ātikrānta-kīrttiḥ pratāp-ānurāg-ōpanat-ānya-rājā[ō][1] varṇṇ-āśrama-vyavasthā-
2 pana-pravṛitta-chakraś=Chakradhara iva prajānām-arttihara[ḥ*][2] śrī[3]-Mahārāja-Hari-varmmā[||*] Tasya
3 puttras[4]-tat-pād-ānuddhyātō **Jayasvāminī**-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām[5]-utpannaḥ śrī-Mahārāj- **Ādityava-**
4 rmmā[||*] Tasya[6] puttras-tat-p[ā[7]]d-ānuddhyātō **Harshaguptā**-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām-utpannaḥ śrī-Mahārā-[8]
5 j-**Īśvaravarmmā**[9] [||*] Tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānuddhyāta **Upaguptā**[10]-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām-utpannō
6 Maha(ā)[11]rājādhirāja-śrī-[12] **Īśānavarmmā** [||*] Tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānuddhyātō **Lakshmīva-**[13]
7 tī-bhaṭṭārikā-Mahādēvyām[14]-utpannaḥ-paramamāhēśvarō[15] Ma-
8 hārājādhirāja-śrī-**Śarvvavarmmā Maukhariḥ** [||*]

The genealogy shown in these seals up to Īśānavarmmā is identical with that given in the Haraha inscription which I published in this journal long ago.[16]

The seals of Harsha or Harshavardhana.

I may publish here only one of the seals of Harsha of Thānēsar. The Sonpat seal which Fleet reproduced[17] in 1888 must have belonged to some plate which is not forthcoming. The Nālandā specimens so far recovered seem to be the impressions taken from some independent moulds. As we see even nowadays, the originals are only the negatives which, when pressed at the time of sealing documents, give the positives. Several specimens of the seal of Harsha

[1] Like the Asīrgaḍh seal both these specimens give °rājā for °rājō.
[2] The visarga is left out in these seals also.
[3] I think it is śrī in all the three documents. Cf. the symbol in line 8.
[4] The letters puttra and the ś of sa are lost in A1.
[5] It is clearly dēvyām in both these seals.
[6] Letters rmmā Tasya are missing in A1.
[7] The length mark is obliterated in both the seals.
[8] Both these seals give °Mahā.
[9] The aksharas j-Īśvarava are missing in A1.
[10] In both these seals, too, the symbol after u is more like ma than pa; cf. Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 220, f. n. 3.
[11] The length mark is not to be seen in both the seals. The initial letters maha(ā)rā are lost in A1.
[12] Both these seals give śrī; cf. the śrī symbol in line 8. The hiatus in śrī-Īśāna° is intentional, evidently.
[13] The La symbol is clear in both these seals and the reading Lakshmīvatī is pretty certain. Fleet's conjectural reading of this name is therefore correct.
[14] A dissimilarity gives Mahā° though the length mark is not so clear in A1.
[15] Ō mark is clear in both.
[16] Vol. XIV, pp. 110 ff.
[17] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 231 f. and plate XXXII-B.

A



A-1



2

4

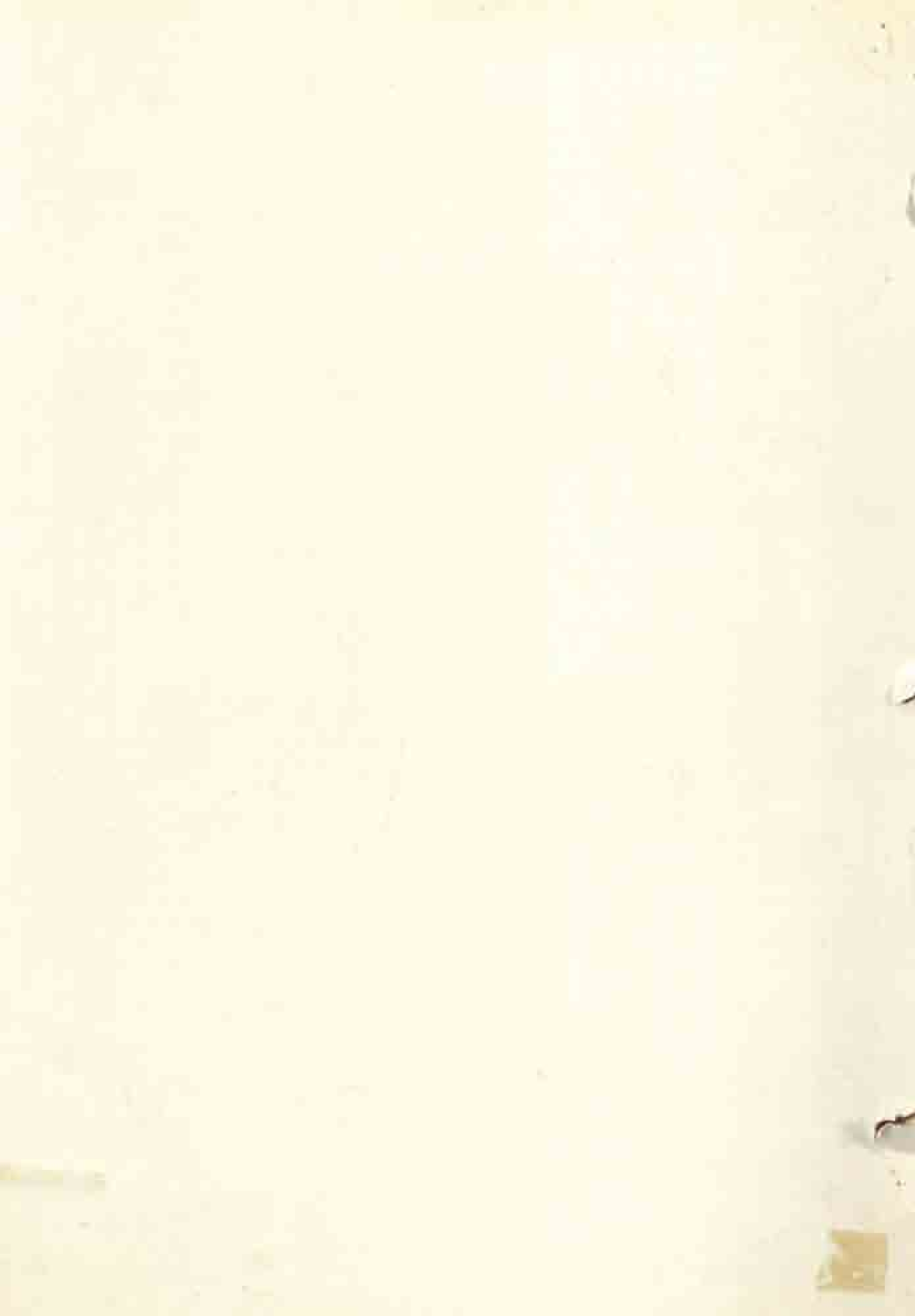
6

8

HIRANANDA SASTRI

SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.



The Clay Seals of Nalanda (II).

B

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12

C



Hiranand Sastri.

SCALE : ACTUAL SIZE.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

were excavated at Nālandā and are all broken or fragmentary. The one reproduced here, marked B on the plate, consists of two fragments which, when put together, seem to form a complete seal, excepting some letters about the middle of almost every line of the legend and the proper right portion of the upper field, containing the device together with the head of the recumbent bull. Owing to the transverse cut the specimen is broken in twain. The seal appears to have been oval in shape, the axes being about 4¼" and 3$\frac{7}{16}$", measuring the surface encompassed by the first curve going round the written portion and the emblem. The legend consists of twelve lines of which the five lines at the end are written in letters smaller than those seen in the rest. Evidently, the engraver found that he would not be able to manage the whole legend in the limited space and had to reduce the size of the *aksharas* after writing out the first seven lines. Like the inscription on the Sonpat seal the legend in this specimen is written in the flowery script of the seals of Sarvavarman. The Sonpat seal is larger and the legend is written in bigger letters. Possibly that also had twelve lines of writing, though they are not distinct on the facsimile given in the *Corpus*. According to the transcript given by Fleet they also ended like the lines in the present specimen. The legend on the seal under notice is, practically, a genealogical table of the family of Harsha or Harshavardhana, the pedigree being identical with what is given in the Madhuban[1] and the Banskhera[2] copper-plates of this potentate.

TEXT.

1 Symbol[3] [||*] Mahārāja-śrī-**Nara[varddhanas-ta]**[4](sya) puttras-tat-pād-ānudhyāta(ḥ*) Śrī-**Vajriṇī**-

2 **dēvyām**-utpannaḥ paramādityabha[ktō Mah]**[4]**ārāja-śrī-**Rājyavarddhanaḥ**[||*]Tasya puttras-tat-pā-

3 d-ānudhyātaḥ śrī-**Apsarōdēvyām**[5]-utpanna(ḥ para)[4]mādityabhaktō Mahārāja-śrīmad-**Āditya**-

4 **varddhanaḥ**[||*] Tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ[6] śrī-[**Ma**][4][**hā**]**sēnaguptādēvyām**-u[tpa*]-nnaḥ chatuḥsamu-

5 dr-ātikrānta-kīr[ttiḥ] pratāp-ānurāg-ōpa[nat-ānya][4]-rājō varṇṇāśrama[7]-vyavasthāpana-pravṛitta-

6 chakkra ēkachakkraratha iva prajānām-arttiha(raḥ)[8] paramādityabhakta[ḥ] parama-bhaṭṭāraka-

7 Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Prabhākaravarddhana**[ḥ||*] Tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ[6] atiśayita-

8 pūrvvarāja-charitō dēvyām-amala-yaśōmatyām [śrī]-**Yaśōmatyām**-utpanna[ḥ] parama-saugataḥ Suga-

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[1] See above, Vol. I, pp. 72 f. [2] See above, Vol. IV, pp. 210-11. [3] *Ōṁ* or *siddhiḥ*.

[4] Such letters are taken from the Madhuban and the Banskhera copper-plate inscriptions.

[5] Fleet gives *Ma(?)hā(?)dēvyām* instead, but the question marks would show that he was not sure of his reading. The name is clearly Apsarōdēvī.

[6] Possibly the length mark was shown in two ways: by a stroke above the top line, and by projecting the top line onwards and giving a small bend to its end.

[7] Fleet gives *vara[n]ja-varṇṇa* in his reading of the Sonpat seal.

[8] The Madhuban and the Banskhera records show *sandhi* here—"[illegible]".

9 [ta i]va parahit-ānurataḥ paramabhaṭṭā[raka]-Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Rājyavarddhana-**
[**ḥ**||*] ta-
10 sy-ānujas=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramabha[ṭṭā]rikā-Mahādēvī-śrī-**Yaśōma[tyām]** dē-
11 vyām-[ēv[1]-ō]tpannaḥ paramamā[hē]śvaraḥ Mahēśvara iva sarvva-sa
12 tv-ānukampaka[ḥ*] paramabhaṭṭāraka-[Mahā]rājādhirāja-śrī-**Harshaḥ**[||*]

The text of this seal is not entirely identical with that of the Sonpat seal as deciphered by Fleet, nor with the genealogical portion of the above-mentioned copper-plate grants. The difference, however, is not material and the pedigree is practically the same. The name of the king as given in this and other specimens recovered from Nālandā is not Harshavardhana but only Harsha. The latter name is found not only in the two copper-plate inscriptions, but also in the Sign-Manual or autograph on the Banskhera plate. The facsimile of the Sonpat seal is very indistinct. A genius like Bhagwanlal Indraji or an epigraphist of the type of Fleet alone could make so much out of it. While giving the name Harshavardhana Fleet could not help remarking that the three *aksharas vardhanaḥ* are rather small and cramped in the centre of the bottom of the seal. Other differences need not be pointed out here.

Out of the official seals the beautiful specimen bearing the legend—

1 Nagara-bhuktau kumār-āmāty-ādhi-
2 karaṇasya [||*]

which is written in the Gupta script of about the 6th century A.D. under the standing figure of Lakshmi, flanked by an elephant, is reproduced as C in the accompanying plate.

Among the seals belonging to **dignitaries or private individuals** the one of śrī-**Paśupatisiṁha**, marked D on the accompanying facsimile, looks noteworthy. On palæographic grounds it may be relegated to about the 7th century A.D. The legend on it reads as follows:—

1 Vijit-ārāti-gaṇasya nyāyavatō rāja-
2 vṛitti-nipuṇasya sva-guṇ-ābharaṇasya
3 śrī-**Paśupatisiṁhasya** la[kshma=idam] [||*]

This may be rendered as —

'The token of the illustrious **Paśupatisiṁha**, whose excellences are his ornaments, who was just and expert in (*performing*) royal service and who has completely conquered the group of (*his*) foes.' The use of the word *lakshma*, meaning 'token', is significant, for it clearly proves that such seals were used as tokens sent in support of the genuineness or authenticity of documents despatched along with them.

Of the remaining two seals reproduced here one, marked E on the accompanying plate, is specially interesting in that it enables us to comprehend the import of the word '*jānapada*'. The device we see on this seal consists of a seated male figure, nimbate, with left hand holding, probably, a *ghaṭa* or *maṅgalakalaśa*, the right, a rosary or *akshamālā* (?) and flanked by a tree in a railing or enclosure and on a platform. Below this device there is a short legend of two lines reading:—

1 **Purikā**-grāma-jā-
2 napadasya [||*]

[1] *Eva* is used for the sake of emphasis—both were uterine brothers.

THE CLAY SEALS OF NALANDA (III).

D



E



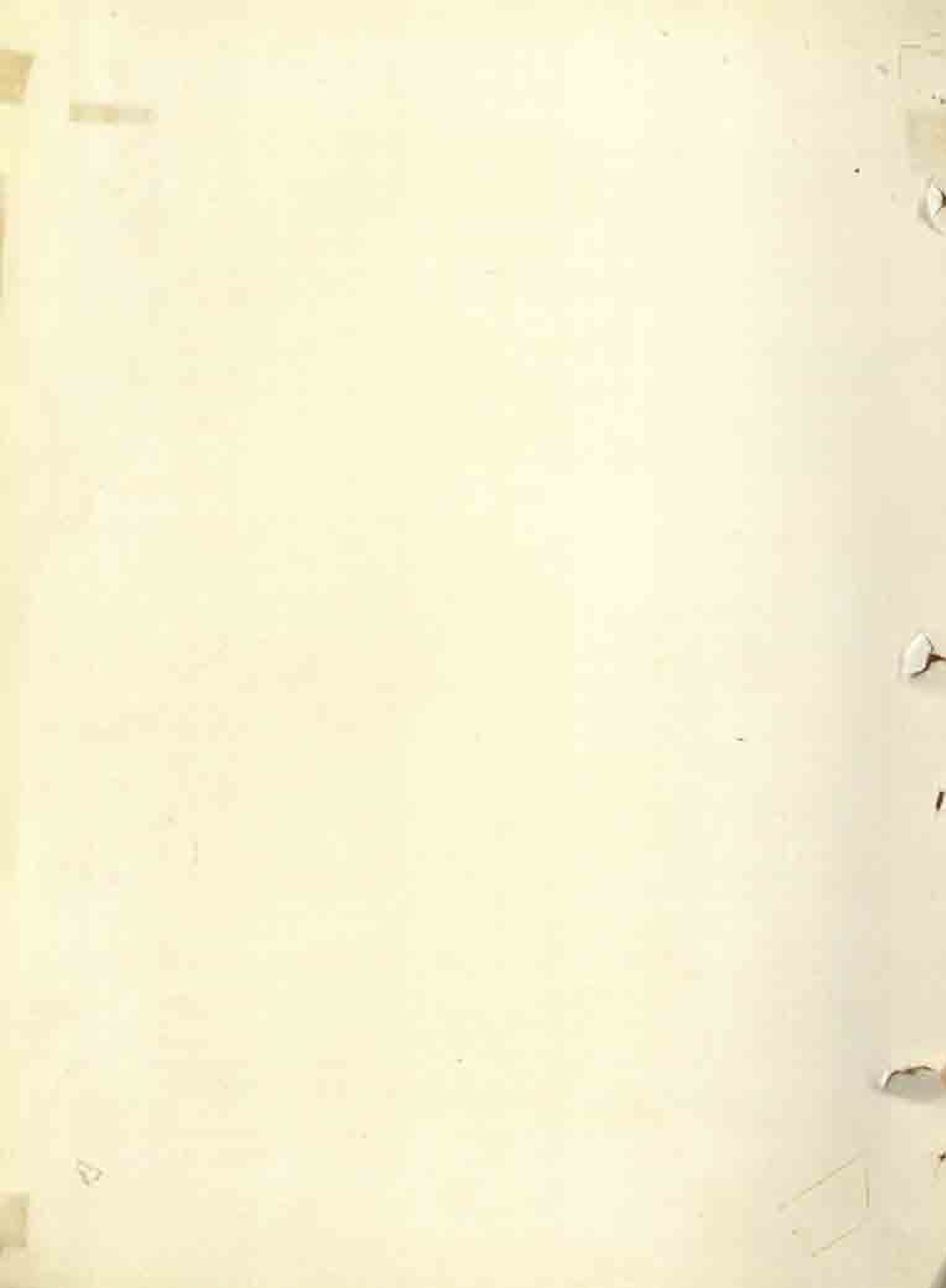
F



HIRANANDA SASTRI

SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA



and means '(*The seal*) of the *Jānapada* or Community of the **Purikā**-village.' Obviously, the word *jānapada* is not used here in the sense of '*dēśa*', which is the dictionary meaning of it, but has to be taken in the sense of **community or unit or corporate body.** In the collection at Nālandā I have now found several other '*jānapada*' seals which are being described in the Memoir.

The other seal, marked F on the accompanying plate, belongs to the village of **Pādapāk** (or °**g**) and the legend which it bears reads :—

Pādapāg-grāmasya [||*]

In several cases these seals, whether they belong to royalties, offices, communities or villages, either show long, flat or rectangular grooves, or have holes drilled right through from top to bottom. Evidently, they were meant for being tied to documents by means of strings, cloth, or palm-leaves. Some of these seals appear to be sun-dried and were probably fastened when they were still fresh or wet and then dried in the sun. Others were probably burnt in some kiln and kept ready for future use. No document has yet been found at Nālandā with any of these seals and it cannot be determined how they were fastened. That such seals or tokens were tied to letters by means of a thick and strong *sūtra* or string may be inferred, however, from the following description of the *lēkha-hāra* or courier from Kṛishṇa, the brother of Śrīharsha, which Bāṇa gives in the *Harshacharitam*:—

अथ तेनानीयमानम्, ... अतिनिबिडसूत्रबन्धनिम्नितान्तरालव्रत-व्यवच्छेदया लेखमालिकया परिकलितमूर्धानम्, . . . प्रविशन्तं लेखहारक-मद्राक्षीत्.

'Then he beheld the messenger entering as he was brought before him,—his legs tired and heavy with the long journey, with his tunic girt up tightly by a mud-stained strip of cloth, the knot hanging loose and fastened up by a ragged clout swinging behind him, and having his head wrapped with a bundle of letters, which had a deep division pressed into it by a very thick thread that bound it ;...........' Such seals as were found in their entirety, like the one of Paśupatisiṁha, were probably fastened to strings whose ends were secured on the documents themselves either by being sealed with the same seal or by another seal or token. The string might have been of hemp or of cotton. In the hole of one seal I have recently seen a piece of white '*khādi*' cloth. In the absence of any specimen it cannot be determined whether these documents or books, etc., were written on wood, leather, palm-leaves, paper or any other material. But an idea as to how these seals must have been tied to them can be formed from the description of the remarkable documents which Sir Aurel Stein discovered at Niya and has described with good illustrations in his *Ancient Khotan* and *Serindia*. These seals were usually broken when a document was read after its receipt to avoid forgery. That is the reason why they are found more or less damaged. This is done even nowadays. In ancient India it was rather the potter's mud or clay which was generally used instead of the shellac or sealing wax, and the *lēkha-hāraka* was like the *harkārah* of to-day.

POSTSCRIPT.

My recent examination of the whole collection has led me to the valuable discovery of several seals representing the Gupta kings **Narasiṁhagupta**, his son **Kumāragupta**, **Budhagupta** and **Vainyagupta**, and also the kings [**Bha**]**gavachchandra**, **Supratishṭhita-varman**, and others. The Gupta seals would show among other points of historical interest that the name of **Kumāragupta's mother** has to be read as **Mitradēvī** and not Śrīmatidēvī or Lakshmīdēvī, and that of **Puragupta's mother**, as **Vainyadēvī** not Vatsadēvī. All these seals are being fully treated in my forthcoming monograph on Nālandā.

No. 13.—BAIGRAM COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE [GUPTA]-YEAR 128

By Radhagovinda Basak, M.A., Dacca

This **copper-plate** was discovered in 1930 near a wooden structure which surrounded an old well opened by some tenants of Rai Sahib Kumudnath Das, Zamindar of Hili, while excavating a tank at Baigram (P. O. Hili) in the District of Bogra, Rājshāhi Division, Bengal. One more copper-plate, which was found along with it, was taken away by the coolies and has not yet been secured. The document under publication was kept with one Pūrna Ākundar till it was brought to Hili early this year by Babu Krishna Chandra Saha, Manager of the Rai Sahib's estate. Afterwards Babu Jyotirindranath Das, Advocate, High Court, Calcutta, presented it to the Gauda Research Society, Howrah; and it is now in the possession of that Society. Babu Niradabaran Mishra Chakravarti, Secretary of the Society, brought it to my notice and gave me a set of its estampages on which my reading of the inscription is based. It is very gratifying, indeed, that within the last few years we have recovered eight valuable records of the Gupta period from North Bengal itself (*i.e.*, ancient *Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti*). Out of these eight documents, seven have already been published, *viz.*, the Dhanaidaha copper-plate inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I.; the year 113,[1] the Five Damodarpur copper-plate inscriptions[2] and the Pāhāṛpur copper-plate grant of the Gupta year 159.[3] The eighth forms the subject of the present paper.

Like the seven charters already published, this inscription is also a deed of sale and registers the purchase by private persons of *khila* (fallow) and *vāstu* (homestead) land belonging to the State for the purpose of donation to a temple. The Faridpur copper-plate grants[4], marked A, B and C by Pargiter, are also of the same type. The general procedure followed in ancient Bengal for purchasing State lands by private persons as laid down in this grant is identical with that given in the Damodarpur grants or in the Pāhāṛpur copper-plate inscription. The intending purchaser of a State land had to submit an application to the administrative authority concerned and the Government had to refer the matter to the record-keepers before giving the required sanction.

The plate measures 9″×5″, approximately, and bears writing on both the sides of it; the obverse side has fifteen lines and the reverse only ten. The left side of it is somewhat protuberant in the middle and this part was circular at its end with a portion cut off and lost. The hole here would show that a **seal** was probably attached to the plate, though it is not now forthcoming. The writing is well executed and the document is fairly well preserved.

The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets of the 5th century A.D. and are almost similar to those used in the Damodarpur plates Nos. 1 and 2, which also belong to the same period. As in the Damodarpur, the Dhanaidaha and the Pāhāṛpur copper-plates, here, too, the medial *ā* is at times indicated by means of a hook-stroke attached to the lower right side of an *akshara* as, for example, in *grāmika* (l. 2). The form of *ṛō* in *rūpakān* (ll. 6 and 14) is also noteworthy. As one would ordinarily expect in the inscriptions of this period, the letter *b* is distinguished from *v* in this document also (see, for example, *Brāhmaṇā* l. 2 or *bādhyamāna* l. 3). The sign for the conjunct letters *ksa* and *ky* appears to be almost identical. The form of the four-lettered conjunct *ṅkchchhy* occurring in the word *upasaṅkchchhya* (l. 19) may be noted. The form of the medial *i* and *ō* in the letters *m*, *t* and *r* requires attention (see, *e.g.*, *mātāpi* in l. 9,

[1] Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 345 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 113 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 59 ff.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 193 ff.

mātuḥ in l. 22 and *pachyatē* in l. 22). This form of *ē* is to be found with the letter *s* also, as, for example, in *vasēt* (l. 23). The sign for the lingual *ḷ* is used in *naḷābhyāṁ* (ll. 18-19). The form of the final *t* and *m*, often found joined with the preceding letters slightly below the top line, as, for example, in *vasēt* (l. 23), *vasundharām* (l. 22), is also noteworthy. The numerical symbols for 100, 20, 8, 10 and 9 are found used in line 25 and those for 3 and 2 in line 18.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit prose excepting in the three imprecatory verses found in lines 21 to 25. As in some of the Damodarpur plates (Nos. 1 to 4) and the Faridpur plates (Nos. A, B and C) the superfluous *k* is found in this inscription also, as in *kṛi[ta]ka* and °*vṛittika* (l. 4). *Sandhi* has been neglected in some places; as in °*nayā avadhṛita* (l.10) and °*sha akshaya* in line 17.

As regards **orthography** the following peculiarities require attention : (1) Consonants are usually doubled before *y*, as in °*dīnārikkya* (l. 6) (but in the same word in line 12 *k* seems to be single) and *pādānuddhyātaḥ* (l. 1). (2) The consonants *k* and *t* are doubled before the subscript *r* : *e.g.*, *vikkrayē* (ll. 6 and 12) and *kshēttra* (ll. 5 and 11). (3) The consonants *k*, *g*, *t*, *th*, *d*, *y* and *v* are doubled after the superscript *r* ; *e.g.*, °*chandrārkka* (ll. 5 and 11), *svarggē* (l. 23), *vartta-māna* (l. 20), *rājārttha* (l. 12), *chaturddiśa* (l. 19), *saṁvyavahāryya* (l. 20) and *pūrvva* (l. 23) respectively.

The inscription is **dated** in *Saṁvat* **128 on the nineteenth of Māgha.** This *saṁvat* evidently refers to the Gupta era and the record undoubtedly refers to the reign of the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I whose dates, known from coins and inscriptions, range from 113 to 136 G.E. Consequently the year given in the inscription must correspond to the year 447-48 of the Christian era. It may be noted here that one of the Damodarpur plates of Kumāragupta I is also dated in this very year, *viz.*, 128 of the Gupta era. The use of the Gupta *saṁvat* was current in North Bengal during this period. The name of the reigning king is omitted in this inscription as well as in the Pāhārpur plate. Evidently the words *Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda* in lines 1 and 13 refer to the reigning sovereign, *viz.*, Kumāragupta I.

The **object** of the inscription under publication is to record the purchase of three *kulyavāpas* of revenue-free *khila* (fallow) fields and two *drōṇas* of *sthala-vāstu* (homestead) land belonging to the State and lying in two localities connected with Vāyigrāma, *viz.*, Trivṛitā and Śrīgōhālī, by two persons named Bhōyila and Bhāskara for the purpose of making a donation, to meet the expenses of flowers, perfumes, *etc.*, required for daily worship and occasional repairs to the temple of Gōvindasvāmin which was founded by their father Śivanandin. The name of the place whence the charter was issued was Pañchanagarī, possibly the district (*vishaya*) headquarters. The administrative officer, who was in charge of the district court (*vishay-ādhikaraṇa*) and approached by the two intending purchasers of the State land, was named **Kulavṛiddhi** and had the title of *Kumārāmātya*. The application was granted and the land was sold to them in accordance with the decision of the Government record-keepers (*pustapālas*) arrived after the land was properly surveyed and measured by means of the *nalas* in use there. The members of the *vishay-ādhikaraṇa*, the other Government officers, as well as the chief householders of the villages concerned were addressed by the head of the *vishaya* regarding this sale of the land by the Government after having received its price at the fixed rate of 2 *dīnāras* per *kulyavāpa* which was in vogue in that *vishaya*. These persons were directed to maintain the grant as a permanent endowment according to the principles of *akshaya-nīvī*.

It is not unlikely that like the Kōṭivarsha of the Damodarpur grants and the Khāḍā(ṭā)pāra of the Dhanaidaha plate, the Pañchanagarī of the inscription under publication was one of the *vishayas* of the old Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* ; but I am unable to identify it, nor am I able to locate Trivṛitā and Śrīgōhālī. I cannot say for certain if the village named here as Vāyigrāma

is the village of the same name that is mentioned in No. 4 of the Damodarpur grants. If they are identical, the village must have been situated somewhere on the boundary line between Kōṭivarsha and Pañchanagarī. That Baigram, where this plate was unearthed, is the ancient Vāyigrāma mentioned in this plate (l. 2) cannot be doubted. Consequently it may reasonably be assumed that the localities mentioned in the inscription were situated somewhere near Hili in Bogra. The name Śrigōhālī, however, reminds us of the names Vaṭa-Gōhālī and Nitva-Gōhālī of the Pāhāṛpur inscription.

A note on the relation in value between a *dīnāra* and a *rūpaka* coin as met with in this inscription may well be added here. The name *dīnāra* is of foreign origin and is derived from the Latin *denarius*, as we all know. The word *rūpaka* occurring in this inscription, I think, requires an explanation. As two *drōṇavāpas* of land are priced at 8 *rūpakas* in lines 6 and 14 of the inscription it appears certain that 8 *rūpakas* are equivalent in value to ½ *dīnāra* because 1 *kulyavāpa* (=8 *drōṇas*) is explicitly priced at the rate of 2 *dīnāras* according to the prevailing custom of sale described in the inscription. Hence 1 full *dīnāra* will be equal to 16 *rūpakas*. We may, therefore, surmise that the term *rūpaka*, which may ordinarily stand for a coin of any variety, refers to silver coins in this charter. In Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* the word *rūpa* seems to mean a coin which may be of silver or copper, *i.e.*, *rūpya-rūpa* (silver coin, *e.g.*, *paṇas*) and *tāmra-rūpa* (copper coin, *e.g.*, *māsha*). The officer who examines coins or controls currency is called *Rūpadarśaka* in that work.[1]

As regards the different rate of price of *khila* and *vāstu* land we find that in some of the Damodarpur plates the rate was three *dīnāras* for a *kulyavāpa* (*tridīnārikya-kulyavāpa*), but in our inscription as well as in the Pāhāṛpur one, we have the rate of two *dīnāras* for a *kulyavāpa* (*dvidīnārikya-kulyavāpa*); whereas in almost all the Faridpur plates the rate is that of four *dīnāras* for a *kulyavāpa* (*chaturdīnārikya-kulyavāpa*). This difference may have been due to the difference of localities and also, probably, to the character of the land sold.

From the Pāhāṛpur inscription it has become clear that one *kulyavāpa* of land is equal to 8 *drōṇavāpas*, for there 12 *drōṇas* are totalised as one and a half *kulyavāpas* and the same result is also obtained even by reference to the money value proposed in the grant in accordance with the prevalent rate. The formula found in some Sanskrit lexicons for one *kulyavāpa* being equal to 8 *drōṇas* is, therefore, established.

The most striking point of historical importance that can be mentioned in this connection is that in our inscription also, as in the other North Bengal grants of the Gupta period, we find the same administrative system in force during the age, *viz.*, that the *vishayapatis*, who enjoyed the use of the usual title of *Kumārāmātya*, were appointed to be in charge of the *vishay-ādhikaraṇas* by the Gupta emperors, undoubtedly on the advice and approval of the higher officer of the larger unit, the *bhukti*, or the *uparika-mahārāja*. The prevalence of such a procedure of administrative relation between the different Government authorities is supported more by the other North Bengal inscriptions of the period than by the present one, as Kulavṛiddhi, the *vishayapati*, is here described as directly meditating on the feet of His Majesty (*Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda*). But this probably alludes to the fact that the appointment of such an administrative head of a *vishaya* by the *bhukti* governor required the sanction of His Majesty, the imperial Gupta monarch. The position of *Kumārāmātya* Kulavṛiddhi here must be exactly the same as that of *Kumārāmātya* Vētravarman of Kōṭivarsha appointed to his responsible post by *uparika* Chirātadatta, who himself enjoyed the favour of the imperial ruler, *paramadaivata*, *paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Kumāragupta I, as mentioned in Damodarpur plates Nos. 1 and 2 of 124 and 128 G.E., respectively. Kulavṛiddhi and Vētravarman must, therefore, have been contemporary officers under the same sovereign in the two separate *vishayas* in North Bengal.

[1] Dr. Shamasastry's Translation, p. 95. *Cf.* Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's remarks above, Vol. XX, p. 81.—Ed.

FIRST SIDE.

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14

SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE.

HIRANANDA SASTRI.

Reg. No. 2934 E. 32.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

SECOND SIDE.

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Attention may be drawn to the curious fact that in this new grant we do not find any reference to the Board of Advisers mentioned in the Damodarpur grants Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 5, as having aided the *vishayapatis* of Kōṭivarsha in the administrative work of the *vishay-ādhikaraṇa*, the four members forming that Board being (1) the *nagara-śrēshṭhin* (the President of the town-guild), (2) the *prathama-sārthavāha* (the representative of the merchant class), (3) the *prathama-kulika* (the representative of the artisan class) and (4) the *prathama-kāyastha* (probably, the chief scribe,—the head of the Government officials). The absence of such a reference in a document of the year 128 G.E. (Damodarpur grant No. 2 of Kumāra-gupta I's reign being also of the same date) belonging to a different part of Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* is difficult to explain, excepting on the tentative theory that Kōṭivarsha (of Damodarpur grant No. 2) was perhaps a more important *vishaya* where Government had to keep better administrative arrangement for the *vishay-ādhikaraṇa* than in Pañchanagarī of this grant, which may have been a newly formed district at the time. It may also be noted that in this inscription we do not come across the name of the *bhukti* Governor known from two of the Damodarpur grants (*i.e.*, Nos. 1 and 2).

TEXT.

First Side.

1 Svasti [||*] **Pañchanagaryyā** Bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ Kumārāmātya-**Kula-vṛiddhir**=ētad-vishay-ādhikaraṇañ=cha

2 **Vāyigrāmika-Trivṛita(tā)-Śrīgōhālyōḥ** Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān=saṁvyavahāri-pramukhān=grāma-kuṭumbinaḥ kuśalam=anu-

3 varṇya bōdhayanti(ti) [|*] Vijñāpayatōra(tō)=ti=atra-vāstavya-kuṭumbi-**Bhōyila-Bhāskarāv**=āvayōḥ pitrā Śivanandi-

4 nā kāri[ta]ka-Bhagavatō Gōvinda-svāminaḥ dēvakulas(aṁ)-tad=asāy=alpa(tad=adō=lpa)-vṛittikaḥ(am) [|*] Iha vishayē samudaya-

5 bāhy-ādy-astamba-khila-kshēttrāṇām=akiñchit=pratikarāṇām śaśvad=āchandr-ārkka-tāraka-bhōjyānāmm(nām)=akshaya-nīvyā

6 dvi-dīnārikkya-kulyavāpa-vikkrayō=nuvṛittas=tad=arhath=āvayōs=sakāśāt=shaḍ=dīnārān=ashṭa cha rūpakān=āy[ī]-

7 [kṛi]tya Bhagavatō Gōvindasvāminō dēvakulē [kha]ṇḍa-phuṭṭa[1]-pratisaṁska(skā)ra-karaṇāya gandha-dhūpa-dīpa-

8 sumanasā[m*] pravarttanāya cha **Trivṛitāyāṁ Bhōgi(yi)lasya** khila-kshēttra-kulyavāpa-trayaṁ **Śrīgōhālyāa(ñ)**=ch=āpi

9 tala-vāṭak-ārtha[m*] sthala-vāstunō drōṇavāpam=ēkaṁ **Bhāskarasy**=āpi sthala-vāstunō drōṇavāpañ=cha dātu-

10 m=i[ti] [||*] Yatō yushmān=bōdhayāma[ḥ*] Pustapāla-Durgādatt-Ārkkadāsayōr=avadhāraṇayā[2] avadhṛita-

11 m=ast=īha vishayē samudaya-bāhy-ādy-astamba-khila-kshēttrāṇā[ṁ*] śaśvad=āchandr-ārkka-tāraka-bhōjyānāṁ dvi-dī-

12 nārikyⁱkulyavāpa-vikkrayō=nuvṛittaḥ [|*] Ēvaṁvidh-āpratikara-khila-kshēttra-vikkrayē cha na kaśchid=rāj-ārttha-

13 virōdha upachaya ēva Bhaṭṭāraka-pādānāṁ dharmma-phala-shaḍ-bhāg-āvāptiś=cha tad=dīyatām=iti ētayōḥ

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[1] Read *sphuṭita*. *Phuṭṭa* is evidently a Prākrit form. [2] Read °*ay=āvadhṛita*°.

14 Bhōyila-Bhāskarayōḥ sakā[śā*]t-shaṭ-dīnārān=ādāya cha rūpakān=āyīkṛitya Bhagavatō Gōvindasvāminō

15 dēvakuladasy=ārthē **Bhōyilasya** **Trivṛitāyāṁ** khila-kshētra-kulyavāpa-trayaṁ tāla-vāṭak-ādy-arttham

Second Side.

16 **Śrigōhālyā[ṁ*]** sthala-vāstunō drōṇavāpaṁ **Bhāskarasy**=āpy=atr=aiva sthalā(la)-va(vā)stunō drōṇavāpa-

17 m=ēva[m*] kulyavāpa-trayaṁ sthala-drōṇavāpa-dvayañ=cha[1] akshaya-nivyā(vyā) tāmra-paṭṭēna dattan nimna[2]

18 ku 3 sthala-drō 2 [3] yūyaṁ sva-karshaṇ-āvirōdhi-sthānē[4] Darvvīkarmma-hastēn=āshṭaka-navaka-naḷābhyā-

19 m=apaviñchchhya chira-kāla-sthāyi-tush-āṅgār-ādi(di)nā[ṁ*] chihnaiś=chāturddiśa niyamya dāsyath=ākshaya-

20 nivī-dharmmēna(ṇa) cha śaśvat-kālam=anupālayishyatha varttamāna-bhavishyaiś=cha saṁvyavahāry-ādibhir=ēta-

21 d=dharmm-āpēkshay=ānupālayitavyam=iti [|*] Uktañ=cha Bhagava[d]-Vēdavyāsa mahātmanā [|*] Sva-dattām para-dattāṁ

22 vvā(vā) yō harēta vasundharām [|*] sa vishṭhāyāṁ krimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhis=saha pachyatē [||*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-saha-

23 srāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [||*] Pūrvva-

24 dattām dvijātibhyō yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira [|*] mahī[m*] mahimatāṁ śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupāla-

25 nam=iti(m ||) iti **saṁ 100 20 8 Māgha di 10 9**

TRANSLATION.

[Ll. 1—3] Bliss ! From **Pañchanagarī**[5] *Kumārāmātya* **Kulavṛiddhi**, who meditates on the feet of the Bhaṭṭāraka (*i.e.*, the king), informs, after enquiring about their health, the *adhikaraṇa* (court) of the *vishaya* and the village-householders, along with the Brāhmaṇas and others and the Chief-officers (*Saṁvyavahārins*) of (*the two localities named*) **Trivṛitā** and **Śrigōhālī** connected with the village named **Vāyigrāma**.

[Ll. 3—6] **Bhōyila** and **Bhāskara**, two family headmen residing in this locality, thus apply,—' The (*building*) of the temple of Lord Gōvindasvāmin founded by Śivanandin, father of us both, is poorly endowed. In this *vishaya* prevails (*the procedure*) of sale at the rate of **two** *dīnāras* for each *kulyavāpa* of shrubless fallow fields, which do not yield any revenue (*to the State*), (*the lands being purchased*) in accordance with the principle of perpetual endowment, to be

[1] Read *ch=āksha-*.

[2] This word put before the abbreviated totalisation of the amount of land purchased does not appear to me explicable. [*Phaṭṭa* (=Skt. *sphaṭita*) in line 7 would suggest that it might stand for Skt. [illegible] meaning low land.—Ed.]

[3] The Pāhārpur plate gives *tad*. (l. 19) which is a much better reading.—Ed.

[4] [This must be the reading in the Pāhārpur plate also, where in the place of [illegible] (l. 19) it would be better to read [illegible] as in this plate.]

[5] This word seems to be the name of the *vishaya* in charge of Kulavṛiddhi. It may also be suggested that it may have been the name of the district headquarters where the court (*adhikaraṇa*) of the *vishaya* was situated.

enjoyed for all time to come as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure, and free from *(the liability of payment of)* any kind of taxes.

[Ll. 6—10] So deign to make a grant to *(me)*, **Bhōyila**, of three *kulyavāpas* of *khila* (*i.e.*, *waste*) land in **Trivṛitā** and one *drōṇavāpa* of *vāstu* (*i.e.*, *homestead*) land, for *(dwelling)* site *(tala)* and paths *(vāṭaka)* in **Śrīgōhālī**, and to *(me)*, **Bhāskara**, one *drōṇavāpa* of homestead land for the purpose of repairs to the temple of Lord Gōvindasvāmin when damaged or dilapidated and for the performance of the daily worship with perfumery, incense, lamp and flowers, by getting from us an income of six *dīnāras* and eight *(silver)* coins.

[Ll. 10—13] Since we inform you that it has been determined by the record-keepers, Durgādatta and Arkkadāsa *(thus)*,—there exists in this *vishaya* *(the procedure of)* sale at the rate of two *dīnāras* for each *kulyavāpa* of shrubless fallow fields, which are beyond the possibility of yielding revenue *(to the king)*, to be enjoyed for all time to come as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure. Moreover, there can be no objection *(out of fear of any loss)* on the king's behalf in the matter of such sale of *khila* fields free from taxes; *(rather)* there is *(possibility of)* some income for the *Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda* (or the king) and also of the acquisition of one-sixth of the religious merit *(accruing from such an act)*. Hence the *(land)* should be given *(by sale)*.

[Ll. 13—18] Thus on making an income of six *dīnāras* and eight *(silver)* coins *(rūpakas)* from **Bhōyila** and **Bhāskara** for the sake of the temple of Lord Gōvindasvāmin, three *kulyavāpas* of *khila* fields in **Trivṛitā** and one *drōṇavāpa* of *vāstu* land in **Śrīgōhālī** were granted *(by sale)* to **Bhōyila** and one *drōṇavāpa* of *vāstu* land in the very same place (*i.e.* Śrīgōhālī) to **Bhāskara**, by the execution of a copper-plate *(charter)* in accordance with the principle of perpetual endowment *(akshaya-nīvī)*, thus the total measurement of land *(sold)* being three *kulyavāpas* and two *sthala-drōṇavāpas* (stated in figures as *ku* 3 and *sthaladrō* 2 respectively).

[Ll. 18—21] *(So)* you shall make over *(to the two applicants the portion of land)* by fixing their boundaries on four sides with marks of chaff and charcoal which will be permanent, after having defined *(the area)* by the measurement of 8 × 9 reeds by the hands of *Darvvikarmma*, in places which have no conflict with your own agricultural work, and shall preserve it for all time to come by the principle of perpetual endowment. The present and the future administrative agents and others also should preserve it out of regard for religious merit.

[Ll. 21—25] [Here follow three imprecatory stanzas.]

[L. 25] *(Here the charter)* ends. **The year *(sam)* 128, the 19th day of Māgha.**

No. 14.—MAURYAN BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF MAHASTHAN.

BY D. R. BHANDARKAR.

This interesting inscription in Mauryan Brāhmī was discovered at Mahāsthān on the 30th of November 1931, by one Baru Faqir of the Mahāsthāngaṛh village in the Bogra District of Bengal. Mr. G. C. Chandra, who was then Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, acquired it for the Department, and it was for some time lying in his office at Calcutta. Under the orders of the Director-General of Archæology, it has now been deposited in the Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

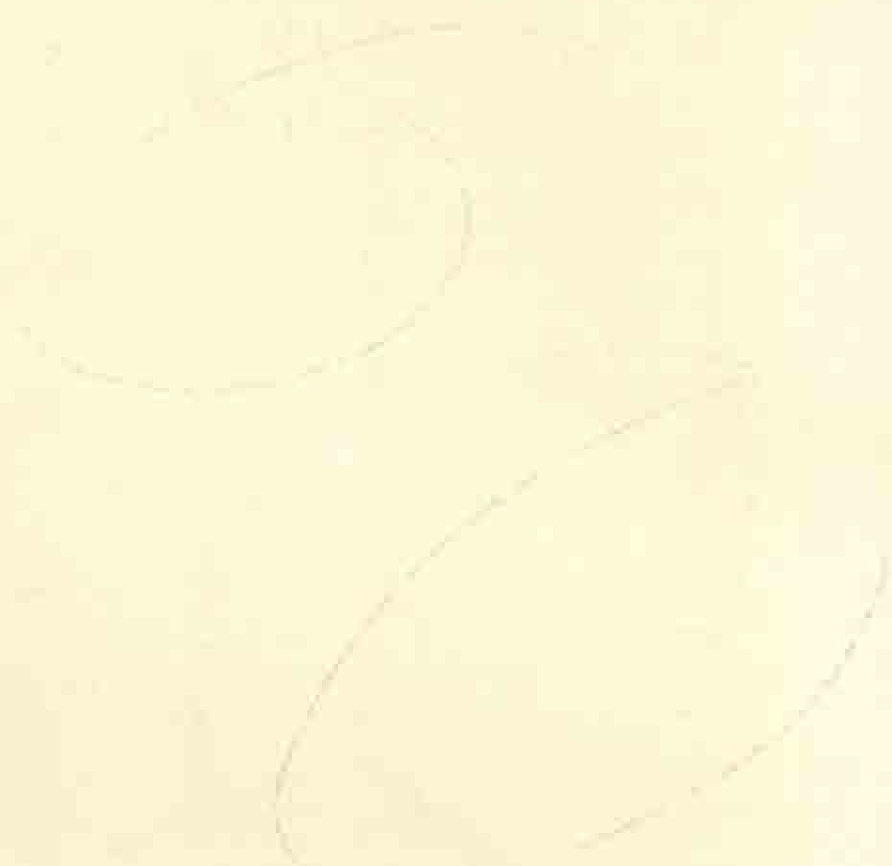
Soon after the discovery of this plaque, a very brief account of its contents, I am told, was printed in the columns of a Bengali daily of Calcutta, the *Banga-bāṇī*, though I have not seen it at all. The account which has appeared in the *Liberty*, dated Friday, 22nd April, 1932, p. 4, I was able to see, but it does not touch any important detail of this epigraph. My transcript

and account of it are based upon an impression sent to me by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, and a photograph forwarded later by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, Director-General of Archæology in India. Recently when the plaque was deposited in the Indian Museum, I was able to inspect it personally, and found, what I knew long ago, that it was impossible to exaggerate the importance of carefully examining the original whenever possible, as impressions and photographs are often not enough to enable a scholar to prepare an accurate transcript.

The inscription is incised on a piece of hard limestone which measures $3\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}'' \times \frac{3}{4}''$. Though it is in a fragmentary condition, yet it is possible to determine, more or less approximately, what was its original extent. That no complete line was engraved after the last line of this fragment can reasonably be inferred from the space remaining blank at the end, which is not less than what we find between any two actual lines of this epigraph. Again a careful examination of the stone shows that the original surface of its sides is still traceable here and there and that many letters, consequently, cannot have been destroyed from the sides. Thus while *stam* is the last word of l. 2, *dhāniyam* is the first word of l. 4. It is thus clear that the sides of the inscription have not been much damaged. One or two letters at the most may have been obliterated from each line whether at the beginning or at the end. Line 1 of our fragment cannot however be really the first line of the original inscription. But even here we may be pretty sure that more than one line could not have been so effaced.

The fragment, as it is, contains six lines of writing in Brāhmī character of the Mauryan period. The **alphabet** remarkably resembles that of the Aśokan records. The only difference that is perhaps worthy of note is that the vertical part of the letters *t*, *p*, *h*, *n* and *s* is a bit more prolonged than is generally seen in Aśokan inscriptions. Our record again has one peculiarity which it shares in common with the Kālsī recension of the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka. It is in regard to the letter *s* which occurs also in a form resembling *sh*. That these two forms do not mean two different letters in our inscription, namely, *s* and *sh*, is quite certain. The word *samcagiyānam* occurs twice, once in l. 1 and once in l. 3; and whereas the first letter in the first case is a clear *s*, it has the form of *sh* in the second. There can however be no doubt as to *samcagiyānam* being the word intended. The *sh*-looking letter must therefore be regarded as a cursive form of *s* and has consequently to be read as *s*, and not *sh*. Similarly in regard to *sulakhite* (l. 2) and *su-atigāyikasa* (l. 5), the first letter in each one of these words is evidently *su*, but whereas the former character is distinctly *s*, the latter looks like *sh*. This *sh*-like form is noticeable, as remarked above, in the Kālsī copy of Aśokan Rock Edicts. Up till and including Rock Edict IX, the regular form of *s* is alone noticeable. In Rock Edict X the *sh*-like form occurs side by side with the regular one, but the former is almost invariably prevalent in the subsequent Edicts. Perhaps Hultzsch is not right in reading it invariably as *sh*, as it seems to be but a cursive form of the regular *s*.

As regards the **language** of our inscription, it is the same as the one used in the Pillar Edicts of Aśoka. It was the language of the Madhyadēśa influenced by Māgadhī or rather the court language of Magadha. Here we have to notice the change of *r* to *l* and of the ending *o* to *e*. These are the peculiarities of Māgadhī. We have, on the other hand, the dental *s* only as in the Pillar Edicts, and not the palatal *ś* which is the third characteristic of Māgadhī, according to the Prakrit grammarians. The locative singular ends in *si*, and never in *e*. As regards **Orthography**, we have to note first that the doubling of consonants caused by assimilation is not graphically shown. We have also to note the constant use of the perpendicular stroke as a *virāma* or stop to mark the words and the clauses of the record. Instances of such upright *virāmas* may be found in the Kālsī and Sahasrām Edicts of Aśoka though there they are sometimes inserted meaninglessly. To give one instance, Kālsī Rock Edict XIII has the following: *Atha-* [va] *sha* |



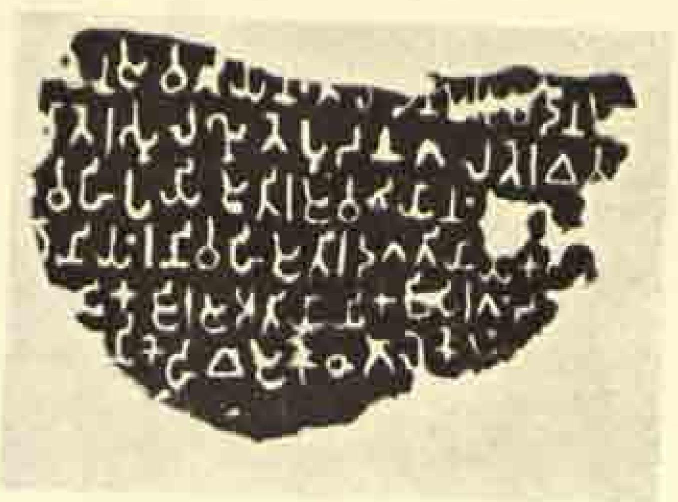
MAURYAN BRAHMI INSCRIPTION OF MAHASTHAN.

From an estampage.

2

4

6



ACTUAL SIZE.

From a photograph.

1

3

5

7



SLIGHTLY LARGER THAN ACTUAL SIZE.

HIRANANDA SASTRI.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

bhisheta- | *sha* [*De*]*vanampiyasha Piyadashine* | *lājine* | (Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, Vol. 1, p. 45). In our inscription, however, it seems to have been properly employed to punctuate divisions or sentences.

The transcript of our record is as follows :—

1. nena Sa[ṁ*]va[ṁ*]gīy[ā]naṁ [Galadanasa] | Dumadina-[mahā*]
2. māte | sulakhite Puḍanagalate | e[ta]ṁ
3. [ni*]vahipayisati | Saṁva[ṁ*]giyānaṁ [cha di*]ne [tathā*]
4. [dhā*]niyaṁ | nivahisati | da[ṁ*]g[ā*]tiyāy[i*]k[e] d[evā*]-
5. [tiyā*][yi]kasi | su-atiyāyika[si] pi | gaṁ[ḍa]ka[kehi*]
6. [dhāni*][yi]kehi esa koṭhāgāle kosaṁ [bhara*]-
7. [ṇīye]

We have seen that the inscription is a fragmentary one. We cannot therefore entirely do without some amount of conjecture while interpreting it. The record, however, can be treated best by considering it line by line and word by word. The fragment begins with the two letters *nena*. The word originally must have been either *sāsanena* or *vachanena*, more probably the former. If we carefully examine l. 1, at the most one letter could have preceded *nena* with which our fragment opens. Thus whether this word was *sāsanena* or *vachanena*, the first letter of it could not have been engraved in the present l. 1 of the fragment but rather in the line preceding it which has now been lost. Similarly, the words [*sāsa**]*nena Sa*[*ṁ**]*va*[*ṁ**]*gīy*[*ā*]*naṁ* [*Galadanasa*], punctuated by the *virāma* of l. 1, make no complete sense as they stand. They surely must have been preceded by some words in the line previous which is now broken and which told us what was the exact nature of the *śāsana* and who the ruler was that issued it.

The next word is *Savagīyānaṁ*, as it stands. The same word occurs in l. 3 as *Saṁvagiyānaṁ*, where the *anusvāra* after *sa* is distinct. The word may be equivalent to the Sanskrit *Saṁvargīyā-nāṁ*, which, however, yields no good sense. It may stand for *vargīyāṇāṁ*, 'of the class-fellows, or the clansmen', with *saṁ* prefixed to it. But this prefix *saṁ* remains meaningless and inappropriate. Besides, what is meant by saying that something was given by *śāsana* to 'Galadana of the clansmen'? Who were these clansmen? Why is their name not specified? It will be better to insert another *anusvāra* this time after *va*, and read the whole word as *Saṁvaṁgiyā-naṁ*, 'of the Saṁvaṁgiya (*tribe*)'. The insertion of an *anusvāra* after *va* cannot be unjustifiable in view also of the fact that in l. 2 we have *Puḍanagalate*, which obviously stands for *Puṁḍanagalate*. That Vaṁgiya is, like the Vajjis, the name of a tribe can scarcely be doubted. And just as the confederation of the different Vajjī clans is sometimes called Saṁvajjī, it is not impossible that the various Vaṅga clans were similarly summed up under the name Saṁvaṁgiya. We shall dilate upon this point later, but what we have here to note is that the second word in l. 1 is in all likelihood intended for *Saṁvaṁgiyānāṁ* which yields good sense and which can also be read as such, having regard to the fact that in old inscriptions an *anusvāra* is not unfrequently omitted.

The third word in l. 1 cannot be read with certainty as the upper part of its letters is damaged. It reads like *Galadanasa*=(*Sk.*) *Galārdanasya*. It seems that Galadana was a leader or chief of the Saṁvaṁgiyas, to whom something was granted by *śāsana*. The next word, though a little damaged, is pretty certain and reads *Dumadina*. Then followed two letters, the first of which is partially preserved and the second completely lost. This first is either *s* or *m*. These two letters together with the first two, namely, *māte*, of the second line formed one word, which is marked by a *virāma*. Thus the letters intervening between this and the preceding *virāma* may be read either as *Dumadina*[*sa*] (*a*)*māte* or *Dumadina-mahāmāte*. The former alternative is less preferable, because the force of *sa* after *Dumadina* is undetermined. Is it a genitive termination, or a part of an individual's name, whatever that may mean? If the former is the case, it makes no

sense. If the latter is the case, according to the language of the record we should have expected *Dumadinasa*=*Dumadinasa*=*Drumadinasya*. Thirdly, *mahi* cannot here be equivalent to *mahiyā* which in this inscription would run into *mahiye*. All things considered, it is safer to accept the second alternative, and read the two words together as *Dumadina-mahāmātre* "the Mahāmātra (called) Dumadina".

The next letters of the second line placed between two *virāmas* can be read without doubt as *sulakhite Pu[ṁ]ḍanagalate*. There can similarly be no doubt as to *Pu[ṁ]ḍanagalate* standing for the Sanskrit *Puṇḍranagarataḥ*, "from Puṇḍranagara". The change of the Sanskrit *taḥ*(=*tah*) into *te* need not puzzle us. It may be compared to *Ujenite* and *Takhasilāte* of Dhauli Separate Rock Edict I (Sections AA and BB in ll. 23-4 of Hultzsch's *Asoka Inscriptions*). But what does *sulakhite* mean? Here too the ending *te* must be equal to *tas*=(*taḥ*). But what about *sulakhi*? Does it stand for *sulakshita*), or for *sulakshmī*(*ka*)? Either will suit excellently. The next clause indicated by the *virāmas* contains the two words *e(ta)ṁ (nirvahi)payisati*=*etaṁ nirvāhayishyati*, "will cause it to be accomplished". The word *etaṁ* here in all likelihood relates to the *dāna* or grant which must have been specified in the first original line, which has now been obliterated. What the exact nature of this grant was we do not know. But we will hazard a conjecture about it when we come to treat of the ending portion of our epigraph.

The next clause is rather difficult to handle. The first word, however, can be read with certainty. It is *Saṁva[ṁ*]giyānaṁ*. The letter following is either *r* or *ch*. The next letter is lost, but the third is most probably *ne*. This last seems to have been followed by two letters which are now lost. The last word of this clause is *dhāniyaṁ*, which occurs in l. 4. No letter seems to have preceded it in this line at least, as remarked above. *Dhāniyaṁ* may thus be taken as one word and as equivalent to *dhānyaṁ*=' paddy '. The whole clause may perhaps be restored to *Saṁva[ṁ*]giyānaṁ [cha] [di*]ne [sahā*] dhāniyaṁ*, " and likewise paddy has been granted to the Saṁvaṁgiyas ".

The letters intervening between the next two *virāmas* read *nivahisati*, which does not form a clause but is one word, so that we have to take it along with what is placed in the next pair of *virāmas*. This last comprises letters, some of which have been destroyed and baffle well-nigh all ingenuity at restoration. It consists of two words, the first of which is pretty certain, namely, *dagatiyāy[i]ke*. The other word also ends with *tiyāyikasi* of which *yikasi* is to be found in the next line, i.e., l. 5. *Yikasi* must have been preceded by *yā* in the same line, though it is now effaced. The remaining *ti* must have been engraved in the preceding line and formed the ending letter of that line. Before this *ti* there must have been two letters, of which one only has been partially preserved. This last looks like *ḍ* and comes immediately after the word *dagatiyāy[i]ke*, noted above. But in the case of this letter the joining bar between the two uprights of *ḍ* is very narrow and not as broad as that of *ḍ* in *Pu[ṁ*]ḍanagalate* in l. 2, or in *gaṁḍa[ka*]* in l. 5. Possibly, what looks like *ḍ* is the preserved portion of *d*, and this word may perhaps be restored to *d[evātiyā]yikasi*. The whole may thus read *nivahisati da[ṁ*]g[ā*]tiyāy[i*]k[e] d[evātiyā*]yikasi* (*nirvāhayishyati draṅgātyāyike devātyāyike*), and may be translated as follows: " the excess (*atiyā-*
yika) (of adversity) to the town (*draṅga*) during the excess (caused) by the superhuman agency
will be tided over ". It seems that there is a reference here to a *deva-atiyāna*, that is, to a trans-
gression or adversity caused by the gods or superhuman agents. Further, it seems that this
atiyāna had overtaken the *draṅga* of the Saṁvaṁgiyas. This *draṅga* may be Puṇḍranagara itself
or some place not far removed from it where the Saṁvaṁgiyas were settled. Thirdly, it seems
that one measure that was devised to combat this adversity was the doling out of *dhānya*
or paddy. This shows that the *deva-atiyāna* that had befallen the Saṁvaṁgiyas must have been no-
other than a famine.

The next batch of interpunctuated letters is *su-atiyāyikasi pi*. But these two words by themselves do not form a clause, and have therefore to be taken along with those that follow. Of these only *gaṁḍa* has been preserved in l. 5. At least two more were originally incised in this line, but they have now been destroyed. The next line, which is the last preserved one, has lost at least two letters at the beginning and three at the end, but those that have been preserved can be clearly read as [*y*]*kehi esa koṭhāgāle kosaṁ*. The lacunae may be tentatively filled up as follows : *gaṁḍa*[*kehi**] [*dhāna**]*yikehi esa koṭhāgāle kosaṁ* [*bhārayiṁsu**]. The whole may thus be rendered into English : "when there is an excess of plenty, this granary and the treasury may be replenished with paddy and the *gaṁḍakas*". Here two things are mentioned, (1) *koṭhāgāle*=*koshṭhāgāraṁ*=granary, and (2) *kosa*=*kośa*=treasury. Corresponding to *kosa* we have the mention of *gaṁḍaka*, which means "a coin of the value of four cowries". The *yikehi*, with which the last line begins, can thus be easily restored to [*dhāna**]*yikehi*=*dhānyakaiḥ*, as it corresponds to *koṭhāgāle* and as we know it has already been mentioned as being distributed among the Saṁvaṁgīyas. What we have thus to understand here is that as soon as the time of super-abundance returned, they were to remit *gaṁḍaka* coins into the royal treasury and paddy into the royal granary.

Ll. 3-4 refer to the doling out of paddy to these people. It is thus perfectly intelligible why at the end of the record they have been asked to return the corn. But why should there be any mention of *gaṁḍaka* coins at all at this place, as they have not been referred to above? Were the *gaṁḍaka* coins anywhere mentioned as being distributed among the Saṁvaṁgīyas, which they were expected to pay back into the treasury with the return of prosperity? We have said above that the first original line of this inscription has been lost, which told us about the nature of the *śāsana* granted to Galadana (Galārdana) of the Saṁvaṁgīyas, who is mentioned in l. 1 of the preserved portion. And it is not at all unreasonable to surmise that this *śāsana* referred to the *gaṁḍaka* coins which were handed over to Galadana for disbursement among the Saṁvaṁgīyas and which they were asked to refund as soon as the day of plenty dawned upon them.

The inscription may thus be briefly summed up as follows : It appears that some ruler of the Mauryan period, if not of the Mauryan family, had issued an order to the Mahāmātra stationed at Puṇḍranagara, with a view to relieve the distress caused, apparently, by famine to the people called Saṁvaṁgīyas, who were settled in and about the town. Two measures appear to have been adopted to meet this contingency. The exact nature of the first is not clear as the first original line of our record has not been preserved. But it may be surmised that this measure consisted of the advance of a loan in *gaṁḍaka* coins to Galadana who, presumably, was a leader of the Saṁvaṁgīyas. The Mahāmātra of Puṇḍranagara was entrusted with the execution of this order. The second measure consisted of the distribution of *dhānya* or paddy from the granary. A wish is then expressed that as soon as these measures are carried out, the Saṁvaṁgīyas will be able to tide over the calamity. With the restoration of profusion and affluence they have been asked to return the coins to the treasury and the corn to the granary, in other words, to pay the State back in kind and cash.

We may therefore translate the text as follows :—

"To Galadana (Galārdana) of the Saṁvaṁgīyas . . . . (was granted) by order. The Mahāmātra from the highly auspicious Puṇḍranagara will cause it to be carried out. (*And likewise*) paddy has been granted to the Saṁvaṁgīyas. The outbreak (*of distress*) in the town during (*this*) outburst of superhuman agency shall be tided over. When there is an excess of plenty, this granary and the treasury (*may be replenished*) with paddy and the *gaṁḍaka* coins."

We now turn to other matters revealed by the critical consideration of our epigraph. The inscription stone, Mr. Chandra told me, was originally picked up near a tank not far removed

from a high mound, where excavations were being conducted and which is presumed to contain the remains of a *stūpa*. Whether any characteristic parts of a *stūpa* were recovered in this work of exploration is not known. I am informed that no such definite results have been achieved. On the other hand, we have to note that the words *esa koṭhāgāle* occur in the last line. The word *esa* shows that the stone plaque was originally stuck into the granary itself from which paddy was doled out. And if our inscription stone, when it was discovered, was lying not far from its original place, the monument which is being cleared of debris at present may after all turn out to be, not a *stūpa*, but the royal granary into which the plaque was originally fixed.

Our historical gain from a critical study of this record is by no means inconsiderable. In the first place, it places beyond all doubt the identification of Puṇḍravardhana with Mahāsthān, which was proposed by Cunningham half a century ago. In his account of Bhasu Bihar, four miles to the west of Mahāsthāna, he remarks that the Buddhist remains at that place correspond both in description and position with those noted by Yuan Chwang at the *Po-shi-p'o* monastery, which was situated just twenty *li* or four miles to the west of the capital of the country of *Pun-na-fa-tan-na* which transcribed itself into Punnavardhana but is intended for Puṇḍravardhana.[1] "This city" says Cunningham "the pilgrim places at 600 *li*, or 100 miles, to the east of the Ganges, near Rājmahal. Now, this description corresponds exactly with the relative positions of Rājmahal and Mahāsthān, the latter being just 100 miles to the east of the former".[2] The suggestion of Cunningham was shortly thereafter confirmed by the *Karatōyā-māhātmya*, which was first published forty years ago. The *Māhātmya* mentions many holy spots which are all found at present in Mahāsthān. But the *Māhātmya*, though it calls itself *Karatōyā-māhātmya*, purports to describe the sacred sites of Puṇḍra or Pauṇḍravardhana-kshētra. It is thus evident from it that the present Mahāsthān is identical with the old Puṇḍravardhana. Now, Mr. Prabhas Chandra Sen, who has edited the *Māhātmya* for the second time and for the Varendra Research Society, rightly points out that one verse from it is cited by Sarvānanda (1159 A.D.) in his *Tīkā-sarvasva* on the *Amarakōsha* and two in the *Smṛitichandrikā* by Dēvaṇabhaṭṭa who is himself quoted by Hēmādri (12th century).[3] This shows that the *Karatōyā-māhātmya* is a composition which could not have been later than 1100 A.D. We may thus take it that the identity of Mahāsthān with Puṇḍravardhana was known before the twelfth century A.D. But this identity is now placed beyond all doubt by what our inscription tells us. It tells us that two remedial measures to alleviate the distress of a famine were contemplated and that the Mahāmātra of Puṇḍranagara was charged with the execution of them. One of these measures consisted in the distribution of paddy from the royal granary, which, as shown above, must have been situated in Mahāsthān itself as the inscription speaks of it as *esa koṭhāgāle*. As the *koṭhāgāla* was thus in Mahāsthān and as the Officer who was to dole out paddy from it to the Saṁvaṁgīyas was the Mahāmātra of Puṇḍranagara, it is quite clear that Mahāsthān is identical with Puṇḍranagara. And this identity between the two is now established by evidence not of the twelfth century A.D. to which the *Māhātmya* belongs, but of the fourth B.C. to which our record has to be assigned.

The second point of historical interest that we have to note is the manner in which the state in Ancient India endeavoured to combat the ravages of a famine. In this connection one is reminded of what Kauṭilya says in his *Arthaśāstra* : '*durbhikshē rājā bīja-bhakt-ōpagrahaṁ kṛitv-ānugrahaṁ kuryāt. Durga-sētu-karma vā bhakt-ānugrahēṇa, bhakta-saṁvibhāgaṁ vā*,'[4] "During a famine, the king may show favour by giving *gratis* seeds (*bīja*) and food (*bhakta*). Either he (may carry out) work in forts and on dams with the distribution of food, or he may distribute food *gratis* (without exacting work)". It will be seen from this passage that the state in ancient times

[1] Watter's *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, pp. 184-5.
[2] *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XV, p. 110.
[3] *Varendra Res. Soc.'s Monograph*, No. 2, p. 23.
[4] IV, 3, 78.

encountered the contingency of famine either by starting works of public utility or by a free distribution of food. Neither of these, however, seems to be adverted to in our inscription. There is absolutely no mention of any public work being started in the interest of the famine-stricken people in Puṇḍranagara. Mention is no doubt made of the distribution of paddy, but this paddy seems to have been given neither *gratis* nor in lieu of any work in the fort or on an embankment but on the distinct understanding that it shall be returned to the State District Granary as soon as the days of plenty and prosperity were restored. Here again what was given to the Saṁvaṅgīyas was not *annam* or boiled rice, but rather *dhānyam* which is unhusked rice. This paddy obviously must have been used as seed for sowing operations and, also, when husked, must have served the purpose of food. It may now be asked: Why money was at all distributed among the Saṁvaṅgīyas? In this connection we have to remember that in East Bengal where nature is so plentiful a famine can take place only through the inundation of a river. Mahāsthān or Puṇḍranagara is situated on a river, namely, the Karatōvā. And when a town is settled on a river, the floods cause devastations not simply to the crops in the fields but also to the buildings and huts which are perched on its borders. To meet this contingency, a money grant has to be made to the people whose belongings have been washed away or seriously affected by the floods. This is perhaps the only explanation that can be given of the disbursement of *gaṇḍaka* coins among the Saṁvaṅgīyas. What again we have to note here is that this disbursement of money and this distribution of unhusked rice were made to this people without any interest. If they had been charged with any, there would have been some reference to it in our record. Or it may be that they were tacitly understood to return the money at the usual rate of interest.

Perhaps ours is not the first known inscription which relates to the putting up of a granary as a fortification against scarcity of food. Of practically the same period is a copper-plate found at Sohgaura "about fourteen miles south-east from Gorakhpur". This was first edited by Bühler in the *Vienna Ori. Jour.*, Vol. X, pp. 138 ff and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 261ff., afterwards by Fleet in JRAS., 1907, pp. 510 ff., and lastly by Prof. B. M. Barua in *Ann. Bhand. Ori. Res. Ins.*, Vol. XI, pp. 32 ff. A cursory glance at its contents will convince anybody that it refers not to one but two granaries. But the inscription, in spite of the fact that it has been revised thrice, has not yet been properly punctuated, read and interpretated. The last line should have been read *atiyāyikāya na gahitavaya* "nothing should be taken in excess (of plenty)". Our record speaks of two *atiyāyikas*, one of which is *su-atiyāyika*. It is this *atiyāyika* which is probably understood at the end of the Sohgaura copper-plate. Similarly, this last epigraph speaks of the granaries being stored with various provisions. In fact, if any fourth scholar makes an attempt to again revise the Sohgaura inscription in the light of our record, he may be able to show that the former also is an order to some Mahāmātra, probably of Srāvasti, to open the two granaries and distribute their contents when any dire contingency called for it. In fact, the idea of counteracting the ravages of a famine by the erection of granaries and store-houses is pretty ancient in India and it is not therefore a matter of surprise if the Mahāsthān inscription also adverts to the measures commonly employed by the state to combat the devastations caused by a famine in ancient Bengal.

Let us now see what further light our record throws on the ancient history of Bengal. It is unfortunate that the first line of the inscription has not been preserved. The name of the ruler, if any was mentioned, is thus lost irretrievably. But as the alphabet and the language of our record are exactly like those of the Aśokan edicts, it is not impossible that he was a prince of the Mauryan dynasty. We have already seen that the language of this epigraph is the language of Madhyadēśa influenced by the Māgadhī.[1] It was really the language of the Mauryan Court

[1] For a more detailed consideration of this point, see D. R. Bhandarkar's *Aśoka* (2nd Ed.), p p. 280-1.

in Magadha, which, owing to its outgrowing imperialism, had spread not only over the whole of Madhyadēśa but also over parts conterminous to it. Places like Kālsī in the Dehra Dun District, Dhauli in the Purī, and Jaugaḍā in the Ganjām District, where also the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśōka have been found, were never included in Madhyadēśa, and yet we notice that these recensions are couched in the Madhyadēśa-Māgadhī dialect which had become the *lingua franca* of almost the whole of North India. We now see definitely that this *lingua franca* had spread even to Bengal and was in vogue there as early as the third century B.C. as our inscription conclusively proves it. It is true that Brahmanism took a long long time to spread over Bengal. In fact, there is no evidence to show that Brahmanism had any firm hold over this province earlier than the Gupta period. The *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, no doubt, speaks of the sage Viśvāmitra as having adopted Śunaḥśēpa as his son and caused much chagrin to the first fifty of his hundred sons, who were therefore cursed by him "to live on the borders of the Aryan country".[1] The decendants of these exiled sons of Viśvāmitra, we are further informed, formed the greater bulk of the Dasyus, and one of these Dasyu tribes specified in the Brāhmaṇa was the Puṇḍras, who at that time must have been settled round about Mahāsthān and can be still recognised in the Pōros, an aboriginal caste in Bengal.[2] The utmost that this tradition mentioned in the *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa* indicates is that some scions of the Viśvāmitra family carved tiny kingdoms in the countries of the alien tribes. This does not, however, show that Aryan culture had spread to the Puṇḍra or any other country, far less imbibed by the people there. The Aryan culture seems for the first time to have been disseminated in Ancient Bengal by the Jainas. This is clear from the fact that the Kalpasūtra, an ancient scripture of the Jainas, mentions, not one, but three *śākhās*, of the Godāsa Gaṇa of Jaina monks, named after the three places in Ancient Bengal, namely, Tāmralipti, Kōṭivarsha and Puṇḍravardhana. Of these Tāmralipti is the same as Tamluk in the Midnapur, Kōṭivarsha, the same as Bāngarh in the Dinājpur, and Puṇḍravardhana, the same as Mahāsthān in the Bogrā District of Bengal. It is curious to note that while Bihār and Kosala were taken up by the Buddha and his adherents, Bengal was selected by Mahāvīra and his followers for their proselytising activities. It is true that no traces of this original Jainism are now left in Bengal. But even as late as the middle of the seventh century A.D. the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang testifies to the Nirgrantha Jainas being numerous in Puṇḍravardhana. Very recently a copper-plate charter was discovered during excavation at Pāhāṛpur in Bengal, which is dated G.E. 159=477 A.D. and registers a grant for the worship of Arhats at a Vihāra situated not far from this place and presided over by the disciples of the Nirgrantha preceptor Guhanandin.[3] No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to Jainism, especially Nirgranthism, having been prevalent in Bengal up till the 7th century A.D. And it is these Jainas settled in Tāmralipti, Kōṭivarsha and Puṇḍravardhana, who for the first time and in the pre-Mauryan period appear to have carried Aryan culture to ancient Bengal. This, however, at the most, may explain the employment of the Brāhmī alphabet in our inscription, but the use of the court language of Pāṭaliputra is a clear indication of Bengal, at any rate North Bengal, being included in the Mauryan dominions.

The last point of historical interest that we have now to consider is: Who were the Saṁvaṁgiyas, supposing that was the name really intended? Saṁvaṁgīyas in the first place reminds us of Saṁvajjis. We know that to the account of *Fu-li-chih*(=Vṛiji) by Yuan Chwang a note is added by the commentator, saying that "*Fu-li-chi* was in 'North India', and the north people called it the *Sam-fa-chih* (or Saṁvajji) country".[4] On this point Beal makes the following par-

[1] For a full discussion of this subject, see *Ann. Bhand. Ori. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XII, pp. 104 ff.

[2] It is curious that the Puṇḍras of even so late a period as that of the Purāṇas are placed in Chhota Nagpur in *Cambridge His. of Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 317 and Map 5.

[3] *Above*, Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.

[4] Watter's *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 81.

tinent comment: "The country of the Vrijjis or Saṁvrijjis, *i.e.*, united Vrijjis, was that of the confederated eight tribes of the people called the Vrijjis or Vajjis, one of which, *viz.*, that of the Lichhavis, dwelt at Vaiśāli".[1] Just as the eight confederate clans of whom the Vajjis were once the most important were called collectively the Saṁvajjis or the United Vajjis, it is not at all unreasonable to conjecture that there were some confederate clans in East Bengal who were similarly conglomerated under the collective term of Saṁvaṅgīyas. This shows that the most prominent of these at the beginning was the Vaṅgīyas, after whom the confederation was styled the Saṁvaṅgīyas or the United Vaṁgīyas. The second point to be noted here is that the people of East Bengal are now called Vaṅgas, and it may be asked where was the necessity of coining a name which is an obvious derivative from it, namely, Vaṁgīya. If we now turn to the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya Purāṇas* and study the chapters dealing with *Bhuvana-vinyāsa*, we find that they mention the two allied clans, Pravaṅgas and Vaṅgēyas. But be it noted that there is none which has been called Vaṅga. Secondly, the second of these names, namely, Vaṅgēya comes so close to the Vaṁgīya of our inscription, that our inscription being earlier than any one of these *Purāṇas* and being a genuine record of its time, Vaṁgīya must doubtless be considered to be the original name, and the reading Vaṅgēya of the Purāṇas thus becomes a corrupt form of it. Again, the fact that Pravaṅgas are coupled with Vaṅgīyas (wrongly called Vaṅgēyas) in these early *Purāṇas* shows that they were confederated clans and fell under the Saṁvaṅgīyas. And further the reference to the Saṁvaṅgīyas in connection with Puṇḍranagara goes to indicate that the Puṇḍras also belonged to the Saṁvaṅgīya confederacy. And just as in the time of the Buddha the capital of the Saṁvajji confederacy was Vesāli which was the headquarters not of the Vajjis but of the Lichchhavis who were then prominent, it seems that in the time of our inscription the capital of the Saṁvaṁgīyas was Puṇḍranagara, which was the headquarters, not of the Vaṅgīyas but of the Puṇḍras after whom it was undoubtedly called Puṇḍranagara.

No. 15.—JUBBULPORE KOTWALI PLATES OF KING JAYASIMHADEVA. KALACHURI YEAR 918.

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, B.A., KATNI.

While digging for the foundations of a new Kotwali building at Jubbulpore **two copper-plates** were found in a stone box and were, in the ordinary course, sent over to the District Superintendent of Police, Mr. A. G. Scott, who gave them to me for decipherment. The letters were so thickly covered with accretions of ages that they were not visible except a few here and there. The crust had become exceedingly hard and could not be removed locally. I, therefore, sought the aid of the Archæological Chemist through the Director General of Archæology in India with the result that Mr. Mohammad Sana Ullah, M.Sc., F.C.S., thoroughly cleaned the plates without injuring any letters, but he could not help where the copper had corroded. Thus many letters, especially in the first plate, have been damaged, as would appear from the accompanying plate. The original plates are now deposited in the Nāgpur Museum. The first plate gives the genealogy of the donor in verses many of which are common to other records of the family. The second records the grant and also gives the usual imprecatory and benedictive stanzas.

The plates measure 14"×9¼", each weighing 6 lbs. There are altogether 40 lines in the record, 20 on each plate, both of which are written on one side. It appears that the writer did not care

[1] *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 77, n. 100.

to mention the name of the engraver who in order to immortalise himself engraved 3 more lines on the back of the second plate in much bigger characters than those of the grant, the letters averaging ½" against ⅛" of the record. In fact, the engraver commenced the record with that size, but after writing 11 letters in the first line he, probably, made a calculation and came to the conclusion that the whole would not go within the two sides of the two plates, so he reduced the size. Had he not made the initial mistake his name also would have come within that space but as it did not, he apparently induced the head of the Department of religion to compose a eulogistic verse about the latter to serve as an excuse for engraving on the reverse of the second plate before he could insert his name.

The **characters** of the record are Nāgarī and the **language** is Sanskrit. As regards **orthography** there is nothing special to add to what has been noted in respect of other Kalachuri records previously found. *V* has invariably been used for *b* in single letters but where the latter forms part of a compound letter its older form has been used, see, *e.g.*, *abja* (l. 4), *abdhi* (l. 21), *etc.* The old form of *i* with two dots and a comma-like figure below them is conspicuous in the record.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of a village **Agarā** near **Akharauda** at the time of a lunar eclipse on **Saturday, the full-moon day of Āśvina in the (Kalachuri) year 918**, *i.e.*, the 30th September 1167 A.D. The donor, the P. M. P. **Jayasiṁhadēva,** the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and the lord of the three Kaliṅgas, after bathing in the Rēvā (Narmadā) at Tripurī, the well-known Kalachuri capital, made the grant to Paṇḍita Dēlhaṇa Śarmā, son of Paṇḍita Dāmōdara of the *Agastya-gōtra*, with 5 *pravaras*, in the presence of Self, the Queen Consort Kōlhaṇadēvī, the Heir-apparent, the Prime-minister, the Royal Preceptor Vimalaśiva,[1] the Royal Priest, the Head of the Department of religion Paṇḍita Rāghava, the Chief Scribe Ṭhakkura Vatsarāja,[2] the *Sāndhivigrahika* (Minister for Peace and War) Ṭhakkura Purushōttama, the *Pratīhāra* (Chief Warden) Kamalasiṁha, the *Dushṭasādhya* (Mentor of criminals) Padmasiṁha, the *Mahāsāmanta* (Generalissimo), the *Akshapaṭalika* (Record Keeper[3]), the Judge, the *Aśvasādhanika* (Equerry), the Treasurer and the inhabitants and political bodies of the gift-village for augmenting the religious merits of self and his parents. It appears that all the village rights, including a variety of taxes, were transferred to the donee. The village is given to the extent of its limits with boundaries marked on its four sides, with pasture for cows, with lands and water, with mango and *mahuā* trees, with salt-pits, with mines and quarries, with the right of ingress and egress, with forest and river-bank lands, with trees, groves, creeper and plant gardens and grass, *etc.*, with the river and mountain, with revenue and taxes levied at the resting place or camping ground, with pasture dues, toddy dues and lands not available to tenants, with *Ghāṭa* (river-crossing) dues, village headman's dues and tax for mending the incorrigibles and the District rates.

These details give a glimpse of the revenue administration during the 12th century A.D. This record mentions some peculiar offices and taxes which are usually not found in other records. The office of *Dushṭasādhya* which I have translated as Mentor of Criminals may be identical with that of [4]*Dauḥsādhasādhanika* usually found in the inscriptions of the Pālas. *Pamattaśulka* seems to be a mistake for or a corruption of *Pramāṭri*. The transfer of the river and the mountain

[1] The name suggests that he probably belonged to the line of the Śaiva ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan.—See Banerji, *Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments* (Mem. A. S. I.), pp. 110 ff.

[2] The two officials Vatsarāja and Purushōttama are mentioned also in the Kumbhī plates.—See Banerji, *Haihayas, etc.*, p. 29 and *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 481 ff. and Vol. XXXI, pp. 116 ff.—Ed.

[3] According to R. B. Dayaram Sahni (See *Ibid.* Vol. XIV, p. 186) or "Head of the Office of Accounts", according to Dr. Barnett (*Ibid.* Vol. XI, p. 146).

[4] It is very likely that Duḥsādhyas are represented by the present day Dusādhs, a criminal tribe, as suggested by Dr. Hirananda Sastri.

and of the district or provincial rates appear to indicate abandonment of sovereign rights in favour of the donee. *Duḥsādhyādāya*, which I take to be a tax for mending the incorrigibles, presents a new feature. So do the *Pravaṇivāda chari vasavati kāmata mataṁmādāya* which are the forerunners of the modern dues for occupying camping grounds, for grazing cattle, extracting toddy, and crossing rivers. *Kāmata* was a rigid form of home-farm, which is still referred to in law books, but has become practically obsolete.

On the top of the first plate द २ is written in small letters, which apparently means दान or gift No. 2 given on the same day.[1] The mark was probably meant for the writer's guidance.

The **genealogy** of the donor as given in the plate starts from the beginning of the creation, that is, from Brahmā born from the Lotus emanating from the navel of Vishṇu. Brahmā's offspring was Atri, from whose eye was born the moon. From the latter was born Bōdhana, from whom sprang Purūravas, in whose family Bharata was born. In the latter's family was born that highly glorious Kārtavīrya, who allowed the title of King only to the moon. He was the ancestor of the Haihaya Princes, from whom sprang the Kalachuri race. In that race there was a prince named **Yuvarājadēva**, who purified the town of **Tripurī**, so that it became like Indra's city. Then came **Kōkalla** whose son was **Gāṅgēyadēva**, who died at the foot of the holy fig tree at Prayāga with his 100 wives. His son, the victorious **Karṇadēva**, succeeded him. He founded **Karṇāvatī** and married a **Hūṇa** lady **Āvallādēvī**, from whom was born **Yaśaḥkarṇadēva**. His son was **Gayākarṇadēva** whose consort was **Alhaṇadēvī**. From these were born **Narasiṁhadēva** and **Jayasiṁhadēva**, the latter being the donor of this grant. He occupied the *gaddi* during the waning period of the Kalachuri supremacy, for the line came to an end during his son and successor's rule. Jayasiṁhadēva succeeded his brother Narasiṁhadēva, who, we know from other records, was on the *gaddi* in 1159 A.D. The present record of Jayasiṁhadēva, of whose times three [2]other records have been found, brings him nearer to his brother's reign by at least 8 years.

The **geographical** names occurring in the record are the well-known **Tripurī** (present Tewar, 6 miles from Jubbulpore), the river **Rēvā** or Narmadā near it, **Karṇāvatī**, the present Karanbel, a part of Tripurī and the villages **Agarā** and **Akharauda**, both of which are untraceable at present.

The charter was prepared by an officer called *Daśamūlin* or *Daśamūlika*, named Vatsarāja, son of Dharma and grandson of Abhyuddhara and engraved by the silversmith Tālhaṇa, son of Pālhaṇa of the Kōkāsa family.

TEXT.

[Metres.—*Mālinī*, verses 1, 9, 12; *Aupachchhandasika*, v. 2; *Vasantatilaka*, vv. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 16; *Āryā*, v. 6; *Śālinī*, vv. 11, 18; *Indravajrā*, v. 13; *Anushṭubh*, vv. 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv. 17, 30.]

First Plate.

1 सिद्धम्[3] ॥ [१ ॥*] ओं नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे ॥ जयति जलजनाभस्तस्य नाभी-
सरोजं जयति जयति तस्माज्जातवानब्जसूतिः । अत्र जयति स तस्मा-

2 पत्प्रमविस्पष्टत्वास्त[इ*]ति जयति जन्मप्राप्तवानब्धि(ब्धि)बन्धुः ॥ [२ ॥*] अथ
वो(बो)धनमादि [रा]जपुत्रं प्रजया(जा)मातरमजया(वा)प्तवस्य । अथ
तनयं जनयांब(ब)

[1] Reading seems to be *da* 2 which may be an abbreviation of *dāna* 2.—Ed.

[2] See Hiralal's *List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (1st edition), Nos. 31, 32, 44.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

3 भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहंसः ॥ [२ ॥*] पुत्रं पुरूरवसमौरसमाप सूनुर्हंसस्य सप्तजलराशिरसायनस्य । आसीदनन्यसम-

4 भागशतोपभोग्या यस्योर्व्वशी च सुक[लत्र]मिहोर्व्वरा च । [३ ॥*] यस्या[न्वये] किल [शता]धिकसप्तमेधयूपोपलक्ष्यभुवनोन्नतविततकीर्त्तिः । स-

5 प्ताब्धि(ब्धि)रत्नरसनाभरणाभिरामविश्वम्भराप्रभरर्ता भरतो ब(व)भूव ॥ [४ ॥*] हेला[गृहीत]पुनरुक्तस[म]स्तशस्त्रो गोत्रे जयत्यधिकमस्य

6 स कार्त्तवीर्य्यः । यश्चै[व] हैहयनृपान्वयपूर्व्वपुंसि राजेति नाम शशलक्ष्मणि चक्राम यः ॥ [५ ॥*] [स] हि[माच]ल इव कलचुरिवंशमसूत-

7 त जगतीभृतां भ[र्त्ता ।] मुक्तामणि[भि]रिवामलगुणैः पूतं महीपति-भिः ॥ [६ ॥*] तत्रान्वये जयवतां प्रवरो [नरेन्द्रः] पौरंद[री]मिव पुरीं चि-

8 पुरीं पुनानः । आसीन्मदान्धनृपगन्धगजाधिराजनिर्म्माथकेसरियुवा युवराज-देवः ॥ [७ ॥*] सिं[हा]सने नृपतिसिंहमुख्यसूनु-

9 [माकन्द]पल्लवनिभर्त्तुरमात्यमुख्याः । कोकल्लमर्थयत[तुङ्ग]वी[थि]संचरत्संहत[व]चतु-[रंग]चमूप्रचारं ॥ [८ ॥*] मरकतमणिपट्टपीठब-

10 धाः [क्षिता]वो नगर[परि]घ[दैर्घ्यं] लंघयन्दोर्द्दयेन[।] [शिरसि] कुलिश-पातो वैरि[णां वी]रलक्ष्मीपतिरभवदपत्यं यस्य गांगेयदेवः ॥ [९ ॥*]

11 प्राप्ते [प्रयागव]टमूल[नि]वेश[ब(व)न्धौ सार्द्धं] शतेन गृहि[णीभि] रमुत्र मुक्तिं । पुत्रोस्य खड्गदलितारिकरीन्द्रकुंभमुक्ताफलैः [स्म] ककुभोऽर्चति

12 [कर्ण]दे[वः] ॥ [१० ॥*] यस्यं [धा]म चे[द्यसो] वे[दवि]दाक-[ल्पो]क[ल्पः स्वःसवंत्याः] किरीटं । [ब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्तम्भो] येन [कर्णा]-वतीति प्रत्यक्षा[पि] ख्यात[न]ब्र(ब्र)ह्मनी-

13 कः ॥ [११ ॥*] स [जनि] क[लचुरी]णां स्वामिना तेन हूणा-न्वयजलनिधि[लक्ष्म्यां श्रीमदा]वल्लदेव्यां । स[मभवदुदय]शैलाद्रिनुम(क्ष)-दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वीचीस

14 ह च[रित]रसःश्री[श्री] य[शःकर्ण]देवः ॥ [१२ ॥*] [तस्यात्मजो]-भूद[तुलप्रतापः] श्रीमद्गयाकर्ण इति प्रतीतः । यस्यासिरेष्वद्यनवैरि-कंठ(कण्ठ)च्छेदा-

JUBBULPORE KOTWALI PLATES OF KING JAYASIMHADEVA, KALACHURI YEAR 918.

First Plate.

HIRANANDA SASTRI.

Reg. No. 2043 E. 37, 450.

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Second Plate: First Side.

22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40

Second Plate: Second Side.

42

15 स[पुर्णेव ध]रानुरक्ता ॥ [१३ ॥*] अस्यावल्हणदेव्यां श्रीनरसिंहनरे-
श्वरं । संवेदन[मि]वेच्छायां प्रयत्नं सुषुवे सुतं ॥ [१४ ॥*]
उच्चैर्हिरण्यकपि-

16 पं प्रतिपादनेन प्रीतिं परां वि(बु)धमे(ह)तिषु प्रकुर्व्व[न्] । सौंदर्यसार-
विनिवारितमारगर्व्वचित्रं तदाप्ययमहो नरसिंहदेवः ॥ [१५ ॥*]

17 तस्यानुजो विजयतां जयसिंहदेवः शौर्योज्ज्वलैरपि नृपैः क्रियमाणसेवः ।
यद्दानसुमयममेव सुरद्रुमेण व्यद्रावि भूतल-

18 तले व(ब)लिना प्रलीनं ॥ [१६ ॥*] नष्टे गुर्ज्जरभूभुजा भुजव(ब)लं मुक्तं
तुरुष्केण च त्यक्तः कुंतलग्रासकेन सहसा कंदर्पकेलिक्रमः । श्रुत्वा

19 श्रीजयसिंहदेवनृपतेराज्याभिषेकं नृपाः संग्रामादपरे प्रयाता जगतीं पारं ययु-
र्व्वारिधेः ॥ [१७ ॥*] परमभट्टारक-

20 महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीवामदेवपादानुध्यात परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज-
परमेश्वर परममाहे-

Second Plate, first side.

21 श्वर त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति निजभुजोपार्जिताश्वपति गजपति नरपति राजत्रयाधि-
पति श्रीमज्जयसिंहदेव एते विजयि-

2 नः ॥ महाराज्ञी श्री केल्हणदेवी । महाराजपुत्र । महामात्य । श्री-
मद्राजगुरु विमलशिव । महापुरोहित । धर्म्मप्रधान

23 पं । श्रीराघव । महाप्रधानार्थलेखि ठक्कुर[1] श्रीदशमूलिक । सांधि-
विग्रहिक ठक्कुर श्रीपुरुषोत्तम । प्रतीहार श्रीकमलसिंह ॥

24 दुष्टसाध्य श्रीपद्मसिंह । महासामन्त । महापटलिक । प्रमत्तवार ।
महासाधनिक । भांडागारिक । इत्येतानन्यांश्च प्रधान्यमा-

25 न ग्रामनिवासि जनपदांश्चाहूय यथार्हं मानयन्ति वो(बो)धयंति समाज्ञापयंति च ।
विदितमस्तु भवताम् । संवत् ९१८ आश्वि-

26 न सुदि पौर्णमास्यां तिथौ स(श)निदिने त्रिपुर्यां सोमग्रहणे रेवायां
विधिवत्स्नात्वा श्रीमहादेवं समभ्यर्च्य मातापित्रो-

27 रात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये पञ्चरौदसमीपे चनरा ग्रामः स्वसीमापर्य्यंतचतुरा-
घाटविशुद्धः सगोप्रचारः ।

28 सजलस्थलः साम्रमधूकः सलवणाकरः सगर्त्तोषरः सनिर्गमप्रवेशः सजाङ्ग-
लानूपो वृक्षारामोद्भिदोद्या-

29 नतृणादिसहितः सनदीपर्व्वतः भागकर प्रवणिवाड चरी रसवती कामत
विर्सिणिमादाय पट्टकिलादाय दुःसाध्यादा-

[1] The name of Vatsarâja seems to have been omitted here through oversight or modesty, Vatsarâja being himself the writer of the charter as mentioned below, l. 40 of the text.

30 य विषयिकादायादिकृत ...सह अगस्त्यगोत्राय त्रिप्रवराय पंडित श्रीदामोदरपुत्राय पंडित श्रीदेल्हण-

31 शर्म्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणायोदकपूर्व्वकत्वेन शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः ॥ अत्र चाभ्यर्थना दातुर्भवति यथा ॥ सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवे-

32 न्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतु(र्नृ)पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [१८ ॥*] ब(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राज-

33 भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा(भू)मिस्तस्य त(त)स्य तदा फलं ॥ १९ ॥*] सुवर्णमेकं गामेकां भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुलं । हरन्नरकमाप्नोति याव-

34 दाभूतसंप्लवं ॥ [२० ॥*] तडागानां सहस्रेण अश्वमेधशतेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न शुध्यति ॥ [२१ ॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत व-

35 सुन्धरां । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥ [२२ ॥*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-

36 व नरके वसेत् ॥ [२३ ॥*] वारिहीनेष्वरण्येषु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णसर्प्पास्तु जायन्ते देवब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्वहारिणः ॥ [२४ ॥*] अन्यायेन

37 हृता भूमिरन्यायेन तु हारिता ॥ हरतो हारयतश्च दहत्यासप्तमं कुलं ॥ [२५ ॥*] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छ-

38 ति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ [२६ ॥*] शंखो भद्रासनं [च्छ]त्रं वराश्वा वरवारणाः [।*] भूमिदानस्य चिह्ना-

39 नि फलमेतत्पुरंदर ॥ [२७ ॥*] अस्मिन्वंशे परिक्षीणे यः कश्चिन्नृपति-र्भवेत् । तस्याहं हस्तलग्नोस्मि शासनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥ [२८ ॥*]

40 अभ्युदयस्य पौत्रेण श्रीमद्धर्म्मस्य सूनुना । लिखितं वत्सराजेन चेदोना-दसमूर्त्तिना ॥ [२९ ॥*] मङ्गलं ॥ महाश्रीः ॥

Second Plate, second side.

41 सिद्धम्[1] [॥*] यस्य श्रीजयसिंहदेवनृपतेः श्रेयोर्थं प्रोषयन्पूर्णः शीत-मरीचिरंचिततमैरभ्यर्चितः सद्गुणैः । विद्याः

42 कंदलयंस्तमांसि दलयन्नित्यं पतिर्व्वस्वतां भूयाद्भूतिसुखोदयाय विदुषां द्राघीयसे राघवः ॥ [३० ॥*]

43 श्रीकोकासवंशपालकसुतरूपकारलाल्हणेनोत्कीर्णं ॥

[1] Expressed by symbol as in l. 1 above.

No. 16.—NALANDA INSCRIPTION OF VIPULASRIMITRA.

BY N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

The stone bearing this inscription, which is now in the Museum at **Nālandā** in the Patna District, was recovered in two fragments from the latest stratum of Monastery No. VII at Nālandā in the course of excavations carried on there in 1928-29 and 1929-30. I edit the inscription from the original stone and from a set of excellent estampages kindly furnished by Maulvi Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, B.A., Officiating Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Central Circle. For a number of suggestions I am indebted to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy at Ootacamund.

The writing, which is very neatly executed, covers a space of about 19¾" by 8¼" and consists of 15 lines. The average size of letters is ⅜". The **characters** are a form of Nāgarī that was current in North-eastern India towards the end of the Pāla period. The only point that calls for notice is the way in which the superscript *r* is indicated, namely by a short slanting stroke attached below the *mātrā*, which, in many cases, is difficult to recognize. Palæographically the inscription should be placed between the Gayā inscriptions of the time of Nayapāla (*cir.* 1030 A.D.)[1] and the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Jayachchandra (*cir.* 1183 A.D.).[2] The record to which it bears the greatest resemblance is the Govindapur inscription of the poet Gaṅgādhara in the Indian Museum, dated in Śaka year 1059, *i.e.*, 1137 A.D.[3] The inscription, although **not dated,** may, therefore, be assigned to **the first half of the twelfth century A.D.**

The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of the phrase *Ōṁ namō Buddhāya* at the beginning, the text is in verse throughout. There are thirteen stanzas in all, composed in a variety of metres.

The inscription calls itself a *praśasti* (l. 15), recording the benefactions of a Buddhist ascetic named **Vipulaśrīmitra.** It opens with an obeisance to the Buddha which is followed by a hymn (V. 1) addressed to the divine Dharmachakra and Tārā. Then it tells us of an ascetic named **Karuṇāśrīmitra** of **Sōmapura**, who went to heaven when his house was set on fire by an army of **Vaṅgāla** (V. 2). His disciple was **Maitrīśrīmitra** (V. 3) whose disciple again was **Aśōkaśrīmitra** (V. 4) and Aśōkaśrīmitra's (disciple) was **Vipulaśrīmitra** (V. 5). Vipulaśrīmitra made an offering of a casket (*mañjūshā*) at a temple of the god Khasarppaṇa, for the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript and four images at its alms-houses on the occasion of a festival (V. 6), carried out repairs to the monastery of *Pitāmaha* (*i.e.* Buddha) at **Chōyaṇḍaka**, and installed an image of Jina Dīpaṅkara (*i.e.* Dīpaṅkara Buddha) at **Harshapura** (V. 7). At **Sōmapura**, he built a temple of Tārā, with an attached court and a tank, effected the reconstruction of cells (V. 8), and, evidently at the same place again, presented a gold ornament for the embellishment of a Buddha image (V. 9). Lastly, he erected a monastery which he made over to the **Mitras** (V. 10), that is the line of ascetics to which he himself belonged. Where this monastery was erected is not stated; but there is no doubt that it was at Nālandā and identical with the building in whose *débris* the inscription has been discovered. In Verse 13 the eulogy is stated to have been manifested by **Kanakaśrī** and **Vaśishṭha**, the former being apparently the composer and the latter the writer or engraver.

Of the **geographical** terms mentioned in the record, Chōyaṇḍaka and Harshapura are not known from any other sources and for the present remain unidentified. **Sōmapura** is identical

[1] *Mem. A. S. B.*, Vol. V, No. 3, Pls. XXV and XXVI.
[2] *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXII and *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V (1929), p. 18.
[3] *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 330.

with the place of that name occurring in the inscription *Śrī-Sōmapurē Śrī-Dharmapāladēva-mahāvihārē*, etc., on certain terracotta sealings[1] discovered by Mr. K. N. Dikshit in his excavations at **Pāhārpur** in the Rājshāhi District of Bengal. According to the evidence of these sealings, there was a monastery named after the Pāla king Dharmapāla at Sōmapura which has been identified by Mr. Dikshit with Pāhārpur. This place must have gained considerable repute as an important seat of Buddhism in Northern India during the Pāla period. A Bodh-Gayā inscription[2] mentions the *mahā-vihāra* or "the Great Monastery" of Sōmapura. In Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism*[3] it is stated that king Dēvapāla, the son of Dharmmapāla, built a Buddhist temple at "Sōmapura"; and, according to the *Pag-sam-jon-zang*,[4] the same king built the Great Monastery of "Sōmapuri" after his conquest of Varēndrī or North Bengal. It however appears probable from the information supplied by the Pāhārpur sealings that the monastery owed its foundation to Dharmmapāla, and not to his son.[5] Further references to the monastery at Sōmapura are found in the Tibetan translations of certain Buddhist Sanskrit works, *e.g.*, the *Dharmakāyavidhi* and the *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa*.[6] The latter was translated by the great scholar Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna (11th century A.D.) with the help of Vīryasiṁha and Jayaśīla at the Sōmapurī-vihāra. The cells renovated by Vipulaśrīmitra at Sōmapura must have belonged to the great monastery consisting of some 177 cells, which have now been laid bare at Pāhārpur. Vaṅgāla, which is probably East Bengal, is mentioned in the Tirumalai inscription of Rājēndrachōḷa I[7] and in the Buddhist Sanskrit text *Ḍākārṇava*.[8]

TEXT.

[Metres :—vv. 1, 2, 8, 10, 12, Śārdūlavikrīḍita; v. 3, Mandākrāntā; v. 4, Śikhariṇī; v. 5, Mālinī; vv. 6, 11, Vasantatilakā; v. 7, Indravajrā; v. 9, Upajāti; v. 13, Anushṭubh.]

1 Ōṁ[9] namō Buddhāya || Astu svastyayanāya vaḥ sa bhagavān śrī-Dharmma-chakraḥ kiyad=yan-nāma śrutavān=Bhavē='sthira-vapur=nirjīvam=uttāmyati | tatra Śrīghana-śāsan-āmṛita-rasaiḥ saṁsichya

2 Bauddhē padē taṁ dhēyād=apunarbhavaṁ bhagavatī Tārā jagat-tāriṇī || [1*] Śrīmat-**Sōmapurē** vabhū[ū]va **Karuṇāśrīmitra**-nāmā yatiḥ kāruṇyād=guṇa-sampadō hita-sukh-ādhānād=api prāṇi-

3 nāṁ | yō **Vaṅgāla**-balair=upētya dahana-kshēpāj=jvalaty=ālayē saṁlagnaś=charaṇ-āravinda-yugalē Buddhasya yātō divaṁ || [2*] Tasy=āchchhidra-vrata-parichitasy=ōchita-smēra-kīrttēḥ śishyō='dhyakshaḥ

4 sukṛita-ghaṭitō buddhimān buddhimatsu **Maitrīśrīr**=ity=upari viditō mitra-vat[10] **Mitra**-nāmā [sa]tvasy=ārthē svam=udayam=upāditsur=utsāhavān yaḥ || [3*] Prajñāhyō=py=anvishy=āśraya-

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[1] *A. R., A. S. I.*, 1927-28, pp. 105-6.

[2] Bloch, *A. R., A. S. I.*, 1908-9, p. 158; and Majumdar, *Sāhitya-Parishat-Patrikā*, Calcutta, 1329 B.S., p. 71.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 366.

[4] Ed. Sarat Ch. Das, pp. 111 and 116.

[5] [It is possible that Dēvapāla built the monastery and named it after his father.—Ed.]

[6] Cordier, *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Part II, p. 466 and Part III, p. 298.

[7] *Ante*, Vol. IX, p. 233.

[8] H. P. Sastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, 1917, p. 22.

[9] Expressed by a symbol.

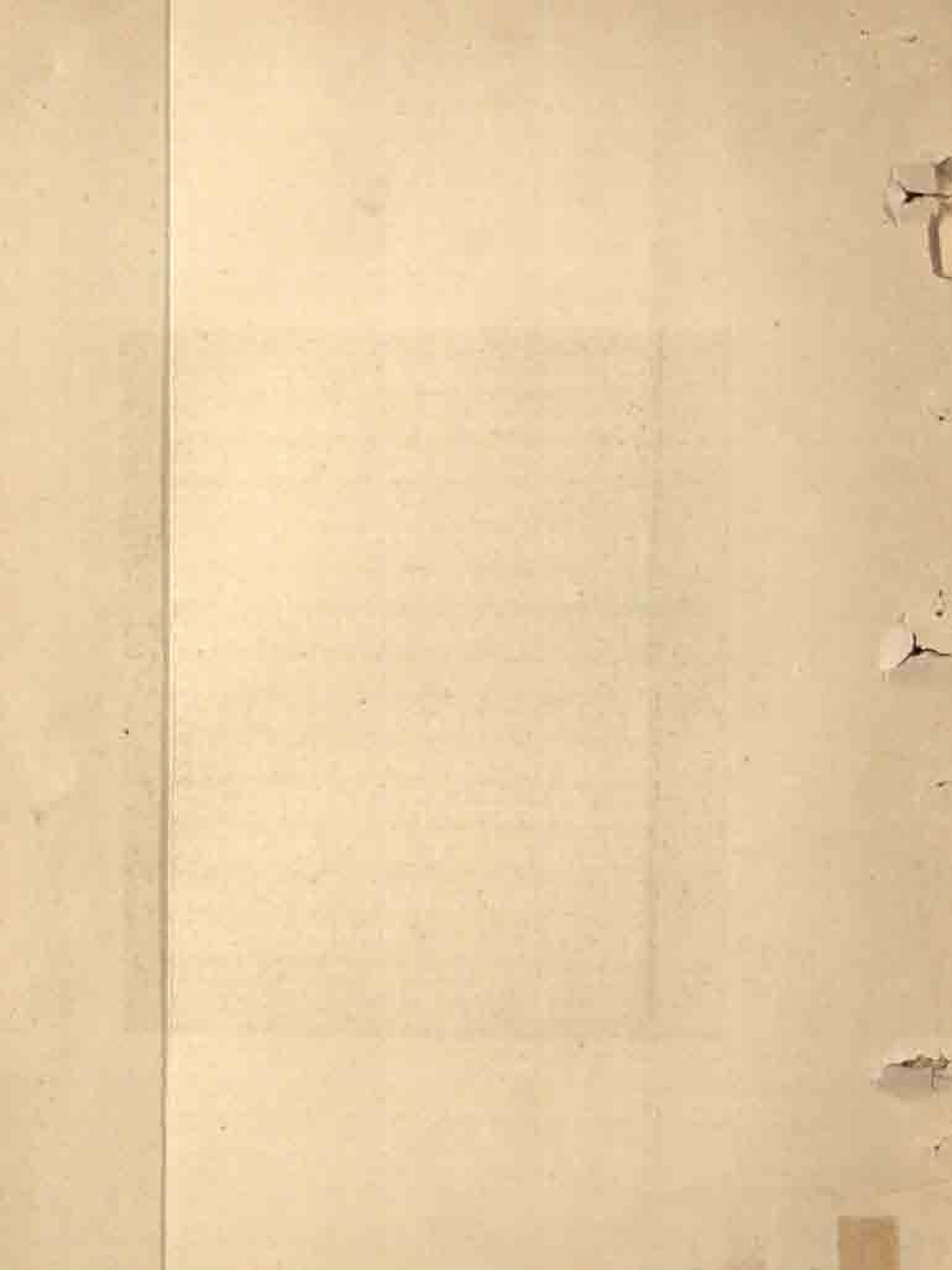
[10] Read -vat=Mitra-

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K. N. Dikshit

SCALE: TWO-THIRDS

Survey of India, Calcutta.



5 m=alabhamānair=iva guṇair=adhītaḥ saṁśliṣṭō yatir=amala-śīlaḥ samabhavat | **Aśōkaśrīmitrō** guṇa-samudayō yasya hṛidayē sahasrair=ashṭābhiḥ prativasati Sambuddha-jana-

6 -ni || [4*] Tad-anu cha **Vipulaśrīmitra** ity=āvirāsīd=vipula-vimala-kīrttiḥ saj-jan-ānanda-kandaḥ | amṛitamaya-kalābhiḥ kshālit-āśēsha-dōshaḥ satatam=upachita-śrīḥ śukla-pa-

7 kshē śaś=īva || [5*] Śrīmat-Khasarppaṇa-mah-āyatanē prayatnāt[1] mañjūshayā vihitayā janani Jinānāṁ | yēna bhramaty=aviratam pratimāś=chatasraḥ sattrēshu parvvaṇi samarppayati sma

8 yaś=cha || [6*] **Chōyaṇḍakē** yaś=cha Pitāmahasya vihārikāyāṁ nava-karmma chitraṁ | **Harsh**-āhhidhānē cha **purē** Jinasya Dīpaṅkarasya pratimāṁ vyadhatta || [7*] Ashṭau yaś=cha mahā-bhayāni jaga-

9 tāṁ nirmūlam=unmūlitum Tāriṇyā bhavanaṁ vyadhatta sukṛiti śāla-hrad-ālaṁkṛitiṁ | śrīmat-**Sōmapurē** chaturshu layanēshv=antar-vahiḥ-khaṇḍayōr=yaś-ch=ādhatta navīna-karmma jagatāṁ

10 nētr-aika-viśrāma-bhūḥ || [8*] Adatta hēm-ābharaṇaṁ vichitraṁ Buddhāya bōdhau janatāṁ vidhātuṁ | ity-ādi-puṇya-kriyayā sa kālaṁ vaś=īva dīrghaṁ nayati sma tatra || [9*] Kṛitvā tē-

11 na vihārikā kṛitavatā=laṅkāra-bhūtā bhuvō **Mitrēbhyō**='dbhuta-Vaijayanta-jayini datt=ēyam=unmīlati | yasyāṁ visṃṛitavān=nivāsa-rasikaḥ Śāstā trilōkī-patiṁ

12 Śuddhāvāsa-nivāsam=arthi-janatā-duḥsañchara-prāntaraṁ || [10*] Harmuṁ Hariḥ padam=iv=ājani tatra tatra kīrttir=yayā vasumatī kṛita-bhūshaṇā bhūḥ | tāvach=chiraṁ jayati nē-

13 tra-sudhā sravanti yāvat=samṛidhyati na Mañjurava-pratijñā || [11*] Tat-tat-kīrtti-vidhau sudhā-nidhir=iv=āmbhōdhau samunmīlitaṁ puṇyaṁ yad=bhuvan-āntarāla-tulanā-pātraṁ pavitraṁ ma-

14 ma | astu prastuta-vastuvat kara-talē paśyanti viśvaṁ Jinā yatr=āsīna-padē sthitās=tri-jagatāṁ tat-prāptayē tach=chiraṁ || [12*] Tarkka-śilpa-prasaṅgē yau dhāvatō jagatāṁ hṛidi | **Kanaka-**

15 **śrir=Vaśishṭhō** vā praśasti-vyakti-kārakau || [13*]

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Adoration to the Buddha !

(Verse 1). May the divine and illustrious Dharmma-chakra bring you prosperity hearing whose name, even to some extent, Bhava (*i.e.*, worldly existence), restless in body, gets exhausted and lifeless ; thereafter besprinkling him with the nectar juice of the Law of Śrighana (*i.e.*, Buddha),[2] may the goddess Tārā, the Deliveress of the world, place him, free from re-birth, at the foot of the Buddha.

(Verse 2). In the illustrious **Sōmapura** there was the ascetic **Karuṇāśrīmitra,** so called on account of his compassionate disposition[3], abundance of merits, and his efforts towards

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[1] Read *prayatnān=mañjūshayā.*

[2] For this name of Buddha see H. P. Sastri, *Catalogue of Sans. Mss. in A. S. B.*, Vol. I (1917), p. 55.

[3] The three qualities indicated in the three components of the name, *viz.*, *karuṇā* (compassion), *śrī* (splendour) and *mitratva* (benevolence) are here referred to.

the welfare and happiness of living beings; who, when his house was burning, (*being*) set on fire by the approaching armies of **Vaṅgāla**, attached (*himself*) to the pair of lotus feet of the Buddha, (*and*) went to heaven.

(Verse 3). The disciple of him, who was celebrated for his uninterrupted religious observances and possessed bright and appropriate fame, was known as **Maitrīśrīmitra**. He was invincible (*in argument*), endowed with merit and the talented amongst talented men, and possessed of energy and desirous of his own prosperity for the sake of living beings,[1] like the Sun himself.

(Verse 4). The disciple's disciple (of Karuṇāśrīmitra) was the ascetic **Aśōkaśrīmitra** of blemishless character. Good qualities, not finding, as it were, an abode which they sought for, had (at last) taken refuge in him and remained inseparably attached. There in his heart full of good qualities dwells 'the mother of the Buddhas' in eight thousand[2] (*verses*).

(Verse 5). After him there came **Vipulaśrīmitra** of extensive and bright fame, the very source of the delight of righteous men. He was of ever increasing beauty like the moon in the bright half (*of the month*), washing away (*i.e.*, brightening) the entire night by nectarine digits [or who wiped away all blemishes by (*his knowledge of*) the elegant arts].

(Verse 6). With the casket, executed by him with skill, at the great temple of the illustrious Khasarppaṇa (*i.e.*, Avalōkitēśvara), the mother of the Jinas (*i.e.*, Prajñāpāramitā) incessantly moves about.[3] He also presented in the alms-houses[4] four images on the occasion of a festival.

(Verse 7). He also carried out varied repairs to the monastery of *Pitāmaha*[5] (*i.e.*, Buddha) at **Chōyaṇḍaka**, and (installed) an image of the Jina Dīpaṅkara at **Harshapura**.

(Verse 8). In the illustrious **Sōmapura**, with a view to dispel entirely the Eight Great Fears[6] of the people, that meritorious person built a temple of Tāriṇī (*i.e.*, Tārā) adorned with

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[1] There seems to be a pun on the words *mitra* and *udaya*. The former would mean 'the sun' and 'friend' and the latter 'rise' and 'prosperity'.

[2] The allusion is evidently to the fact that he was thoroughly conversant with the text of the *Ashṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. The goddess Prajñāpāramitā is 'the mother of all the Buddhas', *e.g.*, in *Ashṭasāhasrikā* (Bib. Ind.), p. 529. She is often identified with Tārā, *e.g.*, in verse 2 of the inscription of Chāḷukya Vikramāditya VI (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 186). That is why Tārā is also called 'the mother of the Buddhas'.

[3] The casket offered by Vipulaśrīmitra at the temple of the god Khasarppaṇa (who is the husband of Tārā or Prajñāpāramitā) must have been so nice that it never left the deity (*i.e.*, the manuscript); in other words the holy manuscript was thereafter invariably exhibited in the casket. It is not clear where the temple of Khasarppaṇa stood.

[4] For the use of *sattra* in a Buddhist inscription see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. V, p. 29, l. 15. For other references see P. K. Acharya, *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 615 ff. The alms-houses must have been those adjoining the temple.

[5] The term *Pitāmaha*, which is usually applied to Brahmā, here stands for the Buddha and is used in this sense in an inscription of the time of Kanishka on the pedestal of a Buddha image from Mathurā (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 97) and in another Kushān inscription also engraved on the pedestal of a Buddha image noticed by Cunningham at Bhīṭā near Allahabad (*A. S. R.*, Vol. III, p. 48, Pl. XVIII, C; Kern, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 94; Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscrs.*, No. 910). The appellation *Pitāmaha* is suggestive of the idea of Ādi-Buddha who in the Buddhist pantheon occupies a position almost analogous to that of Brahmā.

[6] The goddess Tārā is supposed to have the power to save humanity from eight kinds of fears (*J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 67; *Mem. A. S. B.*, No. 20, p. 18). In Sarvajñamitra's *Sragdharā-stotra* eight stanzas are devoted to the description of these eight 'fears' which are shipwreck, lightning, elephant, robber, lion, serpent, fetters and demons. These are also enumerated, but with some difference, in two hymns to Tārā in an inscription of the Chāḷukya king Vikramāditya VI (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 185, 187) and illustrated in a bas-relief in the Darbār Cave at Kanheri (*Cave Temples of India*, p. 358, and Pl. LV, fig. 1).

a court and a tank, and further effected the renovation of the inner and outer parts of four cells[1],—(*a work*) in which alone the eyes of the world found repose.

(Verse 9). He offered a charming gold ornament to the Buddha with the object of keeping men in (*the path of*) Enlightenment, and there (*i.e.*, at Sōmapura) (*engaged*) in such meritorious deeds, he lived like an ascetic for a long time.

(Verse 10). That meritorious person having made this monastery an ornament of the world, which manifests itself, surpassing in a wonderful manner the palace of Indra, made it over to the Mitras.[2] The Teacher, the lord of the three worlds, who has a special taste for (*good*) residences, forgot while here, (*even*) the abode in Suddhāvāsa heaven, whose interior is difficult of access owing to the multitude of seekers.

(Verse 11). (*His*) fame, by which the earth was decorated, arose in various places as if to deprive Hari of his (*exalted*) position. May that flowing nectar of the eye (*viz.*, his fame) remain triumphant so long as the vow of Mañjurava (*i.e.*, Mañjughōsha or Mañjuśrī) is not fulfilled.[3]

(Verse 12). May the pure merit, the (*only*) measure of comparison (*with which is*) the etherial space, that may accrue to me[4] out of these famous achievements, even as the receptacle of nectar that came out of the ocean, eternally contribute to the attainment by the denizens of the three worlds of the unique place[5] from which the Jinas (*i.e.*, Buddhas) can visualize the whole universe (*as distinctly*) as an object under discussion placed on the palm.

(Verse 13). **Kanakaśrī** and **Vaśishṭha** who, (*respectively*) in the matter of dialectics and arts, purify the hearts of men, have given expression to (*this*) eulogy (*one by composing and the other by engraving it*).

[*P. S.*—Recent excavations at the Satyapir Bhiṭā at Pāhārpur outside the great monastic quadrangle have brought to light a Buddhist shrine of about the 11th-12th century A.D. in the courtyard of which several circular sealings impressed with the effigy of eight-handed Tārā and the Buddhist creed have been found. This is very likely to be the temple of Tārā built by Vipulaśrimitra referred to in verse 8 of the present inscription. The courtyard has a number of small votive stupas.—Ed.]

No. 17.—TIRUCHCHENDUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA-MAHARAJA (II)

By K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., M.R.A.S., Coimbatore.

The inscription edited below comes from **Tiruchchendūr** in the Tinnevelly District. Only a few lines of it contained on the first face of the first slab were copied in 1903 and the inscription was registered as No. 155 of that year's collection and as being engraved on a slab, set up in the

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[1] [I should prefer to take *chaturshu layanēshu* in the sense of 'on the four groups of cells (forming the monastery).' Actually there are about 45 cells on each side of the monastic quadrangle at Pāhārpur and we have clear evidence of a wholesale renovation taking place about the commencement of the 12th century A.D., both in the inner and outer sides of the monastery. It is some such work carried out on a magnificent scale that must have been 'a singular feast to the eyes of the world'.—Ed.]

[2] The line of ascetics to which Vipulaśrimitra belonged.

[3] In a work called the *Mañjuśrī-Buddha-kshētra-guṇa-vyūha*, Mañjuśrī is supposed to have taken his 'Bodhisattva vow': "I do not wish to become a Buddha quickly, because I wish to remain to the last in this world to save its beings."—Poussin, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Art. 'Mañjuśrī'), Vol. 8, p. 405 and n. 2. The idea which, therefore, the writer seems to convey in the above verse is that the donor's fame should last as long as the world endures. Cf. *Kāraṇḍavyūha*:—*Y(T)āvad Avalōkitēśvarasya dridha-pratijñā na paripūritā bhavati, sarva-sattvāḥ sarva-duḥkhēbhyaḥ parimōchitāḥ yāvat na anuttarāyām samyak-sambōdhau na pratishṭhāpitā bhavanti*, etc.

[4] The speaker is evidently Vipulaśrimitra himself.

[5] This is Sukhāvatī. Cf. *Sragdharā-stōtra*, verse 37.

second *prākāra* of the Subrahmaṇya temple in the village. During the field season of 1912, when I happened to inspect the village, I examined this inscription carefully and found that it was an extensive record incised on two sides of two large stone-slabs. On this occasion I took the impressions of the entire record and transcribed it *in situ*, satisfying myself that it was complete. The inscription was again registered as No. 26 of the year's collection for 1912 and an abstract of its contents given on pages 48 and 70 of the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for that year. The written faces of the slabs measure 4' 7" by 2' 6" and 4' by 2' 3".

The left top corner of the first slab is broken and the commencing portion of the first three lines has suffered some damage. But for this, the record is well preserved.[1]

The inscription is engraved in the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** alphabet of the 9th century A.D. and is in the **Tamiḻ language**. The only **Grantha** letters found used in it are *śrī* (ll. 1, 111, 135, 160 and 169) and *sai* in *upāsaiyār* (l. 3). The following **palæographical** peculiarities are worth noticing :—The rare letter *āydam* (equivalent to a *visarga*), which is indicated in modern Tamiḻ by three dots, is represented in this record by a horizontal line with a dot marked above and below, like the division-sign (see *ahaṇa-āga*, l. 25). Two forms of *ya* occur, one with an inward and the other with an outward loop : for the former see the *ya*'s of *yāṇḍu* (l. 1), *upāsaiyā* (l. 3) and *yār-aḍiyā* (l. 5) ; and for the latter see *ya* in *Māṟāya* (l. 1). Long *ū* is generally distinguished from the short *u* as in *nū* of *nūṟu* (l. 8), or *ṇū* of *toṇṇūṟṟ-āṟu* (l. 10) and *nū* in *nūṟṟu* (ll. 12 and 21) ; but in the case of *ku* and *kū*, no such distinction is made. One and the same symbol is employed to represent *po* and *pō* except in l. 43. In line 51, short *po* gets the length stroke. The vowel *u* is hardly distinguishable from *ū*. The cross stroke of *ka* is generally indistinct (see *mūn-aḍukk-āga* in l. 61 and *polan-kāśu* in l. 71) and there are several instances where it is completely absent, as in *śiru-kaḍug-eṉṉidu* in l. 42. *Ñā* is written as a wavy horizontal line, as in *ñāṟi* at the beginning of ll. 25 and 93. In a large number of words found in this inscription, vowels have been used in the middle ignoring the rules of *sandhi* as is the case in the early epigraphs like the Vēḷvikkuḍi plates of Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ. In all places where the word *vaṟgaḷ* occurs the *r* is elided and this elision is quite common in epigraphs from the Malabar Coast.

The document under notice contains some words of **etymological** interest. One of them is *kāyam*. I think it may be derived from the Sanskrit word *kshāra* (pungent) which becomes *khāra* in Prakrit and *kāram* in Tamiḻ. As *ya* is often substituted for *ra*, *kāram* becomes *kāyam* ; cf. *veṅgāram* and *veṅgāyam*, *peruṅgāram* and *peruṅgāyam*. The change of *ra* into *ya* is illustrated by the Tamiḻ adaptation of the Sanskrit words *śair* and *śāṅkalyā* which change into *vīy* and *śāykkāl* in Tamiḻ. The word *kāyam* has hitherto been taken to mean exclusively 'asafœtida', but our inscription clearly says that the five spices, pepper, turmeric, cumin, small mustard, and coriander formed the five *kāyams*[2] and thereby proves that the popular meaning of *kāyam* as 'asafœtida' does not cover the full connotation of the word. The word *kāśu* has to be derived from *kārshāpaṇa* through its Prakrit form *kahāpaṇa*. *Poli* is the contracted form of *polisai* (interest) which occurs in modern Malayāḷam as *polisa* : these words are derived from the root *poli*, "to increase". Another somewhat puzzling word is *pōttara* (l. 6). It seems to me to be a compound formed from the roots *pō* and *tā* and a contraction from "*pōgumbaḍi tara*" meaning

[1] [The three blanks to be seen in the accompanying plate (i) at the close of ll. 41 to 46, (ii) at the close of l. 96, (iii) at the commencement of ll. 102-105 seem to have been accidentally caused by the falling off of small pieces of the inked estampage.—Ed.]

[2] The phrase *nitta-nimandu-pala-kāyattukku* occurs in No. 148 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894. Here the phrase "*pala-kāyattukku*" shows that the word *kāyam* was used as a general name for "more than one" article and not for 'asafœtida' alone. Compare the use of the word in "*appōdu ney-pā-ṟāyir kāyam paḍ aḍigaḷ kaipp-aṟā pōpakkāyaṅgaḷu-kky*".

"having given to be taken". This mode of forming compounds would seem to be rather rare in Tamil. The word *añjam* (ll. 35, 58, etc.) is seldom met with in inscriptions; but it may be noted that it has been correctly employed to denote the exchange value of money in grain. Another noteworthy form of a word is *ēṟṟi* used in place of *āya*, "in all: together". In this sense the word is rarely used though its significance is quite clear in the common expression *ēṟṟi-kuṟaittu*, "adding together or subtracting". *Nīṟu* of *nīṟ-amudu* occurring in line 64 along with the items betel leaves (*veṟṟilai*) and areca-nuts (*aḍaikkāy*) is another unusual word. It may be considered a *dēsichchol* ('a dialectical word') in Tamil taken from Malayāḷam where it is still used in the sense of 'slaked lime'. A variant of this word is *nīṟu* which means "powder, ash" (cf. *nīṟu-pūtta-neruppu*, "fire covered over with ash"). *Nārāyam* is still another word of etymological interest. It is used in this and many other Tamil epigraphs in the sense of 'a grain measure,'[1] generally made of iron and is akin to Tamil *nārāsam* denoting an iron nail, used for stringing together leaves of palm leaf manuscripts, an iron style or an arrow made entirely of iron (cf. Sanskrit *Nārācha*=an arrow). Another similar word is *nārāngi*, generally spelt as *nāḍāngi*='the iron bolt'. The restriction of the terms *nāḍānam* and *nārāngi* in Tamil to articles made of iron and a subsidiary use of *nārāsam* in the sense of 'molten lead or iron' indicate that all these words must have a common old Tamil stem *nārā* meaning "iron" or "metal". The commentary on *nārācha* in the Sanskrit lexicon *Amara* explains it as '*lōhamayō bāṇaḥ* (=an iron arrow'). Childers explains *nārācha* as "an iron weapon of some sort, an arrow or light javelin". Apparently we have here one of the loan-words for which Sanskrit is indebted to the parent Dravidian tongue. The words *niyadi* and *nisadi* used in this inscription are analogous to the forms *nisadam*, *niyadam* and *nittam* in other inscriptions, all of which seem to be derived from Sanskrit *nityam*. Still another rare word, also occurring in the Ambāsamudram epigraph of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja, is *tumi* of which the meaning can be ascertained from certain references in the Tamil *Sangam* works. In line 266 of *Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai* occurs the phrase *punnai tumittu*, which has been rendered by the commentator as "cutting the branch of the *punnai* (tree)". It also occurs in l. 72 of *Mullaippāṭṭu* in the same sense. As such, the phrase *kari tumikkavum porikkavum* (l. 26) may be taken to mean "vegetable to be cut into pieces and fried".

The object of the inscription is thus stated: in order to meet the annual requirements of the temple of Subrahmaṇya-Bhaṭāra, which was the deity in the central shrine (*Tirumūlaṭṭhānam*) at Tiruchchendūr, Varaguṇa-Mahārāja made a grant of 1,400 *kāśu* and entrusted the amount to three of his officers, *viz.* Iruppaikkuḍi-kiḻavaṉ, Śāttamperumāṉ and Aḻaṟṟūrnāṭṭukkōṉ, with the stipulation that the money should be lent out and with the interest accruing therefrom, the annual requirements of the temple should be met, the capital always remaining intact.

The items of expenditure included rice for offerings to the god and for *bali*; plantains, sugar, vegetables (the last according to this inscription were sold by weight), *kāyam* for seasoning articles; green gram required for the special kind of preparation called *kummāyam* and for *pori*; betel leaves and areca-nuts (which were priced), and lime (not priced); ghee required for perpetual lamps, chain of lights, for seasoning curries and for the anointment of the god; milk, curd and the water of the tender cocoanut including tender kernel which were necessary for the bathing of the god; honey, unguent and barks of certain trees and crude camphor used as incense; turmeric, *pachchai-karpūram* and sandal required for the smearing of the deity; cloth required for covering images and for use in the kitchen (as towels); and flowers, etc. The preparation called *kummāyam*, for which the chief requirement is stated to be green pulse, is not in present use. On the other hand, the word is now used to denote a mixture of slaked lime and sand.

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[1] In some of the Tamil inscriptions, this word seems also to be employed to denote "a channel" or "lane". Cf. *Subrahmaṇya-nārāyattu vaḷakkam* (No. 155 of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 320).

Even in literature it occurs but rarely. The early Tamiḻ commentator Nachchinārkkiniyār annotating text-line 195 of *Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai* states that the preparation called *puḻukku* is "what is boiled well" and notes "that it may also mean *kummāyam*". From this statement of the commentator as well as from the requirement of *kummāyam* detailed in this and other inscriptions, it may be inferred that the preparation consisted of well-boiled green pulse, perhaps with the addition of a little sugar. At present it is called *puḻukku* in Malabar.

On special occasions, which are said to be three, *viz.* [1]*Mārgaḻi-Tiruvādirai*, *Māśi-Makham* and *Vaiyāśi-Viśākham*, some of the items of expenditure have to be doubled.

The inscription is highly important for determining the relative values of money, weights and measures prevalent in South India and furnishes excellent data for reconstructing the economic conditions of the period. The amount of 1,400 *kāśu* given by the king to the temple at Tiruchchendūr was divided into 16 unequal portions and invested with different bodies. The attached table at the end of this paper shows how the capital was to be distributed, what amount of interest had to be paid in paddy accrued annually from each investment at the rate of 2 *kalam* per year and what expenses were to be met from the interest thus realised. The recipients of the amounts were (1) the *ūrār* of Ālambaṭṭam included in Gaṅgamaṅgalam and the *nagarattār* of Māṇavīrapaṭṭiṇam, both situated in Vaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu; (2) the *sabhā* of Kaṭṭāraimaṅgalam in Śrīvallabha-vaḷanāḍu; (3) the *sabhās* of Tiṇṇi included in Paraśumaṅgalam, Māṟamaṅgalam and Teṟṟakkuḷlur, all situated in Parāntaka-vaḷanāḍu; (4) as well as the *sabhās* of Avanipaśēkharamaṅgalam, in Amitaguṇa-vaḷanāḍu and Puḷiyiḍai, Kiraṇūr, Saḍaṅgavikuṟichchi and Kaḍuṅgōmaṅgalam, all situated in Kuḍanāḍu. These bodies were required to pay annually interest in grain calculated at 2 *kalam* for one *kāśu* per year to be brought and measured in the premises of the temple. Further, it will be observed that among the bodies of men with whom the amounts were invested there were the *nagarattār*, the *ūrār* and the *sabhaiyār*. "Nagarattār" is used only in the case of a single place, whose name ended with the termination *paṭṭiṇam*; it is not unlikely that it represents a commercial guild in a town, as distinguished from "*ūrār*" and "*sabhā*" which must be taken to be non-Brahmanical and Brahmanical assemblies in villages entrusted with certain powers in the administration of the country. In cases of default it was enjoined that a fine, which varied according to the amounts lent out, together with double the quantity as default should be realised (apparently by the bodies) and paid to the temple. The prohibitive rates of fine amounting in some cases to nearly 20 per cent of the capital *plus* the payment of double the quantity of paddy agreed upon to be given must have been intended to safeguard the regular performance of the various functions in the temple. It is expressly stated that the interest in grain should be paid in heaped measures according to a standard metal measure specially used for this purpose. This is the sense that can be given to the phrase *poli niṟai-maḍi-nārāyam*. Apparently the ordinary measures differed widely from these special measures; thus while a *kuṟuṇi* of interest paddy contained 6 *nāḻi* and a *kalam* 15 *kuṟuṇi*, the ordinary *kuṟuṇi* measure had the capacity of 8 *nāḻi* and a *kalam* of 12 *kuṟuṇi*. A *kalam* of interest paddy fell short of the ordinary *kalam* by 6 *nāḻi*. That the measure (*kāl*) used for measuring interest paddy had the capacity of 6 *nāḻi* is made clear by another inscription which has the phrase *paliśai kuḍuppadāna aṟu-nāḻi-kkālāl*.[2]

Throughout the inscription, the rate of interest is stated to be two *kalam* of paddy per year per *kāśu*. Since it is also stated that the purchasing power of a *kāśu* was 10 *kalam* of paddy, the annual interest on money lent amounted to as much as 20 per cent which seems to indicate the

[1] [These festivities occur on or about the full-moon days of the months of Mārgaśīrsha, Māgha and Vaiśākha respectively, when the moon would be in conjunction with the constellations of Ārdrā, Maghā and Viśākhā respectively.—Ed.]

[2] No. 185 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1895 published in *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

scarcity of gold bullion or coin at the time of the record. It is worth noting that our inscription states that 3 measures of paddy yielded one measure of rice, while in other inscriptions it is stated that 5 measures of paddy gave 2 measures of rice. As the actual yield of rice from paddy is nearly a half, it must be considered that ample provision had been made in these epigraphs for meeting incidental charges such as wages for the different operations like husking, pounding, etc. The prices of some of the commodities are worthy of note. One *kāśu* could fetch the following quantities of the various articles, *viz.* 10 *kalam* of paddy, 1,000 plantains, 7 *tulām* and 65 *palam* of sugar, 20 *tulām* of vegetables, 60 *nāḻi* of *kāyam*, 1,220 *paṟṟu* of betel leaves, 10,100 areca-nuts, 150 *nāḻi* of flowers, 15 *kaḻañju* of *karpūram* or 112 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* of turmeric.[1]

Ancient Tamiḻ works of the *Saṅgam* period mention *kāśu*, *kāṇam* and *poṉ* among the coins current in South India; but it has nowhere been stated what fraction of a *kāśu* was represented by a *poṉ* or *kāṇam*. Nachchinārkkiniyār in his commentary on *Jīvakachintāmaṇi* states, however, that *kāṇam* means a *poṉ-kāśu*. The latter word might mean either the coin called *poṉ* or a gold *kāśu*. As such, it is of interest to observe from this inscription that both *kāṇam* and *poṉ* were gold coins equal in value, each being one-tenth of a *kāśu*. This ratio between a *poṉ* and a *kāśu* is obtained from item 8, where we find that 94 *kāśu* and 5 *poṉ* yielded an interest of 189 *kalam* at the rate of two *kalam* per *kāśu*. Now applying this value of a *poṉ* in item 1, we find that a *kalam* consisted of 15 *kuruṇi*; and from item 2 we obtain that a *kuruṇi* contained 6 *nāḻi*, and that a *nāḻi* was equal to 2 *uri*. Item 7 states that for meeting the daily requirements of ten *nāḻi* of flowers, which were sold at 150 *nāḻi* of flowers for one *kāśu*, or its equivalent 10 *kalam* of paddy, 240 *kalam* of paddy were required annually, from which we gather that a year was treated as consisting of 360 days for purposes of calculation. From the expenditure detailed in items 4 and 8, it is clear that 1 *uri* was equal to 2 *uḻakku* and that 1 *uḻakku* was made up of 2 *āḻākku*. Item 9 makes a provision of 50 *kalam* of paddy for meeting the annual expenses of (1) rice required for *bali*-offerings at 2 *nāḻi* per day, (2) 4 *aṇai* of cloth at 2½ *aṇai* per *kāśu* and (3) 8 *aṇai* of cloth at 2 *aṇai* per *kāśu*. For (1), 24 *kalam* of paddy were required, and for (2) and (3), 26 *kāṇam* were necessary and this was met from the balance of 26 *kalam* of paddy the money equivalent of which was 26/10 *kāśu* (10 *kalam* being the value of 1 *kāśu*). Since 26/10 *kāśu*=26 *kāṇam*, 1 *kāśu* was equal to 10 *kāṇam*. From items 14 and 15 we learn that 1 *tulām* was equivalent to 100 *palam* and that 1 *kaḻañju* equalled 10 *kāṇam* by weight. From this inscription we thus obtain the following tables of money, weights, measures, etc. :—

Money.

10 poṉ or 10 kāṇam = 1 kāśu.

Weight.

10 kāṇam = 1 kaḻañju.
100 palam = 1 tulām.

Measure.

10 śeviḍu or 2 āḻākku = 1 uḻakku.
2 uḻakku = 1 uri.
2 uri = 1 nāḻi.
6 nāḻi = 1 kuruṇi.
15 kuruṇi = 1 kalam

Number.

4 aḍukku = 1 paṟṟu.

[1] See lines 39 ff., 59 f., 110 f., 122 and 197 of the Text given below.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the **Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa-Mahārāja (II).** The **date** portion occurring in the second line of the record is lost, but so much of it is seen that the **year** opposite is found to be **thirteen.** In the seventh line, **the day of the regnal year** of the king is given as **5001** in words which yields **13 years** of 365 days **and 256 days.** We may take the days as *referring* to "the year opposite" and not to the entire regnal *year*. Examples of similar dating are found in a few inscriptions. No. 502 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1916 is dated in the 13th year and 3090th day as well as in the 8th year opposite to the 13th. Similarly also No. 534 of the same collection is dated in the 4th year and 1745th day as well as in the 4th year opposite to the 4th. Again in No. 509, the year given at the commencement of the record is "13th year and 1445th day" while in the body the same is indicated by "3rd year opposite to the 13th". These instances are sufficient to make it clear that the days given refer only to the number of years and days passed after the first mentioned *year* and not to the entire regnal year.

The inscription is silent regarding the ancestry of the king, as stone records in the Tamil country generally are. There is nothing in the name of the king to enable us to say to which of the two Pāṇḍya sovereigns, who bore the name Varaguṇa, this record must be ascribed. The Vaṭṭeḻuttu script employed in the record shows that it must belong to the ninth century A.D. and since both the Varaguṇas lived in this century and were separated only by a single reign, palæographical indications are not of much value. There are, however, internal indications to prove that the record belongs to Varaguṇa II.

Among the places mentioned in the inscription and the divisions to which they belonged, occur Vaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu, Kaḍuṅgōmaṅgalam, Māṛamaṅgalam, Parāntaka-vaḷanāḍu, Varaguṇa-maṅgalam, and Śrīvallabha-vaḷanāḍu which at once indicate that they must have been called after the Pāṇḍya kings Palyāga-śālai-Mudukuḍumi-Peru-Vaḷudi,[1] Kaḍuṅgōn, Māṛavarman (of which name there were more kings than one), Parāntaka (also called Neḍuñjaḍaiyan and Śrī-vara), Varaguṇa-Mahārāja (I) and Śrīvallabha respectively, all of these being reputed names in the genealogy of the Pāṇḍya kings furnished by copper-plates. The inscription also mentions a village Avanipaśēkharamaṅgalam which must have been called after the name or title of a king and as I have shown in the *Annual Report on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1929-30 (p. 72), this Avanipaśēkhara is identical with Śrīvallabha, the son and successor of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja I. The mention of the names Śrīvallabha-vaḷanāḍu and Avanipaśēkhara-maṅgalam precludes the possibility of the inscription being one of Varaguṇa I. We can, therefore, definitely assign the present inscription to the reign of Varaguṇa II. The Aivarmalai rock inscription places this king's accession in A.D. 862. **The date of this record must be a little later than A.D. 874,** that being the equivalent of the 13th year of his reign.

A word may now be said about Iruppaikkuḍi-kiḻavan, one of the trusted servants of king Varaguṇa-Māṛāya through whom the gift amount of 1,400 (gold) *kāśu* was sent. His proper name appears to be Eṭṭi Sāttaṉ from a stone epigraph recently secured from Erukkaṅguḍi (No. 334 of 1929-30). He is stated to have been honoured with the title of Iruppaikkuḍi-kiḻavan by king Śrīvallabha. The inscription gives a long and interesting account about him, mentioning several acts of charity including the construction, repair and improvement of several palaces, temples, tanks, embankments, water-channels, sluices, etc. It is clear that he must have been a great and energetic administrator and the programme of his charities and public works testify alike to his catholicity and tolerance, as to his solicitude for the rural population in an arid tract.

[1] We know of no other Vaḷudi in inscriptions except this king. It is, however, possible that there was more than one king of this name, e.g., Ugra-Peruvaḷudi.

The present inscription resembles in many respects the Ambāsamudram[1] record of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja. Both grants were made with the express object of defraying all the expenses that have to be incurred from day to day and year to year in connection with the religious services in a temple and go into minute details about these. There is a striking similarity in the phraseology of the two. Both state that the principal should remain undiminished and that only the interest should be utilised for meeting the expenses. The annual rate of interest in both cases is identical, *viz.* two *kalam* of paddy for one *kāśu*. From the Ambāsamudram inscription, just as in the Tiruchchendūr epigraph, it can be gathered that a *kalam* of interest paddy consisted of 90 *nāḷi* and a *kaṟuṇi* was equivalent to 6 *nāḷi*. But the prices of articles varied considerably during the interval between the two grants, some of which have been noted below for easy reference. It is noteworthy that whereas the prices of certain commodities obtaining at the time of the Ambāsamudram inscription had fallen by a third at the time of the Tiruchchendūr record, in certain others (*e.g.* vegetables) there was a sharp rise of 350 per cent. And since it cannot be said that these fluctuations were due to difference of locality (the two localities not being far removed from each other) the inference is inevitable that the difference is to be attributed to the difference in time between the two records which cannot be less than 40 years.

Prices of articles (A = Ambāsamudram. T = Tiruchchendūr).

1.	1 *nāḷi* of paddy for 2 plantain fruits	A
	1,000 plantains for 10 *kalam*	T
2.	30 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *nāḷi* of ghee	A
	20 Ditto	T
3.	3 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *nāḷi* of curd	A
	2 Ditto	T
4.	1 *palam* of sugar was obtained for 1 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy	A
	7 *tulām* and 65 *palam* for 10 *kalam*	T
5.	10 *palam* of vegetables cost 1 *nāḷi* of paddy	A
	20 *tulām* of vegetables cost 10 *kalam* of paddy	T
6.	6 *nāḷi* of paddy for 1 *ulakku* of *kāyam*	A
	1 *kāśu* (10 *kalam*) fetched 60 *nāḷi* of *kāyam*	T

We may now note a few facts concerning the geographical terms that occur in the inscription. At the outset it may be said that all the villages and divisions mentioned are situated in the Tinnevelly District. Tiruchchendūr is 18 miles east-south-east of Śrīvaikuṇṭham on the sea.[2] Korkai and Māṟamaṅgalam are in the Śrivaikuṇṭam taluk and Nallūr and Kaṭṭāraimaṅgalam are in the Tiruchchendūr taluk. Of these, Korkai was an important place in the Pāṇḍya kingdom noted for its pearl fishery. Both the author of the *Periplus*[3] and Ptolemy[4] mention it, the former under the name of Kolchi or Korkoy. Mr. R. Sewell states[5] that Māṟamaṅgalam is the

[1] Above, Vol. IX, p. 90.

[2] Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 313.

[3] Schoff's edition, pp. 46 and 237-8.

[4] Majumdar: *McCrindle's Ancient India of Ptolemy*, pp. 57-8, 78.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 312. No. 474 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1916 agrees with this inscription in stating that Korkai was in Kuḍa-nāḍu. From an inscription at Akkaśālai (No. 165 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903) we learn that it formed part of Korkai and had in it Akkaśālai-Īśvaramuḍaiyār. It is further stated that Korkai was surnamed Madhurāntakanallūr and that it was in Kuḍa-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uttamaśōḷa-valanāḍu which was a district of Rājarāja-Pāṇḍinādu.

site of ancient Korkai and that Akkaśālai is a place not far from it. From the inscriptions of the former place it is seen that it was situated in Parāntaka-vaḷanāḍu.[1] As such, it must be identical with the place mentioned in our inscription as being located in the same division. The division Parāntaka-vaḷanāḍu itself must have been called after Māṛañjaḍaiyan *alias* Neḍuñja-ḍaiyan Parāntaka (circa A.D. 770). It is a point worthy of note that while Korkai belonged to the sub-division Kuḍa-nāḍu, Māṛamaṅgalam, a place quite in the vicinity of it, belonged to a diffe-rent sub-division. Both Māṛanāri and Māṛamaṅgalam in the Tinnevelly District were called in ancient times Māṛamaṅgalam. While the former was situated in Tiruvaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu, the latter was in Parāntaka-vaḷanāḍu.[2] Since Māṛamaṅgalam of our record is stated to have been a place in Parāntaka-vaḷanāḍu, we have to identify it with the one near Korkai; and not with Māṛanāri. Vaḷudai-vaḷanāḍu in which were situated Varaguṇamaṅgalam, Iraṇavālināṅgalam, Tiyambakamaṅgalam, Gaṅgamaṅgalam and Mānavīrapaṭṭinam, was also called Tiruvaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu or Vaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu or Vaḷudi-nāḍu and had in it Āḻvār-Tirunagari, the birthplace of the Vaishṇava saint Nammāḻvār, and Śrīvaikuṇṭham.[3] Varaguṇamaṅgalam is one of the 18 sacred places of the Vaishṇavas in the Pāṇḍya country.[4] It is celebrated in the hymn of Nammāḻvār[5] and is known from his days as Varaguṇamaṅgai,[6] that being a shortened form of Varaguṇamaṅgalam. It is 18 miles north-east of Tinnevelly. We have already shown that this place must have been called after Varaguṇa I. Another place mentioned in the inscription is Kīraṇūr. It was the headquarters of a division in later times.[7] The sub-division Amitaguṇa-vaḷanāḍu occurs in another inscription of Tiruchchendūr[8] under the name Amudaguṇa-vaḷanāḍu.

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[1] Nos. 157 to 161 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903. These inscriptions state that Māṛamaṅ-galam was called *Dēvēndravallabha-chaturvēdimangalam* and that it was a *brahmadēya* in Parāntaka-vaḷanāḍu, a sub-division of Muḍikoṇḍaśōḻa-vaḷanāḍu which was a district of Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu.

[2] See No. 467 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909, and Nos. 483 and 487 of the same collection for 1918.

[3] Nos. 174 of 1895 and 480 of 1909.

[4] The 18 places are :—(1) Tirumāliruñjōlai, *i.e.* Aḻagarmalai, 12 miles north-east of Madura ; (2) Tiru-kkōṭṭiyūr, 27 miles north-east of Mānā-Madura ; (3) Tirumayyam, 45 miles to the south of Trichinopoly in the Pudukkoṭṭai State ; (4) Tiruppullāṇi, 6 miles to the south of Ramnad ; (5) Tiruttaṅkāl, 13 miles west of Śātūr ; (6) Tirukkūḍal, half a mile east of Madura ; (7) Śrīvilliputtūr, 22 miles west of Sāttūr ; (8) Tirumōgūr, 7 miles north-east of Madura (9) Tirukkurugūr, *i.e.* Āḻvār-Tirunagari, 18 miles east of Tinnevelly ; (10) Tolaivillimaṅgalam, *i.e.* Iraṭṭaittiruppati, 25 miles north of Tinnevelly ; (11) Śrīvara-maṅgai, *i.e.* Vānamāmalai, 18 miles south of Tinnevelly ; (12) Tiruppuḷiṅguḍi, 7 miles east of Tinnevelly ; (13) Tirupppērai, 24 miles east of Tinnevelly ; (14) Śrīvaikuṇṭham, 18 miles east of Tinnevelly ; (15) Varaguṇa-maṅgai, 18 miles north-east of Tinnevelly ; (16) Tirukkuḷandai, *i.e.* Peruṅguḷam, 28 miles north-east of Tinnevelly ; (17) Tirukkuruṅguḍi, 26 miles south of Tinnevelly ; and (18) Tirukkōḷūr, 28 miles east of Tinnevelly.

[5] This is the 4th stanza of the second ten of the 9th hundred commencing with the words *Puḷiṅguḍi-kki-ḍandu Varaguṇamaṅgai-y-irundu Vaikundam ninru*, etc. The date of birth of Nammāḻvār as calculated by the late L. D. Swamikannu Pillai is 4th May, A.D. 798, corresponding to Pramāthi, Vaikāśi, śu. 15, Viśākhā, Friday (See his *Indian Ephemeris*. He must thus have been a contemporary of Varaguṇa I, after whom the place was named.

[6] In the case of Varaguṇamaṅgai and Śrīvaramaṅgai (Nos. 15 and 11 of the above list) it is obviously out of place to take *maṅgai* as a feminine suffix like *valli* and to derive them from deities bearing the names Varaguṇa and Śrīvara. They are undoubtedly named after the Pāṇḍya kings Varaguṇa and Śrīvara.

[7] No. 470 of the same collection for the year 1910.

[8] No. 156 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

TEXT.

First slab ; First face.

1 .... Śrī Kō Varaguṇa-Mārāyaṟku yāṇḍu
2 .... daṉ-edir padiṉ-mūṉṟu ivv-āṇḍu Tiru-
3 .... Suppiramaṇ(ṇ)iya-Baṭārar-upāsaiyā-
4 . ṉa Tirumūlattāṉattu-ppaṭ[ā]rarkku mudal-keḍāmai-ppoliñṭṭ[1] ā-
5 ga koṇḍu śeluttuvad-āga uḷaivār-aḍivār-āṉa[2] Varaguṇa-Mārāyar pō-
6 ttara Iruppaikkuḍi-kiḻavaṉum Sāttamperumāṉum Aḷarrū[r*]-[nā]-
7 ṭṭu-kkōṉum aiyāiratt[3]-oṉṟā-nūṟ-koṇḍu-vanda niṟai-kuṟaivā-ppa-
8 ḷañ-kāśu āirattu[4]-nā-ṉūṟu [|*] i-kkāśiṉ-Kuḷa-nāṭṭu-kKoṟkai-ūrār kaiiṉ[5]
9 mudal-keḍāmai-[6]ppoliñṭṭu-kkoṇḍu śeluttuvad-āga vaitta niṟai-
10 kuṟaiyā-ppaḷañ-kāśu toṇṇūṟṟ-ā[ṟu] poṉ-ṉiṭṭu [|*] i-kkāśāl oru-kā-
11 śukku āṇḍuvarai poli niṟai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga va-
12 nda nellu nūṟṟu-ttoṇṇūṟṟu-mukkalaṉēy oṉbadiṉ kuṟuṇi [|*] i-n-
13 nellāl niyadippaḍi iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṉa [|*] nāḻi
14 arisikku mu-nnāḻi nell-āga-ttiruv-amidiṉukku ari[s*] śeṉneṟ-riṭ-
15 ṭal oru-pōdaikku nā-ṉāḻiy-āga nāṉgu pōdaikku arisi śeṉneṟ-riṭṭa-
16 l padiṉ-aṟu-nāḻi [|*] Mārgaḻi-tTiruvādiraiu[7]-Māsi-Makamum Vaiyyāśi-
17 Viyākamum paḍi iraṭṭi śeluttuvadu [|*] i-pparisu śeluttādu ku-
18 ttukkāṟpaḍil i-ttēvarkkēy irubatt-aiñju kāśu daṇḍamum pa-
19 ṭṭu-chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-iraṭṭiyañ-kuḍuppadu [|*] i-nnāṭṭu Na[ḻ]-
20 lūr-ūrār kaiil[5] mēṟpaḍi [6]poliñṭṭ-āga vaitta niṟai-kuṟaiyā-ppaḷa-
21 ñ-kāśu nūṟṟ-arubatt-eṭṭum poṉ[ṉ-āṟēy]-kāl [|*] i-kkāśāl-āṇḍuvarai po[li]-
22 nellu niṟai-madi-nārāyattāl mu-nnūṟṟu-muppatt-eḻu-kalaṉēy mu-[kku]-
23 ṟuṇi nā-ṉāḻi uri [|*] i-nnellāl niyadippaḍi tiruv-amidiṉukku iva[r*][ga]-
24 ḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṉa nāḻi neyy-amidiṉukku irupadi-
25 [ṉā]ḻi nell-āga-ttiruv-amidu nivēdikka-ppaśuviṉ-ṉaṟu-ney oru-
26 pōdaikku uḻakk-āgavum [|*] kaṟi tumikkavum porikkavum oru-pōdaikku ā-
27 ḻākk-āgavum [|*] nāṉgu-pōdaikku neyy-amidu nāḻi uri [|*] nāḻi-ttair[8] -a
28 midiṉukku iru-nāḻi nell-āga-ttiruv-amidu nivēdikka-ttair[8]-amidu
29 oru-pōdaikku nāḻiy-āgavum kōṭṭukku-ttair[8]-amidu oru-pōdaikku u-
30 riy-āgavum nāṉgu-pōdaikku-ppaśuviṉ-ṟōy-tair[8] aṟu-nāḻi [|*] oru-kāśu-
31 kku niṟai-madi-nārāyattāṟ-padiṉ-kala-nell-aḻgam-āga [|*] āiram[9]
32 vāḻai-ppaḻattiṉukku oru-kāś-āgavum [|*] eḻu-tulāt-arubatt-aimba-
33 la-chchaṟkaraikku oru-kāś-āgavum [|*] irupadiṉ-tulām kaṟi-amidiṉukku
34 oru-kāś-āgavum [|*] aṟupadi-nāḻi kāyattiṉukku oru-kāś-āgavum
35 aḻgam-āga [|*] -ttiruv-amidu nivēdikka vāḻai-ppaḻa-amidu o-
36 ru-pōdaikku nāṉg-āga nāṉgu-pōdaikku-kkaru-vāḻai-ppaḻa-amidu pa-
37 diṉ-āṟu [|*] śaṟkarai-amidu oru-pōdaikku oru-palam-āga nāṉgu-pōdai-
38 kku-chchaṟkarai-amidu nāṟ-palam [|*] kaṟi-amidu kāy-kkaṟi oṉṟu pu-
39 ḷiṅ-gaṟi oṉṟu puḻukku-kkaṟi oṉṟu pori-kkaṟi oṉṟu ēṟṟi[10]-
40 kkaṟi-amidu nāṉgiṉukku oru-pōdaikku [p]aḷiṉ-[palam-ā]ga[11] nāṉ-

[1] Read poliyum-.
[2] Read āyiṉa.
[3] Read aiy-āyiratt-.
[4] Read āyirattu-.
[5] Read kaiyiṉ.
[6] Read 'ppaliyum-.
[7] Read kaṉṟil.
[8] Read tayir.
[9] Read āyiram.
[10] After ēṟṟi, the letters kka seem to have been engraved and erased.
[11] The phrase paḷ...-palam-āga is a correction from kāṟiy-amidu.

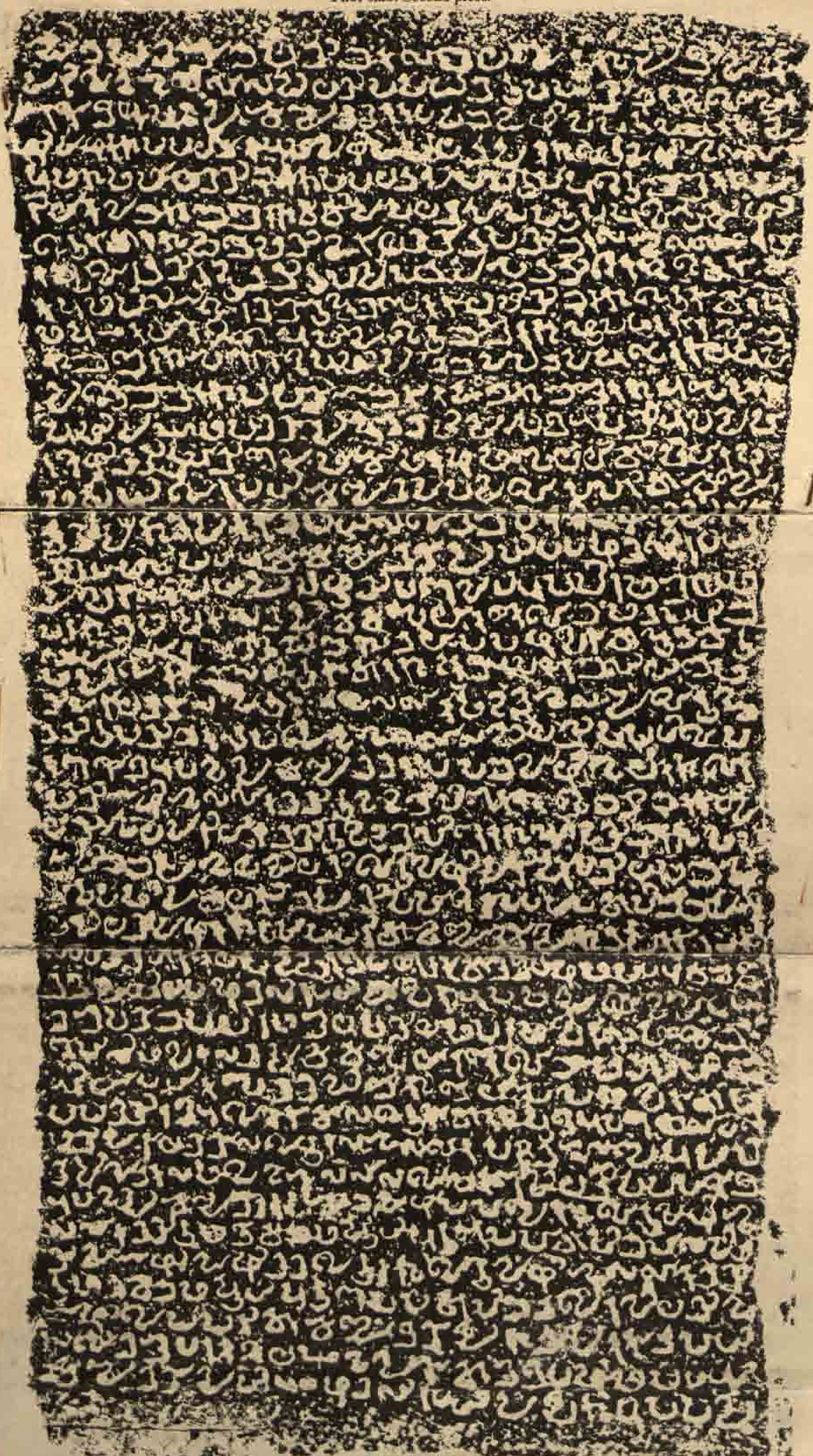
41 gu-pōdaikku-kkari-amidu nārpadiṉ-palam [|*] kāyam mi[la]g-amidu]
42 mañja]-amidu śiraka-amidu śiru-kaḍug-amidu kottamba[ri- amidu]
43 ēṟṟi-kkāyam aindu [|*] ivai oru-pōdaikku mu-chchevițț-āga nā[ngu-pō]-
44 daikku-kkāyam uḷakkō iru-śevițțu[1] [|*] Mār[ga]]i-tTiruvādirain[2] Māśi-Maka-
45 mum Vaiyyāśi-Viyākamum pāḍi iraṭṭi śeluttuvadu [|*] i-p[pa]-
46 riśu śeluttādu kottukkārpa[di]l i-ttēvarkkēy aimbadu
47 kāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-iraṭṭiuñ[3]-ku-
48 ḍuppadu [||*] i-nnāṭṭu-chChāliyattu-ūrār kaiṉ[4] mēṟpaḍi
49 poliūṭṭ-āga[5] vaitta niṟai-kuṟaiyā-p[pa]]ań-kāśu irubattu-nā-
50 ngu pon aindēy-mukkāl [|*] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuva-
51 rai poli niṟai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu

First slab ; Second face.

52 nāṟpatt-oṉbadiṉ-kalanēy iru-kuṟuṇi nāḷi
53 uri [|*] i-nnellāl niyadippaḍi [ti]ruv-amidiṉukku iva[r*]ga-
54 ḷē koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṉa [|*] nāḷi-pparuppukku nā-
55 ḷi-uḷakku-ppayaṟ-āgavum nāḷi-ppayaṟṟukku iru-nāḷi nell-āga-
56 vum kummāyattiṉukku-ppayaṟṟu-pparuppu oru-pōdaikku u-
57 riy-āga nāngu-pōdaikku-chchiṟu-payaṟṟu-pparuppu iru-nāḷi [|*]
58 oru-kāśukku niṟai-madi-nārāyattāṟ-padiṉ-kala-nell-aḥgam-ā-
59 ga [|*] śiratt[6] -iru-nūṟṟ-irapadu paṟṟu veṟṟilaikku oru-kāś-ā-
60 gavum [|*] pa[di]ṉairatt[6] -oru-nūṟ-aḍaikkāy-amudiṉukku oru-kāś-āgavu-
61 m aḥgam-āga [|*] ilai-amidu oru-pōdaikku mūv-aḍukk-āga nā-
62 gu-pōdaikku veṟṟilai-amidu mūṉṟu paṟṟu aḍaikkāy-a[mi]-
63 du oru-pōdaikku-ppadiṉāṉg-āga nāngu-pōdaikku aḍaikkāy-
64 amidu aimbatt-āga [|*] nūṟṟ-amidu vēṇḍuvad-iḍuvadu [|*] Mā-
65 rga(a)]i-tTiruvādirain[2] Māśi-Makamum Vaiyyāśi-Viyākamu-
66 m pāḍi iraṭṭi śeluttuvadu [|*] i-ppariśu śelu-
67 ttādu kuttukkāṟ[pa]]il i-ttēva[r*]kkēy aindu kāśu
68 daṇḍamu[m] paṭṭu-chcheluttādu viṭṭa madal-iraṭṭi-
69 un[7]-[kuḍu]p[pa]du [||*] Vaḷuvi-vaḷanāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam
70 Varaguṇamaṅgalattu-chchabaiyāk(r)-kaiin[4] mēṟpaḍi po-
71 liū[ṭṭ-āga[8] vai]tta niṟai-kuṟaiyā-ppaḷań-kāśu nūṟṟ-oru-
72 padu [|*] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai poli niṟai-ma-
73 di-nārāyattāl [iru-kala] nell-āga vanda nellu iru-nū-
74 ṟṟ-irubadiṉ-kalam [|*] i-nnellāl niyadippaḍi iva[r*]-
75 ga] koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṉa [|*] nāḷi-neykku iru-
76 padi-nāḷi nell-āga-ttiru-nandā-viḷakku oṉṟiṉukku [ni]-
77 va[di] ney uriy-āga-ttiru-nand[ā*]-viḷakku aindiṉukku-ppa-
78 [ru]viṉ-naṟu-ney niyadi iru-nāḷi uri [|*] andiyampō[du]
79 [ti]ruv-amidu śeygiṟṟu dīpa-mā[lai] kaṭṭa-[p]paśuviṉ-naṟu-ne-
80 y niyadi uḷakku [|*] i-[ppa]riśu śeluttādu kuttukkārpa[di]-
81 l i-ttē[va]rk[kē]y pannirand-arai-kkāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-chchelu-
82 tt[ā]du viṭṭa mudal-iraṭṭiuṉ[9]-kuḍuppadu [||*] i-nnāṭ[ṭu]-

[1] Read śevițu.
[2] Read °raiyum.
[3] Read °yum.
[4] Read kaiyila.
[5] Read poliyūṭṭ-āga.
[6] Read °tiyatt.
[7] Read °yun-.
[8] Read °ṭṭāga.
[9] Read °ṭṭiyu-.

First slab: Second piece.



SCALE: ONE-THIRD.

Reg. No. 2817. E. 22—100.

TIRUCHCHENDUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNAMAHARAJA (II).
First slab: First piece.

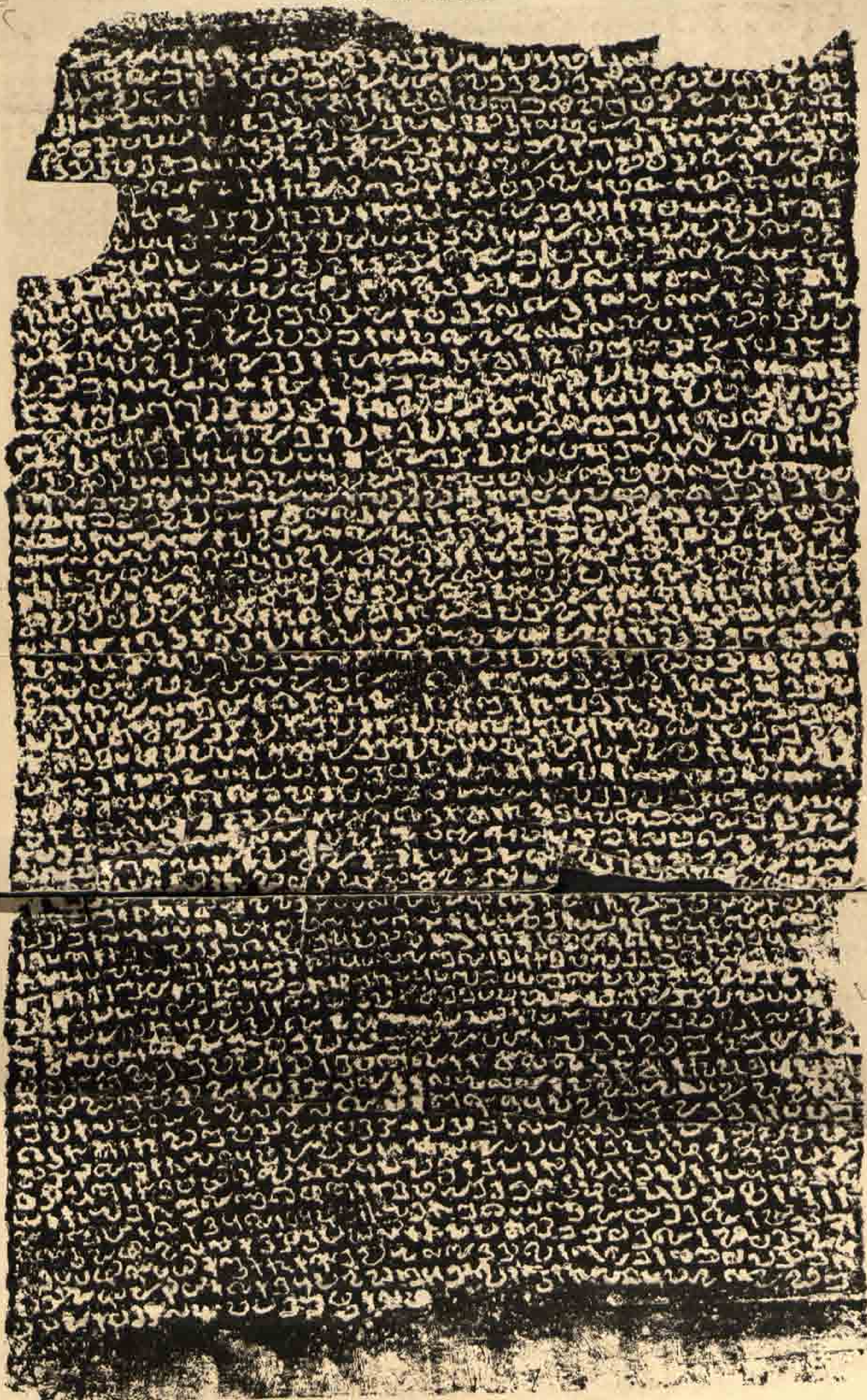
2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50

K. N. DIKSHIT. SCALE: THREE-TENTHS. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 2917, E. 32-500.

TIRUCHCHENDUR INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNAMAHARAJA (II).

SECOND slab: First piece.



SCALE: THREE-ELEVENTHS.

K. N. DIKSHIT.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

REG. No. 2917, E. 32 - 500.

Second slab: Second piece.

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Reg. No. 2817. E. 59-300.

Scale, three-elevenths.

83 ttēvalāṉa-ppiramadēyam Tiyambakamaṅgalam Ira-
84 [ṉa]vālimaṅgalattu-chchavaiyār kaiṉ[1] mēṟpadi po-
85 [li]ñṉt-āga[2] vaitta niṟai-kuṟaiyā-ppaḷaṅ-kāśu mu-
86 ppatt-irandu i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai poḷ[i] niṟai-
87 madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu aṟupa-
88 ttu-nāṟ-kalam [|*] i-nnellāl iva[r*]gaḷ niyadippaḍi koṇ-
89 ḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavana [|*] nāḷi[3]-ppālukku iru-nāḷi na-
90 ll-āga-ttirumañjaṉam āḍi-aruḷa-ppaśuviṉ-pāl niya-
91 di nā-ṉāḷi [|*] nāḷi-ttairukku[4] iru-nāḷi-nall-āga-tti-
92 rumañjaṉam āḍi-aruḷa-ppaśuviṉ-ṯair[5] niyadi nā-
93 nāḷi i-pparisu śeluttādu kuttukkāṟpaḍi-
94 l i-ttēvarkkēy aindu kāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-ch-
95 cheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-iraṭṭiuṉ[6]-kuḍuppadu

Second slab ; First face.

96 i-nnāṭṭu-kKeṅgaimaṅgalattu-ppaḍuvu Ālampaṭṭattu ū-
97 rār kaiṉ[1] mēṟpadi poliūṭṭ-āga[2] vaitta niṟai-kuṟaiyā-ppaḷaṅ-kāśu pa-
98 dīṉ-āṟu i-kkā[śāl] oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai poli niṟai-madi-nārāyattāl i-
99 ru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu muppatt-iru-kalam [|*] i-nnellāl iva[r*]gaḷ
100 [niya]dippaḍi [koṇ]ḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavana [|*] ōr-iḷan[īru]kku nāḷi nell-ā-
101 ga-ttirumañjaṉam āḍi-aruḷa iḷanīr vaḷuvai utpaḍa niyadi iru-nāḷi u-
102 ḷakku [|*] nāḷi-iḷanīrukku nāl-iḷanīr-āga niyadi iḍum iḷanīr eṭṭu [|*] i-
103 pparisu śeluttādu kuttukkāṟpaḍil i-ttēvarkkēy aindu-kāśu da-
104 ṇḍamum paṭṭu-chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-iraṭṭiuṅ[6]-kuḍuppadu [||*] i-nnā-
105 [ṭ]ṭu Māṉavīrapa[ṭṭi]nattu nagarattār kai[yi]ṉ[1] [mē]ṟpaḍi poliūṭṭāga[2] vai-
106 tta niṟai-kuṟaiyā-ppaḷaṅ-kāśu nūṟṟ-irupadu i-kkāśāl oru-kāśuk-
107 ā[ṇ]ḍuvarai poli niṟai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda ne-
108 llu iru-nūṟṟu nāṟpadiṉ-kalam [|*] i-nnellāl iva[r*]gaḷ niyadippa-
109 ḍi koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavana [|*] oru-kāśukku niṟai-madi-nārāyattāṟ-
110 padiṉ-kala-nell-aḥgam-āga [|*] nūṟṟ-aimbadi-nāḷi narum-pūviṉukku oru-
111 kāś-āga [|*] śri-paḷḷittāmattiṉukku niyadi aḷakka-kkaḍava narum-pū-ppaḍi-
112 [nāḷi] [|*] i-pparisu śeluttādu kuttukkāṟpaḍiṟ[7] i-ttēvarkkēy irubat-
113 t-aindu-kāśu da[ṇ]ḍamum paṭṭu-chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal-iraṭṭiuṉ[6]-kuḍup-
114 [pa]du [||*] Śirivallabha-vaḷanāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam Kaṭṭāṟaimaṅgalattu-chchavaiyā-
115 r kaiṉ[1] mēṟpadi poliūṭṭ-āga[2] vaitta niṟai-kuṟaiyā-ppaḷaṅ-kāśu toṇ[ṇū]ṟṟu-
116 nāṉgu poṉ-aindu [|*] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai poli niṟai-madi-nārāyattā-
117 l iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu nūṟṟ-eṇbatt-oṉpadiṉ-kalam [|*] i-n[ne]-
118 llāl iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavana [|*] nāḷi-chchi[ṟu]-payaṟṟu-ppo-
119 rikku nāḷi-uḷakku-ppayaṟ-āgavum [|*] nāḷi-ppayaṟṟukku iru-nāḷi-nell-ā-
120 ga-ppori iḍa niśadam śiṟu-[pa]yaṟṟu-ppori niyadi u[ri]-[nā]kku[8] aḷakka-kkaḍava
121 śiṟu-payaṟu uri-āḷākku oru-kāśukku niṟai-madi-nārāyattāṟ-padiṉ-kala-nel-
122 l-aḥgam-āga [|*] oru-kāṇattukku-ppadi[ṉ-o]ru-nāḷi uḷakku mañjaḷ-āga-ttiru-
123 mēṉi pūśi-aruḷa mēṟ-pōl śiṟaitta paṟṟu-mañjaḷ niyadi mūḷakku [|*]
124 [o]viya[lu]m pāvāḍaium[9] ōr-aṉai oru-kāśu peṟṟaṉa oru-muṟai mu-ttiā-

[1] Read kaiyiṉ. [2] Read °liyāṭṭ-āga. [3] The ḷi of nāḷi looks like ḷā.
[4] Read -ttayirukku. [5] Read tayir. [6] Read °gun-.
[7] Read °padil. [8] Read uriyirukku. [9] Read °gum.

125 gaḷukku nāl-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu nāṉgu-muṟaikku veṇ-kūṟai padiṉ-āṟ-aṇai [|*] i-
126 pparisu śeluttādu kuttukkāṟpaḍil i-ttēvarkkōy irupatt-aindu
127 kāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=iraṭṭiuṅ[1]=kuḍuppadu [||*]
128 Parāntaka-vaḷanāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam [Parai]śumaṅgala[ttu-ttē]ṉ-ki]akku Ti-
129 [ṉṉi]-chchavaiyār kaiiṉ[2] mēṟpaḍi [3]poliūṭṭ-āga vaitta niṟai-kuṟaiyā=ppaḷa-
130 ṅ-kāśu irubatt-aindu [|*] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai poli niṟai-madi-nā-
131 rāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu aimbadiṉ-kalam i-nnellā-
132 l iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṉa [|*] nāḻi-arisikku mu-nnāḻi nel-
133 l-āga=ttiru-ppaḷikku niyadi arisi śemmaṟ-ṟiṭṭal oru-pōdaikku nāḻiy-āga i-
134 raṇḍu pōdaikku arisi śemmaṟ-ṟiṭṭal iru-nāḻi [|*] oru-kāśukku niṟai-madi-nārāyattāl
135 padiṉ-kala-nell-aḥgam-āga śrī-maḍaippaḷḷi-kkaṭṭu mēṟkaṭṭikku-ppuḍavai iṉai i-
136 raṇḍ-arai-kkāṇam peṟṟaṉa oru-muṟai aṟu-tiṅgaḷukku ir-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu iraṇḍu-mu
ṟaik-
137 ku=ppuḍavai nāl-aṇai [|*] kal-puṟaikku-ppuḍavai iṉai iraṇḍu-kāṇam peṟṟaṉa oru-
muṟai mu-ttiṅ-
138 gaḷukku ir-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu nā gu-muṟai[k*]ku=ppuḍavai eṭṭ-aṇai [|*] i-pparisu
śeluttādu kut-
139 tukkāṟpaḍil i-ttēvarkkōy aindu-kāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-chcheluttādu viṭṭa muda-
140 l=iraṭṭiuṅ[1]=kuḍuppadu i-nnāṭṭu-ppiramadēya[m*] Māṟamaṅgalattu=
141 chchavaiyār kaiiṉ[2] mēṟpaḍi [3]poliūṭṭ-āga vaitta niṟai-kuṟaiyā=ppa-
142 ḷaṅ-kāśu nūṟṟ-aimbatt-iraṇḍ-arai [|*] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai
143 poli niṟai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu mu-nnūṟ-
144 ṟ-aiṅ-kalam [|*] i-nnellāl iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṉa [|*]
145 oru-kāśukku niṟai-madi-nārāyattāl padiṉ-kala-nell-aḥgam-āga [|*] śrī-tūpam
146 śidāriṉukku[4] vēṇḍum uṟu[ppu[5]] agil-uṭpaḍa-kkaṟpūramum=tēnu[m] ni-
147 yadi arai-kkāṇam vilai peṟa iḍuvadu [|*] śrī-kaṟpakkira-agattu-kkaṭṭu mēṟkaṭ-
148 ṭikku veṇ-kūṟai iṉai āḷ-arai-kkāṇam peṟṟaṉa oru-muṟai āṟu-tiṅgaḷukku
149 nāl-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu iraṇḍu muṟaikku veṇ-kūṟai eṭṭ-aṇai [|*] nāḻi-ttair[6]-amidiṉuk-
150 ku iru-nāḻi nell-āga=ttiru-ppaḷikku-ppaśuviṉ=ṟōy-tair[6] niyadi nāḻi [|*]
151 taṭṭaḷi koṭṭigaḷukku-kkoṟṟu nellu=ttiṅgaḷ [nā]r-kala[ṉe]y padiṉ[7]-ku-
152 ṟuṇi nāḻi uriy-āga ōr-āṇḍu pannirаṇḍu tiṅgaḷukku vēṇḍum nellu niṟai-
153 madi-nārāyattāl aimbatt-eḻu-kalam[8]

Second slab ; Second face.

154 i-nnāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam Teṉṟakku. . . . .
155 llūr-chchavaiyār kaiiṉ[2] mēṟpaḍi [3]poliūṭṭ-āga vaitta ni-
156 ṟai-kuṟaiyā=ppaḷaṅ-kāśu aṟupadu [|*] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍu-
157 varai poli niṟai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu
158 nūṟṟ-irupadiṉ-kalam [|*] i-nnellāl iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-
159 kkaḍavaṉa [|*] oru-kāśukku niṟai-madi-nārāyattāl padiṉ-kala-nell-aḥgam-ā-
160 ga [|*] śrī-uḷaiy-āḍai iṉai mūṉṟu-kāśu peṟṟaṉa oru-muṟai mu-ttiṅgaḷukku

[1] Read *ṭṭiyu*-.
[2] Read *kaiyiṉ*.
[3] Read *poliyūṭṭ-āga*.
[4] Read *śidāriyiṉukku*.
[5] The letters in brackets look like *ṭṭu*.
[6] Read *tayir*-.
[7] To make up the total of 57 *kalam* in this item the word *padiṉ* ought to be *padiṉ-oru*.
[8] There is some blank space in this line after *eḻu-kalam* and space for another line below, in which should have been incised the words *i-pparisu śeluttādu kuttukkāṟpaḍil i-ttēvarkkē aimbadu kāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=iraṭṭiyum=kuḍuppadu*.

161 ōr-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu nāṉgu-muṟaikku śrī-uḍaiy-āḍai nāl-aṇai [|*] i-p-
162 pariśu śeluttadu kuttukkāṟpaḍil i-ttēvarkkēy panni-
163 raṇḍ-arai-kkāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=iraṭṭi-
164 uṅ[1]-kuḍuppadu [||*] Amitaguṇa-vaḷanāṭṭu=ppiramadēyam Avaṇi-
165 paśēkaramaṅgalattu=chchavaiyār kaiiṉ[2] mēṟpaḍi [3]poliūṭṭ-āga vaitta
166 niṟai-kuṟaiyā=ppaḷaṅ-kāśu aṟupadu [|*] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuva-
167 rai poli niṟai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu nūṟṟ-iru-
168 padiṉ-kalam [|*] i-nnellāl iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kka-
169 ḍavaṉa [|*] oru-kāśukku niṟai-madi-nārāyattāṟ=padiṉ-kala-nell-aḥgam-āga śrī-
170 uḍaiy-āḍai iṇai mūṉṟu-kāśu peṟṟaṉa oru-muṟai mu-ttiṅgaḷukku ōr-aṇaiy-ā-
171 ga ōr-āṇḍu nāṉgu-muṟaikku śrī-uḍaiy-āḍai nāl-aṇai i-ppariśu śeluttādu kut-
172 tukkāṟpaḍil i-ttēvarkkēy panniraṇḍ-arai-kkāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=chcheluttā-
173 du viṭṭa mudal=iraṭṭiuṅ[4]=kuḍuppadu [||*] Kuḍa-nāṭṭu=ppiramadēyam Puḷu-[5]
174 ḍai-chchavaiyār kaiiṉ[2] mēṟpaḍi [3]poliūṭṭ-āga vaitta niṟai-kuṟaiyā=ppaḷa-
175 ṅ-kāśu nūṟṟ-irupadu [|*] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai poli niṟai-madi-nārāya-
176 ttāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu iru-nūṟṟu-nāṟpadiṉ-kalam i-nne-
177 llāl iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṉa [|*] oru-kāśukku niṟai-madi-nārāya-
178 ttāl padiṉ-kala-nell-aḥgam-āga śrī-uḍaiy-āḍai iṇai mūṉṟu-kāśu peṟṟaṉa oru-
179 muṟai mu-ttiṅgaḷukku īr-aṇaiy-āga ōr-āṇḍu nāṉgu-muṟaikku śrī-uḍaiy-āḍai [e]-
180 ṭṭ-aṇai [|*] i-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkāṟpaḍil i-ttēvarkkēy irubat-
181 t-aindu-kāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=iraṭṭiuṅ[4]=kuḍuppa-
182 du [||*] i-nnāṭṭu=ppiramadēyam Kiraṉur-chchavaiyār kaiiṉ[2] mēṟpaḍi [3]poli-
183 ūṭṭ-āga vaitta niṟai-kuṟaiyā=ppaḷaṅ-kāśu iru-nūṟṟ-ōrubattu-nāṉgu [|*] i-
184 kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai poli niṟai-madi-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-ā-
185 ga vanda nellu nā-nūṟṟ-irubatt-eṇ-kalam i-nnellāl iva[r*]gaḷ niyadi-
186 ppaḍi koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṉa nāḷi-neykku irupadi-nāḷi-nell-āga
187 tirumañjaṉam āḍi-aruḷa=ppaśuviṉ-ṉaṟu-ney niyadi nā-ṉāḻi [|*] oru-kāśukku
188 niṟai-madi-nārāyattāṟ=padiṉ-kala-nell-aḥgam-āga=ttulā-chchandaṉattu-
189 kku oru-kāś-āga=ttirumēṉi pūśum sandaṉa-kkuḷambu-chchandaṉam niyadi
190 mu-ppalam [|*] i-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkāṟpaḍil i-ttēvarkkē-
191 y aimbadu-kāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=chcheluttādu viṭṭa mudal=i-
192 raṭṭiuṅ[4]=kuḍuppadu [||*] i-nnāṭṭu-ppiramadēyam Śaḍaṅgavikkuṟich-
193 chi-chchavaiyār kaiiṉ[2] mēṟpaḍi [3]poliūṭṭ-āga vaitta niṟai-kuṟaiyā=ppaḷaṅ-kā
194 śu toṇṇūṟu [|*] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai poli niṟai-madi-nārāyattāl
195 iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu nūṟṟ-eṇbadiṉ-kalam [|*] i-nnellāl niyadip-
196 paḍi iva[r*]gaḷ koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavadu [|*] oru-kāśukku niṟai-madi-nā[rā]-
197 yattāṟ=padiṉ-kala-nell-aḥgam-āga=ppadiṉ-aiṅ-kaḻañju kaṟpūrattukku o[ru]-
198 kāś-āga=ttirumēṉi-pūśun=tiruchchandaṉattōḍu kūṭṭi araikkum kaṟpū-
199 ram niyadi ōḷ-arai-kkāṇam [|*] i-ppariśu śeluttādu kuttukkāṟpaḍil
200 i-ttēvarkkēy irubatt-aindu-kāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu=chcheluttādu viṭ-
201 ṭa mudal=iraṭṭiuṅ[4]=kuḍuppadu [||*] i-nnāṭṭu=ppiramadēyam Kaḍuṅgōmaṅ-
202 galattu=chchavaiyār kaiiṉ[2] mēṟpaḍi [3]poliūṭṭ-āga vaitta niṟai-kuṟaiyā=
203 ppaḷaṅ-kāśu padiṉ-āṟu [|*] i-kkāśāl oru-kāśukku āṇḍuvarai poli niṟai-ma-
204 di-nārāyattāl iru-kala-nell-āga vanda nellu muppatt-iru-kalam [|*] i-nne-
205 llāl iva[r*]gaḷ niyadippaḍi koṇḍu-vandu śelutta-kkaḍavaṉa ōr-iḷanīrukku

[1] Read *yaṉ-*. [2] Read *kaiyiṉ*. [3] Read *poliyūṭṭ-āga*.
[4] Read *iraṭṭiyuṉ-*. [5] Read *Puḷiyaṅ*-*.

No.	No. of lines.	Division.	Name of village.	The body of persons with whom money was invested.	Amount invested.	
					Kāśu.	*Pon.*
1	8—10	Kuḍa-nāḍu . . .	Korkai .	Ūrār . .	96	8
2	10—48	Do. . . .	Nallūr . . .	Do. . .	168	6½
3	48—69	Do. . . .	Śāliyam . . .	Do. . .	24	5½
4	69—82	Vaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu .	Varagunamaṅgalam .	Sabhai .	110	0
5	82—95	Do. . .	Iraṇavālimaṅgalam included in Triyambaka-maṅgalam.	Do. .	22	0
6	96—104	Do. . .	Ālambattam included in Gaṅgaimaṅgalam.	Ūrār . .	16	0
7	104—114	Do. . .	Mānavīrapaṭṭinam .	Nagarattār .	120	0
8	114—127	Śrīvallabha-vaḷanāḍu .	Kuttāraimaṅgalam .	Sabhai .	94	5
9	128—140	Parāntaka-vaḷanāḍu .	Tinni included in Parāśu-maṅgalam.	Do. .	25	0
10	140—153	Do. . .	Māṛamaṅgalam . .	Do. .	152½	..
11	154—164	Do. . .	Tenrakka . . . . llūr . .	Do. .	60	0
12	164—172	Amitaguṇa-vaḷanāḍu .	Avanipaśēkharamaṅgalam	Do. .	90	0
13	172—182	Kuḍa-nāḍu . . .	Puḷiyaḷai . . .	Do. .	120	0
14	182—192	Do. .	Kiraṇūr . . .	Do. .	214	0
15	192—201	Do. .	Śaḍaṅgavikuṛichchi .	Do. .	90	0
16	201—210	Do. .	Kaḍuṅgōmaṅgalam .	Do. .	16	0

INTEREST.					Objects for which the interest was utilised.	Fine in case of default.
Rate per *kāśu*.	AMOUNT.					
	Kalam	*kuṟuṇi*	*nāḻi.*	*uri.*		
2 *kalam*	193	9	..	..	For supplying daily 16 *nāḻi* of rice on ordinary days and 96 *nāḻi* for 3 days in the year.	25 *kāśu* and double the quantity at default.
Do.	337	3	4	1	For supplying daily 1 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* of ghee, 6 *nāḻi* of curd, 16 plantains, 4 *palam* of sugar, 40 *palam* of vegetables, 1 *uḻakku* and 2 *śeviḍu* of *kāyam* and double this quantity for 3 days.	30 *kāśu* and double the quantity at default.
Do.	49	2	1	1	For supplying daily 2 *nāḻi* of *payaṟṟu-paruppu* for *tirumu̱ṇam*, 3 *paṟṟu* of betel leaves and 56 nuts, together with double the above quantity for 3 days.	5 *kāśu* and double the quantity at default.
Do.	220	..	..	..	For supplying daily 2 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* of ghee for 5 lamps and 1 *uḻakku* of ghee for 1 chain of lamps.	12½ *kāśu* and double the quantity at default.
Do.	64	..	..	..	For supplying daily 4 *nāḻi* of cow's milk and 4 *nāḻi* of curd.	5 *kāśu* and double the quantity at default.
Do.	32	..	..	..	For supplying daily 8 tender cocoanuts.	Do.
Do.	240	..	..	..	For supplying daily 10 *nāḻi* of flowers.	25 *kāśu* and double the quantity at default.
Do.	129	—	..	..	For supplying daily 1 *uri* of *pori* and 3 *uḻakku* of *mañ-jaḷ* and 16 *aṉai* of white cloth for the year.	Do.
Do.	50	—	..	..	For supplying daily 2 *nāḻi* of rice for *bali*, and for four *aṉai* of *pudavai* at the rate of 2½ *kāṇam* for 1 *aṉai* and 8 *aṉai* of *pudavai* at the rate of 2 *kāṇam* for 1 *aṉai* to be supplied during the year.	5 *kāśu* and double the quantity at default.
Do.	305	..	..	..	For supplying daily incense at 1½ *kāṇam*, for 8 *aṉai* of white cloth at 7½ *kāṇam* each *aṉai* for 1 year, for curd at 2 *nāḻi* of paddy per day and for drummers at 4 *kalam* 10 *kuṟuṇi* 1 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* per month or 57 *kalam* per year.	Omitted.
Do.	120	..	..	..	For supplying during the year 4 *aṉai* of *ulai-kāḍai* at 3 *kāśu* per *aṉai*.	12½ *kāśu* and double the quantity at default.
Do.	120	..	..	..	Ditto	Do.
Do.	240	..	..	..	For supplying 8 *aṉai* of *ulai-kāḍai* at 3 *kāśu* per *aṉai*.	25 *kāśu* and double the quantity at default.
Do.	428	..	..	..	For supplying daily 4 *nāḻi* of ghee for an ointment, and 3 *palam* of sandal at 1 *tulām* of sandal for 1 *kāśu*.	50 *kāśu* and double the quantity at default.
Do.	180	..	..	..	For supplying daily 7½ *kāṇam* of *karpūram* (1 *kāśu* fetching 5 *kaḻañju*).	25 *kāśu* and double the quantity at default.
Do.	32	..	..	..	To supply daily 8 tender cocoanuts at 1 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 cocoanut.	5 *kāśu* and double the quantity at default.

206 nāḷi-nell-āga-ttirumañjaṇam āḍi-aruḷa iḷanīr vaḷuvai uṭpaḍa niya-
207 di iru-nāḷiṇukku[1] nāḷi-iḷanīrukku nāl-iḷanīr-āga nivadi iḍum iḷa-
208 nīr eṭṭu [|*] i-pparisu śeluttādu kuttakkārpaḍil i-ttēvark-
209 kēy aindu-kāśu daṇḍamum paṭṭu-chchelutttādu viṭṭa mudal-iraṭṭiṇ[2]-ku-
210 ḍuppadu [||*]

No. 18.—THE BHADRENIYAKA GRANT OF SILADITYA I: G.E. 292.

BY THE LATE MR. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

These **two copper plates** were purchased along with five others by the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India from the widow of the late Dr. Gerson da Cunha of Bombay. The place where they were found originally is not known.

These plates measure 11½" by 8¾" and are joined together by means of a thick copper wire which passes through them. Only one side of these plates has been used for writing the record which consists of thirty-two lines, nineteen being engraved on the first and thirteen on the second plate. A copper **seal** which is oval in shape is affixed to the ends of the copper wire and bears the legend "*Śrī-Bhaṭakkaḥ*" which is usually found on the seals of the dynasty to which Śīlāditya belonged.

The inscription has not been incised very carefully and consequently it contains many mistakes. Only a portion of it is incised neatly but the engraving of the rest (ll. 13-19) is very thin. It is written in **Sanskrit** and, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate, the whole of it is in prose. The **alphabet** belongs to the Western variety of the Northern script of the seventh century A.D. As regards **orthography,** signs for i and ī have not always been distinguished, probably owing to the carelessness of the writer; *anusvāra* and *visarga* have been omitted in several places, *e.g.*, *sa[ṁ*]sakta* (l. 5), *sāmānya[ṁ*]* (l. 28), *atiśayāna[ḥ*]* (l. 6), *-kāryya-phala[ḥ*]* (l. 7), *etc.*; *ṅ* is used for *anusvāra* in *vaṅśa-* (ll. 3, 27) and *n* in *ansa* (l. 14) and *anyāni-cha* (l. 18); *n* takes the place of *ṇ* in *pranat°* (l. 4). In addition to the usual *daṇḍa* a dot has been used in two places to mark the punctuation, *cf.* l. 29 after *Vyāsēna* and l. 33 after *Vatrabhaṭṭinā*. The *upadhmānīya* occurs thrice, in ll. 10, 19 and 23, and the *jihvāmūlīya* only once, in l. 17. Usually consonants have been doubled when used in combination with the superscript *r*, *e.g.*, *mārgga-* (l. 5), *-śauryya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya* (l. 6), *etc.* The numerical symbols for 2, 4, 10, 90, and 200 are to be found in the last line.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of king **Śīlāditya I,** who was the son of the illustrious Dharasēna, who was the son of the illustrious Guhasēna, all of whom are mentioned as devout worshippers of Śiva. Like other records of the later kings of Valabhī this inscription also omits the names of the four sons of the *Sēnāpati* Bhaṭārka in the genealogical portion of it. The grant registered in these plates was issued from the victorious camp at **Dēvisaras** on the **14th day of the bright half of Chaitra in 292[3] G.E.** (circa 610-11 A.D.), and was written

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[1] Read *nāḷ[i]y-yuḷḷ[a]ṭ*.

[2] Read *iraṭṭiyāa*.

[3] [The late Mr. Banerji read the date as 290 and it has been so included in the *List of Northern Inscriptions* No. 1237 (above, Vol. XX, App. p. 181). I, however, read it as 292. It thus becomes the last known date of Śīlāditya I. In the interval between this and the next Valabhi grant dated 304 G.E. issued by Dharasēna (III), at least one ruler, *viz.*, Kharagraha, Śīlāditya's younger brother, must have ruled. Recently a copper-plate issued by this prince has come to light, and apparently he is the *Dūtaka* of many of Śīlāditya I's grants, including the present one.—Ed.]

by the *Sandhivigrahādhikrita* (minister of peace and war) *Divirapati* Vatrabhaṭṭi.[1] The *Dūtaka* was Kharagraha, probably the younger brother of the king and heir-apparent, who succeeded Śilāditya I.

According to this grant, two hundred *pādāvartas* of land in the village of Bhadrēṇiyaka in the Bāra-Vanasthalī were given for the worship of the Sun-god established in that village. Out of these two hundred *pādāvartas*, one hundred lay to the east of the arable land received as a gift and owned by the Brāhmaṇa Prabhandata, to the south of the arable land received as a gift and owned by a (Brāhmaṇa named) Rudra, to the north of the *daṇḍaka* (chain of hills ?) called Baraṭikā, and to the west of the junction of the boundary of the village of Gōppara-vāṭaka. Of the remaining hundred *pādāvartas* the boundaries are not specified, but it was a piece[2] of land (*bhū*) at the same village originally set apart for the purpose of charity (*bhaikshaka*), and now made over to the Sun temple along with the other piece of land. The land was granted for the maintenance of the worship (*pūjā*) and its other accessories, *viz.*, bath (*snapana*), sandal (*gandha*), flowers (*pushpa-mālya*), lamp-oil (*dīpa-taila*), vocal and instrumental music (*vādya-gīta*) and dances (*nritya*), the cost of sacrifices and offerings (*bali-charu-satra*), the maintenance of the servants of the god (*pādamūla*) and the cost of repairing any damages (*khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-pratisaṁskāra*). I am unable to identify any of the localities mentioned in this grant, *viz.*, **Dēvīsaras** (l. 1), **Bhadrēṇiyaka** (ll. 19-20, 22), **Bāra-Vanasthalī**[3] (l. 22), **Baraṭikā-daṇḍaka**[4] (l. 23) and **Gōpparavāṭaka** (l. 23).

TEXT.[5]

First Plate.

1 Ōm[6] svasti [|*] Vijaya-skandhāvārād=Dē[vī]sarō-vāsakāt prasabha-praṇat-āmitrāṇā[ṁ*] Maitrakāṇām=atula-bala-sampanna-maṇḍala-(l-ā)bhōga-sam-

2 sakta-prahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpāt=pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjjit-ānurāgād=anu-rakta-maula-bhṛita-śrēṇī-pa(ba)l-āvāpta-

3 rājya-śriyaḥ parama-māhēśvara-śrī-**Bhaṭa(tā)rkkād**=avyavachchhinna-rāja-vaṅśān=mātā-pitṛi-charaṇ-āravinda-praṇati-pravidhaut-āśēsha-kalmashaḥ

4 śē(śai)śavāt=prabhṛiti khaḍga-dvitīya-bāhur=ēva samada-para-gaja-ghaṭā-sphōṭana-prakāśita-satva-nikashas=tat-pratāva[7]-prana(ṇa)t-ārāti-chūḍa(ḍā)-ra-

5 tna-prabhā-sa[ṁ*]sakta-pāda-nakha-raśmi-saṁhatis=sakala-smṛitō(ti)-praṇīta-mārgga-samyak-paripālana-prajā-hṛidaya-rañjan-ānva[r*]ttha-rāja-śabdaḥ

6 rūpa-kānti-sthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya-buddhi-sashpa(mpa)dbhis=Smara-śaśāṅk-Ādrirāj-ōdadhi-Tridaśaguru-Dhanēśān-atiśayāna[ḥ*] śaraṇ-āśa(ga)t-ābhaya-

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[1] [This Vatrabhaṭṭi has also been called Vaśabhaṭṭi (No. 1341 of *List*) and Vaśabhaṭa (No. 1349). The readings Vatpabhaṭṭi (No. 1337, *i.e.*, the present grant), Chandrabhaṭṭi (No. 1338) and Chatrabhaṭṭi (No. 1345) are misreadings. The members of the family to which Vatrabhaṭṭi belonged seem to have held charge of the War Office under at least eight princes of the Maitraka dynasty for four generations, *viz.*, Skandabhaṭa (apparently the father of Vatrabhaṭṭi), Vatrabhaṭṭi, his son Skandabhaṭa and the latter's son Anahila.—Ed.]

[2] [If the two dots after *bhūmi* are to be treated as equivalent to 2, then the two pieces of *Bhaikshaka* land together consisted of 100 *pādāvartas*.—Ed.]

[3] [This though not so specified must have been the *maṇḍala*, probably consisting of the Vanasthalī twelve (?). Vanthali, an important place in Junagadh State, may be suggested as the modern equivalent of the place, although it was known as Vāmanasthalī in the mediaeval period.—Ed.]

[4] [The boundary of Baraṭaka (probably a village) and the way leading to village Bhadrāṇaka as also a well belonging to the god Āditya are referred to in the Dhānk grants of G. E. 290 issued by the same king Śilāditya I. It is likely that the lands mentioned in these two grants lie in the same locality.—Ed.]

[5] The text is edited from the original plates in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] Read *prabhāva*-.

7 pradāna-paratayā tṛiṇavad-apāst-āśēsha-sva-kāryya-phala(ḥ*) prārthan-ādhik-
ārttha-pradān-ānandita-vidvat-suhṛit-praṇaya(yi)-hṛidayaḥ pāda-
8 chār-īva sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōga-pramōdaḥ parama-māhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Guha-
sēnas**-tasya sutas-tat-pāda-nakha-mayūkha-santāna-visṛi-
9 ta-Jāhnavī-jal-augha-prakshāļit-āśēsha-kalmashaḥ praṇayi-śata-sahasr-ōpajīvyamāna-sam-
pad-rūba(pa)-lōbhād-iv-āśritaḥ sarabhasam=ā-
10 bhigāmikair-gguṇais-sahaja-śakti-śikshā-viśēsha-vismātāpit[1]-ākhila-bala-dhanurddharaḥ-
prathama-narapati-samatisṛishṭā[nā*]m-anupālayitā
11 dharmma-dāyānāṁ mapākarttā[2] praj-ōpaghāta-kāriṇām-upaplavānāṁ darśayitā
Śrī-Sarasvatyōr=ēk-ādhivāsasya sya(saṁ)hat-ārāti-paksha-la-
12 kshmī-ba(pa)ribhōga-daksha-vikramā(mō) vikram-ōpasaṁprāpta-vimala-pārtthiva-śrīḥ
parama-māhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Dharasō(sē)nas**-tasya sutas-tat-pād-ānu-
13 dhyātas-sakala-di(ja)gad-ānandan-āty-adbhuta-guṇa-samuda[ya*]-sthagita-samagra-dig(ā)-
maṇḍalas-samara-śata-vijaya-śōbhā-sanātha-maṇḍalāgra-
14 dyuti-bhāsuratar-āṁsa(sa)-pīṭh-ōdūḍha-guru-manōratha-mā(ma)hābhāras-sarvva-vidyā-par-
āpara-vibhāg-ādhigama-vimala-matir-api sarvva-
15 tas-subhāshita-lavēn-āpi sukh-ōpapādanīya-paritōshas-samagra-lōk-āgādha-gāmbhīryya-
hṛidayō-pi sacharit-ātiśaya-su-
16 vyakta-parama-kalya(lyā)ṇa-svabhāvaḥ khilībhūta-Kṛita-yuga-nṛipati-patha-viśōdhan-
ādhigat-ōdagra-kīrttir=ddharmm-āmu(nu)parōdh-ōjvalata-
17 rīkṛit-ārttha-sukha-sampad-upasēvā-nirūḍha-**Dharmmāditya**-dvitīya-nāmā parama-
māhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Śīlāditya**ḥ-kuśalī sarvvān=ē-
18 v=āyuktaka-viniyuktaka-drāṅgika-mahattara-śaulkika-chaurōddharaṇika-chāṭa-bhaṭa-kumā-
rāmāty-ādīn=anyāṁs(ṁś)=cha yathā-sambu-
19 dhyamānakān=samājñāpayaty=astu vas=saṁviditaṁ yathā mayā mātā-pitrō[ō]ḥ=puṇy-
āpyāyanāya **Bhadrē-**

Second Plate.

20 **ṇiyaka**-grāmā(ma)-nipi(vi)shṭ-Ādityadēva-pādānāṁ pūjā-snapana-gandha-pushpa-mālya-
dīpa-tail-ādy-upayōgāya vādya-gīta-nṛity-ā-
21 dy-arthē vali-charu-satr-ōtsarppaṇāya pādamūla-prajīvā(va)nāyā(ya) dēvakulasya
cha khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-pratisaṁskārāya
22 cha Bāra-vanasthalyāṁ Bhadrēṇiyaka-grāmē pūrvva-sīmni brāhmaṇa-Prabhandata-
satka-brahma-dēya-kshētrāt=pūrvvataḥ Rudra-
23 satka-brahma-dēya-kshētrād=dakshiṇataḥ Baraṭikā-daṇḍakād=uttarataḥ Gōppara-
bā(vā)ṭaka-[grā]ma-sīmā-sandhēr=aparataḥ=pādāvartta-śataṁ
24 tath=āsminn=ēva grāmē bhaikshakaṁḥ[3] lavam-ētat=pādāvartta-śataṁ bhaikshakaṁ
cha sōdraṅgaṁ sōparikaraṁ savāta-bhūta-pratyāyaṁ sadhānya-
25 hiraṇy-ādēyaṁ sadaśāparādhaṁ sōtpadyamāna-vishṭis[4] sarvva-rājakīyānām=ahasta-
prakshēpaṇīyaṁ pūrvva-pratta-brahma-dēya-
26 varjjitaṁ bhūma(mi)-chchhidra-nyāyēn=āchandr-ārkk-ārṇṇava-kshita(ti)-sarit-parvvata-
samakālīnaṁ dharmma-dāyatayā nisṛishṭaṁ yataḥ u-
27 pari-[li*]khita-sthityā bhujyamānasya na kaiśchid=vyāsēdhē vartti[ta*]vyam=āgāmi-
bhadra-nṛipatibhir=apy=asmad-vaṁśajair=anyair=vvā anityā-

[1] Read *vismāpit-*.

[2] Read *dharmma-dāyānām=apākarttā*.

[3] [The *visarga* is superfluous or it may be the numerical sign for 2.—Ed.]

[4] Read *-vishṭikaṁ*.

28 ny-aiśvaryyāṇy-asthiraṁ mānushyaṁ sāmānya(ṁ*) cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avagachchhadbhir=ayam=asmad-dāy-ōnumantyavyāḥ(vyaḥ) paripālayi-
29 tavyaś=ch=ēty=uktaṁ cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāsēna Vyāsēna |[1] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā
30 bhūmis=tā(ta)sya tasya tadā phalam | Yān=iha dāridrya-bhayān=narēndrair=ddhanāni dharmm-āyatani(nī)-mri(kṛi)tāni [|*] nirbhbhu(bbhu)kta-mālya-
31 pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadīta || Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*] āchchhēttā ch=ā-
32 numantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēd=iti ||[2] Dūtakaś=ch=ātra śrī-Kharagrahaḥ likhitaṁ sandhivigrahādhimṛi(kṛi)ta-Divirapati-
33 Vatrabhaṭṭinā |[1] Saṁ 200 90 2 Chaitra-śu 10 4 [|*] Sva-hastō mama ||

No. 19.—THE PIRANMALAI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNADEVARAYA: ŚAKA 1440.

BY V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

This inscription[3] is engraved on the south wall of the 'Sundara-Pāṇḍyaṉ-maṇḍapa' in the **Maṅgaināthēśvara** temple at **Pirāṉmalai** in the Ramnad district. The surface of the stone containing the inscription is not specially dressed for engraving, but the record is in a good state of preservation.

The **language** of the inscription is Tamiḻ prose and the **alphabet** is Tamiḻ with a slight admixture of Grantha letters at the beginning and the end. A few **orthographical** peculiarities such as the use of *shcha* in place of (i) *ksha* (l.3) and of (ii) *sha* (l.1); of *ḷa* for *ḻa* (l.9) and non-adherence to *sandhi* rules (ll. 5, 10, 12 and 13) are worthy of note.

Some of the revenue terms used in the record require explanation :—

Kaḍamai (l.11). This word is used in Tamiḻ inscriptions and literature in the sense of a tax, mostly on land. It also seems to include any assessment levied on an industry or a profession; cf. the taxes *Śekku-kaḍamai*, *Tōṇik-kaḍamai*, *Taṟik-kaḍamai*, etc.

Kāṇikkai (l.12). This term literally means 'a free gift' or 'voluntary offering'. *Kānuka* in Telugu denotes a tribute paid to a superior. Compare the term *Paḍai-kāṇikkai* which is a contribution made for the maintenance of an army and also the terms *Kāṇikkai-paṭṭipoṉ* and *Nāṭṭuk-kāṇikkai*.

Vēṇḍukōḷ (l.12) may be explained as a fee paid along with an application or request.

Viniyōgam occurring in l.12 may be rendered as 'a fee collected for a common purpose'; cf. the terms *Nāṭṭu-viniyōgam*, *Sabhā-viniyōgam*, *Ōlai-eḍuppu-viniyōgam* and *Vāśal-viniyōgam*.

The present record is **dated in Śaka 1440** in the reign of the Vijayanagara ruler **Kṛishṇa-dēva-Mahārāya**, 'who conquered all countries'. The astronomical details[4] of date given in it *viz.*, Mithuna, ba. amāvāsyā, Tuesday, Vṛiddhi-yōga and solar eclipse, point to **Tuesday, June 8, 1518** A.D., as its equivalent, when there was **a solar eclipse** visible in India.

The **object** of the inscription is to register the tax-free grant of the village **Mēlūr** in Śōḷa-pāṇḍya-vaḷanāḍu, by **Poṉṉambalanātha-Toṇḍaimāṉ**, the chief (*araśu*) of **Aṟantāṅgi**, for offerings and worship to the god Nallamaṅgaibāgar at **Tirukkoḍuṅkuṉṟam**, during the early morning service instituted after his name in the temple.

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[1] Mark of punctuation expressed by a dot. [2] Read *vasēt* [|*] *iti* ||

[3] No. 201 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[4] In the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1923-24, p. 89, the cyclic year is wrongly read as Saumya, but it can be read as Vegudhānya (or Bahudhānya) which was current in Saka 1440.

The importance of the record lies chiefly in the mention made in it of Ponnambalanātha Toṇḍaimāṉ, the foremost of the chiefs of Araṇtāṅgi. This town, now a terminus of the Tanjore District Board Railway and a taluk headquarter rose to the position of an important principality in the beginning of the 16th century, when there was a general unsettlement in the Pāṇḍya country. The rule of the Pāṇḍyas of Madura was, by this time, restricted to the extreme south of their dominions, comprising the present Tinnevelly district, the northern part of the Pāṇḍya territory having been lost originally to the Vāṇakōvaraiyars and latterly to the Nāyakas of Madura. Upon the spoils of the original Pāṇḍya kingdom rose the Nāyakas of Tanjore and Madura and the Sētupatis of Ramnad, all of whom gradually formed hereditary principalities wielding considerable power in the country. In the struggle of these principalities for power, Araṇtāṅgi with its central position soon rose to prominence. It would not be out of place to give here a brief account of the principality of Araṇtāṅgi as made out from inscriptions, of which about 25 have so far come to light, revealing the names of a number of chiefs, whose rule covers a period of nearly a century and half.

In inscriptions, the chiefs of Araṇtāṅgi have the distinct appellations '*Araṇtāṅgi-araśu*' and '*Toṇḍaimāṉ*'. The latter title[1] which is the earlier of the two, means 'the king of Toṇḍai' or 'Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam', *i.e.*, the Pallava country, the traditional capital of which was Kāñchīpuram. Several chiefs with this distinguishing title and claiming Pallava descent are met with in inscriptions dating from the 11th century A.D. When the Pallava power was eclipsed by the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas, some chiefs claiming descent from the Pallavas and bearing the title *Toṇḍaimāṉ* seem to have served as local officers and become potentates in the extreme south. One such chief who lived towards the close of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century A.D. was Karuṇākara-Toṇḍaimāṉ of Vaṇḍuvāñjēri (*i.e.*, modern Vaṇḍai) in the Kumbakonam taluk, the hero of the Tamil poem *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*. A few other chiefs bearing the title 'Toṇḍaimāṉ' are met with in inscriptions found chiefly in and around the Pudukkōṭṭai State not far from the Araṇtāṅgi region. It is possible that they were the ancestors or close forbears of the Araṇtāṅgi Toṇḍaimāṉ chiefs. A Toṇḍaimāṉ chief by name Vaḷattu-vāḻvitta-Perumāḷ[2] claiming to belong to Vēṅga-nāḍu, a district to the north-east of the Pudukkoṭṭai State figures in a record from that State, dated in 1291 A.D. A record of the Pāṇḍya king Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulaśēkhara[3] also mentions this chief and another[4] makes provision for the 'Vaḷattu-vāḻvittāṉ-śandi' (a service named after the chief) in the 19th year of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara. In the Tamil poem *Kappaṛkōvai* the hero is a certain Karumāṇikkaṉ, a chief of Kappalūr near Pudukkōṭṭai.[5] He is there styled a Toṇḍaimāṉ and described as a minister and a general of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya. A record from Nandalūr[6] in the Cuddapah district mentions

[1] In *Sen-Tamil*, Vol. VI, p. 318, this title has been explained as "the vassal of an overlord". The earliest reference to the name Toṇḍaimāṉ in the Pāṇḍya country is found in an inscription dated in the 5th year of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I, *i.e.*, A.D. 1016 on the Nārttāmalai hill (vide '*A General History of the Pudukkottai State*' by Radhakrishnaier, p. 113). There is also a reference to Toṇḍaimāṉ in the *Mahāvaṁsa* of Ceylon. While chronicling the war of the Pāṇḍya succession, this text says 'that the Pāṇḍyan king Kulaśēkhara on being defeated by the Singhalese troops of Ceylon, who supported his rival, fled to the mountains of Toṇḍaimāna, that Kulaśēkhara then attacked the Singhalese forces at Pon-Amarāvati (a village in the south-west of the Pudukkottai State) and was again defeated, and that with the help of the ruler of Toṇḍaimāna and some other chieftains, Kulaśēkhara once more opposed the forces of Ceylon and was once again defeated'. The hill where Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya is said to have concealed himself is probably no other than the Nārttāmalai hill in the Pudukkoṭṭai State.

[2] Vide *A General History of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 115.

[3] No. 255 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[4] No. 488 of 1918 of the same collection.

[5] *Śen Tamiḻ*, Vol. VI, p. 318ff.

[6] No. 594 of 1907.

Toṇḍaimāṉār *alias* Tirunelvēli-Uḍaiyār who was a minister of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya. This inscription is dated in the 17th year and the astronomical details given therein point to A.D. 1293, March 14, Saturday, as its English equivalent. It seems very likely that the Toṇḍaimāṉār referred to in the Nandalūr record is identical with the minister Karumāṇikkaṉ mentioned in the Tamil poem. Though these records show that the Toṇḍaimāṉs were among the potentates of the territory around Arantāṅgi during the 13th century A.D. none of them assumed the title '*Arantāṅgi-araśu*' (lord of Arantāṅgi) before the end of the 15th century A.D.

Besides being the Toṇḍaimāṉs or Pallavas, the chiefs of Arantāṅgi appear to have been connected in some manner with the Perumāḷs of Tinnevelly, for we find a lithic record from Eṭṭiyattaḷi[1] in the Arantāṅgi taluk mentioning Tirunelvēlip-perumāḷ Toṇḍaimāṉār as the chief of Arantāṅgi. This record is dated in the cyclic year Virōdhin and mentions the signatory Nirambavaḷagiyāṉ-Kāliṅgarāyaṉ who figures in another epigraph[2] in the same place dated in Saka 1364[3](=A.D. 1442) and may therefore, be assigned to A.D. 1469. About this time Jaṭilavarman Arikēsaridēva *alias* Parākrama-Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1420-1463) and his brother Kulaśēkharadēva (A. D. 1429-1473) were ruling the Tinnevelly and adjoining districts. The Arantāṅgi chiefs subsequently came under the yoke of the Vijayanagara Empire and accepted its suzerainty as is evidenced by the present record.[4] Ekapperumāḷ, the father of Poṉṉambalanātha-Toṇḍaimāṉ, the donor of the present record, seems to have been a very pious ruler, for we find him in inscriptions making gifts to temples and instituting services therein called the 'Toṇḍaimāṉ-śandi' after his name. Among the titles of Poṉṉambalanātha, special attention may be drawn to *Kāñchipuravarādhīśvara* 'the lord of Kāñchī, the best of cities' and *Ēḻu-nāḷaiyil Yīḻam-tiṟai-koṇḍa-perumāḷ* 'the hero who levied tribute from Ceylon in seven days'. The title *Kāñchipuravarādhīśvara* assumed by him suggests that the family of Arantāṅgi Chiefs claimed Pallava descent. The other title indicates the important part played by the chief in Ceylon on behalf of his overlord[5]. Poṉṉambalanātha calls himself a devotee at the feet of Perumāḷ Āvuḍaiya-Tambirāṉār[6]. He was in power for over half a century (*circa* 1514-1569 A.D.) and acknowledged the overlordship of the Vijayanagara king Kṛishṇarāya at least between Saka 1436[7] and 1452.[8] His territory was not confined to the limits of the present Arantāṅgi taluk. Inscriptions mentioning him are found in the Pudukkoṭṭai State, in the present Arantāṅgi taluk and at Pirāṉmalai in the Ramnad district.

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[1] No. 125 of 1916 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[2] No. 126 of 1916 of the same collection.

[3] In an earlier record (No. 298 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) from Tiruvarangulam, dated in Saka 13[0]5, Rudhirōdgārin, three chiefs of Arantāṅgi, *viz.*, Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷap-Perumāḷ Toṇḍaimāṉ, Sūryadēvar Sundarapāṇḍya Toṇḍaimāṉ and Muṉṉiṉṟa-Perumāḷ Kulaśēkhara-Toṇḍaimāṉ are mentioned. The Saka date in the record seems, however, to be wrongly cited for Saka 1365 for, it is only about this time that we meet with two of the above-mentioned chiefs in other inscriptions. Moreover in this inscription there is a small gap in the date portion to justify this doubt.

[4] See also Nos. 312 and 313 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[5] No. 146 of 1903 from Pirāṉmalai is the only record that refers, to the invasion of Ceylon by Krishṇadēvarāya. It is dated in Saka 1440 and also mentions the chief Poṉṉambalanātha-Toṇḍaimāṉ. It is known that the predecessors of Krishṇadēvarāya were collecting tribute from Ceylon. Considering the shortness of time (*i.e.*, seven days) within which Poṉṉambalanātha is said to have achieved this feat, it is possible that the reference is only to a successful expedition to Ceylon to collect some arrears of tribute on behalf of his overlord Krishṇadēvarāya. Probably this feat of the feudatory was transferred to his overlord in No. 146 of 1903 noted above. An actual invasion of Ceylon during Krishṇadēvarāya's reign is not necessarily meant.

[6] Āvuḍaiya-Tambirāṉār is the name of the god at Āvuḍaiyārkōyil, a village in the Arantāṅgi taluk and associated with the life of the saint Māṇikkavāchaka.

[7] No. 312 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[8] No. 240 of 1930 of the same collection.

Poṉṉambalanātha was succeeded in the Arantāṅgi principality by Āṇḍiyappa Achyutanāyaka-Toṇḍaimāṉ[1] son of Tyāgarasar Narasā-Nāyaka, who had also the titles *achchamariyāddāṉ* and *alavandāṉjuddāṉ* and whose earliest date so far known is Śaka 1499 (=A.D. 1577), not far removed from the latest known date of Poṉṉambalanātha, *viz.*, A.D. 1569.

The line of Arantāṅgi Chiefs is at present supposed to be represented by the Zamindar of Pālayavanam in the Pudukkoṭṭai State.[2]

The chiefs of Arantāṅgi so far known from epigraphical sources are :—

1. Kulasēkhara-Toṇḍaimāṉ[3] (1426 and 1443 A.D.),
2. Sūryadēvar Sundarapāṇḍya-Toṇḍaimāṉ (1443 A.D.),
3. Malavallapperumāḷ-Toṇḍaimāṉ,
4. Aḻagiya Maṇavāḷapperumāḷ-Toṇḍaimāṉ (1443 and 1453 A.D.), his son
5. Lakkaṇadaṇṇāyaka-Toṇḍaimāṉ or Lakkappadaṇṇāyaka-Toṇḍaimāṉ (1453 A.D.),
6. Tirunelvēlipperumāḷ (1469 A.D.),
7. Ēkapperumāḷ-Toṇḍaimāṉ (1481 and 1499 A.D.), his three sons
8. Tirāviṇaitīrttāṉ-Toṇḍaimāṉ (1497 A.D.),
9. Avuḍaiya-Nāyiṉār-Toṇḍaimāṉ (1499 A.D.) and
10. Poṉṉambalanātha-Toṇḍaimāṉ (1514-1569 A.D.), his son
11. Varavinōda Toṇḍaimāṉ (1536 A.D.),
12. Āṇḍiyappa Achyutanāyaka-Toṇḍaimāṉ, son of Tyāgarasar-Narasānāyaka (1577 A.D.) and
13. Aruṇāchala Vaṇaṅgāmuḍi-Toṇḍaimāṉ, son of Raghunātha Vaṇaṅgāmuḍi-Toṇḍaimāṉ[4] (1713 A.D.).

Of the places mentioned in the record **Mēlūr** is the modern village of the same name about 16 miles north-west of Madura. **Tirukkoḍuṅkuṉṟam** (*i.e.*, Pirāṉmalai) is said to have been in Tirumalai-nāḍu which must have taken its name from the modern village Tirumalai in the Śivagaṅga taluk. The territorial name **Śōḷapāṇḍya-vaḷanāḍu** is significant and the division must have been formed after the establishment of the Chōḷa viceroys in the Pāṇḍya country, who specially called themselves Śōḷa-Pāṇḍyas

TEXT.

1 [Svasti] [||*] Śrīmaṉ-ma[gā]maṇḍalēśuraṉ [ariyarāya]-vibhāḍaṉ [5]bāshaikkuttappuva-rāyira-gaṇḍaṉ kaṇḍa-nāḍu-koṇḍu koṇḍa-nāḍu-kuḍādāṉ pūrva-

2 deshaṇa[6]-pachchima-uttara-samuddirādhi[pati emma]ṇḍalamum koṇḍu e[ḻundaru]ḷiya **śrī-[Krishṇadē(va)-Mah(ā)rāyar** prithivī-rāchchiyam paṇṇi-aruḷāniṉṟa

3 **śakābdam 1440** ;danmēl Veḍu[dhā]ṉya-[varusha[7]]m uttarāyaṇattu Mithuna-nāyaṟṟu apara-pashchattu[8] [a]māvāsyaiyum Maṅgalavāramum Viruddi-

4 yōgamum peṟṟa iṟṟai-nāḷ[9] Sūriya-girana-puṇṇiya-kālattu Tirumalai-nāṭṭil- **Tirukkoḍuṅkuṉṟattu**[10] Nayiṉār Nallamaṅgaibāgarku Ara[n]tāṅgi-arasu achchamari-

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[1] No. 511 of 1925 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. *From the records so far available*, it is not possible to say whether Varavinōda-Toṇḍaimāṉ, the son of Poṉṉambalanātha succeeded his father as the chief of Arantāṅgi.

[2] *A General History of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 84.

[3] From Nos. 290 of 1914 and 238 of 1930 ; Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 mentioned above appear to be brothers.

[4] Known only from a copper-plate record. *Vide Sen Tamil*, Vol. XII, p. 441 ff.

[5] Read *bhāshai*°.

[6] Read *dakshiṇa*-.

[7] The word *varusham* is expressed by a symbol.

[8] Read *apara-paksha*.

[9] The *nakshatra* is not given.

[10] Tirukkoḍuṅkuṉṟam is also known as Dakshiṇa-Kailāsam in Nos. 193 and 213 of 1924.

5 [yāda]-perumāḷ [1]alaivilaṉjāda-perumāḷ mugilin-kīḻ-ttiriyum-Iḻa-Vaṉṉiyar-maṇṇa-gaṇḍaṉ[2] aṭṭukku-āṉai-vaḷaṅgum-perumāḷ ēḻu-nāḷaiyil Yiḻan-tiṟaikoṇḍa-perumā-

6] kōṉ pāda. . . . . [yāda]-perumāḷ Kāñchipuravar-ādhīśvaraṉ[3] Āvuḍaiya-Tambirāṉār-śrīpāda-bhaktaṉ Ēkapperumāḷ-Toṇḍaimāṉār puttiraṉ

7 **Poṉṉambalanātha-Toṇḍaimāṉār** Nayiṉār Nallamaṅgaibāgarku [u]bhaiyamāga aṭṭina śiṟu-kālach-chandikku amudupaḍi [śāttu]ppaḍi uḷḷittu

8 vēṇḍum nittam-nima[ndañ]ga[ḷukku nam-[pērā]l kaṭṭiṉa Poṉṉambalanātha-Toṇḍaimāṉār-śandiyāga amudusey yum-paḍikku ku-

9 ḍutta [vi]-ṉnayinār . . . dēvadāna . . . [4]nāmattukkāṇiy-āga Śōḷa-Pāṇḍiya-vaḷanāttu **Mēlūr** peru-nāṉ-ellaikk-u[ḷ[paṭṭa]-

10 dum sa-hiraṇy-ōda[ka-dhārā-pūrvam-āga ti[runāmat]tukkāṇi-āga chandr-ādityavar śellak-kuḍuttapaḍiāl iḍukkuḷ uḷpaṭṭa[5]

11 nidhi-nikshēpa-jala-pāshāṇa-kūpa-[ta]ṭākādiyum Tambirāṉārkē urittāga kaḍavad-āgavum ivv-iṟku varum kaḍamai kā-

12 ṇikkai vēṇḍukōḷ viniyōgam maṟṟum eṟpēṟpaṭṭa[6] vari ubā(pā)dhiyum kaḷittuk-kuḍuttapaḍiālā chandr-ādityava-

13 ṟśella sarvamāṉṉyam-āga tirunāmattukkāṇi-āga[7] anubhavittuk-koḷḷavum kallilum śembilum veṭṭikko-

14 ṇḍu tirunāmattukkāṇi-āga chandr-ādityavaṟśella anubhavittuk-koḷḷavum inda daṉmattukku agitam paṇṇi-

15 navaṉ Gaṅgaikkaraiyil kapilaiyum brāmmaṇaṉaiyum mātā-pitāvaiyum guru-vaiyum koṉṟa [dō]shattilē pō-

16 gakkaḍavaṉ-āgavum[8] inda nēmē saṟuvamāṉiyam-āgappaṟṟi anubhavittuk-koḷḷavum Aṟan-

17 tāṅgi-kaṇakku Adivā[r*]kkunallāṉ Kaṟpūrak-Kāliṅgarāyaṉ[9] eḻuttu [||*]

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[1] The title '*alaivilaṉjāda*' is not newly borne by this chief. (*Vide* Nos. 208 of 1924 and 173 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.)

[2] With the title *Vaṉṉiyar-maṇṇa-gaṇḍaṉ* compare the titles *Vaṉṉiyar-tāṉa-tavirttāṉ* and *Śarimutta Vaṉṉiyaṉ* assumed by the Sētupati Chiefs (*Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions*: Burgess and Natesa Sastri, pp. 73 and 79 and *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. V, p. 13, foot-note 7). Local tradition confirmed by one of the Mackenzie Manuscripts says that two feudal chiefs of the Vaṉṉiya caste, who were ruling at Tiruvadaichchuram near Chingleput, defied the authority of the Vijayanagara king Kṛishṇadēvarāya. Since these chiefs were turbulent and wielded considerable power, their humiliation was considered to be a real feat by their conquerors. An inscription of Dēvarāya II gives him the title 'the lord who took the heads of the 18 Vaṉṉiyas' (*Tamil and Sanskrit Inscriptions* No. 11, p. 150). The Vaṉṉiyas who had migrated from India as soldiers accompanying the successive Tamil invaders to Ceylon and settled permanently in the island, gave frequent trouble to the Ceylonese kings as well. The titles of Dēvarāya, Poṉṉambalanātha-Toṇḍaimāṉ and the Sētupatis of Ramnad regarding their exploits have reference to the help they rendered to the Ceylonese kings in subjugating the Vaṉṉiyas.

[3] The title *Kāñchipuravarādhīśvara* may be interpreted as 'one hailing from Conjeeveram'. The chiefs Pallaganda-Sāmbuvarāyar (*A. R.* 1922, para. 144) and Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpāla Madhurāntakadēva (*A. R.* on *S. I. Epigraphy* 1923, para. 91) also assumed this title. It may be noted here that this *biruda* borne by Krishnappa-Nāyaka (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 330), indicates that the original home of the Madura Nāyakas was Conjeeveram. But in the case of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya (acc. 1251 A.D.) (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 453), this *biruda* was assumed to commemorate his conquest of Kāñchīpura and the subjugation of the original Pallava dominions.

[4] The gaps in this line may be filled with the letters *bhu* and *sa-tira*.

[5] Read *iḍaikkuḷpaṭṭa*.

[6] Read *eppēṟpaṭṭa*.

[7] This phrase is again repeated to emphasise the grant made.

[8] There is a symbol in the inscription after this word. It appears to be a contraction for some such words as *inda dharmam* or *inda grāmam*.

[9] Read 'Kāliṅgarāyaṉ'.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! While the illustrious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* **Krishṇadēva-Mahārāya**, who conquered all hostile kings, who chastised the kings that were false to their words, who took every country that he saw and who did not give up any country that he had taken, who was the lord of the eastern, southern, western and northern oceans, who was pleased to come out (glorious) after taking all countries,—was pleased to rule the earth, in the **Śaka** year **1440** expired, corresponding to Bahudhānya, during Uttarāyaṇa, in the month of Mithuna, on Tuesday, when the amāvāsyā of the dark fortnight was current, at the holy time of the solar eclipse and Vṛiddhi-yōga,—on this day, **I, Poṉṉambalanātha-Toṇḍaimāṉār**, the son of Ekapperumāḷ-Toṇḍaimāṉār, the chief of Araṇtāṅgi, who knew no fear, who was never perturbed......[1] who could present an elephant in return for a lamb, who levied tribute from Īḻam (Ceylon) within seven days, ..., who was the lord of Kāñchī, the best of towns, and a devotee at the sacred feet of the god Āvuḍaiya-Tambirāṉār—having given the *(land)* situated within the four great boundaries of **Mēlūr** in Śōḻapāṇḍya-vaḷanāḍu as *tirunāmattukkāṇi* with gold and libation of water to last as long as the Sun and Moon, to *(the god)* Nayiṉār Nallamaṅgaibāgar at Tirukkoḍuṅkuṉṟam in Tirumalai-nāḍu for the daily requirements of offerings and worship during the Poṉṉambalanātha-Toṇḍaimāṉār-śandi (*service*) in the early morning to the god Nayiṉār Nallamaṅgaibāgar, instituted after my own name—*(the rights over)* its treasures and hidden deposits *(in this land)*, its water and stone and its wells, tanks, etc., shall be exclusively enjoyed by the Tambirāṉār *(god)*. And as the taxes including *kaḍamai*, *kāṇikkai*, *vinḍukōl*, *vaniyōgam* and other dues accruing from this village had been remitted, it shall be enjoyed as a *tirunāmattukkāṇi* (temple land) and a *sarvamānya* (freehold) as long as the sun and the moon last. The deed shall be engraved on stone and copper and the land enjoyed as *tirunāmattukkāṇi*, as long as the moon and the sun last.

He who obstructs this charity shall incur the sin of killing a tawny cow, a Brāhmaṇa, *(his own)* parents and teacher on the banks of the Ganges. In the aforesaid manner the land shall be taken possession of and enjoyed as a *sarvamānya*. This is the writing of Aḍiyāḻ[va]ṟkkumallāṉ Karpūraik-Kāliṅgarāyaṉ, the accountant of Araṇtāṅgi.

No. 20.—NAVAGRAMA GRANT OF THE MAHARAJA HASTIN (G.E. [1]98).

BY K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A., CALCUTTA.

This fragmentary plate was handed over to me by the Political Agent, Baghelkhand Agency, who could not give me any definite information regarding its findspot, except that it came from some place in Nāgod State. It has therefore been named after the name of the village granted.

The **plate** measures 5¼" in length and 3¾" to 3¼" in breadth. It consists of the left half of the first of two plates forming the complete grant, as is clear from a comparison with other grants of Hastin and the portion of the round ring-hole preserved in the centre of the first line, through which the plate appears to have been broken. The missing portion of the plate has been conjecturally restored where possible from other published grants, particularly from the Majhgawām[2] copper-plate of the same prince. The average size of the letters is ¼". The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. They do not present the nail-headed forms of letters as in the Majhgawām plates of Hastin. Attention may also be drawn to the form of *a* without the

[1] The term *[illegible]-Īḻa-Vaṇṇiyar-[illegible]* is left untranslated. The latter part means 'the proud conqueror of the Vaṇṇiyas of Ceylon'. If 'muṉilin' could be taken as a proper name like Maṉilaṉ, the phrase may be construed as "the proud conqueror of the Vaṇṇiyas of Ceylon who were at the beck and call of Maṉilaṉ."

[2] Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 106 ff.

loop at the end, and *ḍh* with an acute angle at the lower left limb as in *Dēvāḍhya*, l. 2 and *Yajñāḍhya*, l. 10, which are not found in other records of this king.

As regards **orthography**, the doubling of the *v* and *dh* following *r* as in *pravarddha*°, l. 2, *pūrvvāyām*, l. 3 and °*bhirvvā* l. 14 and the use of *b* for *v* in *sambatsara*, l. 3 are noteworthy. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is in prose.

The plate records the grant of a village (?) called Navagrāma[1] in the *rāshṭra* of the Pulinda chief (apparently a feudatory of the *nripati*-Parivrājakas), by the Mahārāja **Hastin** in the **year ninety-eight (increased by hundred)**. The donees were several Brāhmaṇas[2] of the Parāśara-*gōtra* and Mādhyandina-*śākhā* (of the white Yajurvēda).

The year 198 of the present plate must be considered to be the last date of Hastin whose son and successor Saṁkshōbha issued the Betul grant[3] in the year 199. The earliest known date of Hastin being 156, the year of his Khōh copper-plate,[4] he must have enjoyed a long reign of over 42 years. **The known dates of Hastin** (156, 163, 191 and 198) **and Saṁkshōbha** (199, 209) are undoubtedly **to be referred to the Gupta era**, as the expression *gupta-nripa-rājya-bhuktau* indicates. The range of dates of the contiguous family ruling from Uchchakalpa, *viz.*, 174 and 177 for Jayanātha and 191, 193, 197, 214 for his son Śarvanātha, is not only parallel, but the latter prince was at one time a contemporary of Hastin as recorded in the Bhumarā pillar inscription.[5] Now assuming that Jayanātha's rule extended for at least one or two years after 177, the period common to the reigns of Hastin (156 to 198) and Śarvanātha (179 to 214) is 179 to 198. The particular year to which the joint record is to be assigned is fixed by the specification of the year as Mahā-Māgha *saṁvatsara* of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter. Now the only Mahā-Māgha *saṁvatsara*, which was current during the period (179-198 G.E.), was that which began in the Gupta year 189, in July 508 A.D.[6] and the date of the Bhumarā pillar must therefore be approximately October 508 A.D. It is thus impossible to refer the dates of the Uchchakalpa kings to the Kalachuri era (which began 72 years earlier than the Gupta era), as this would entail a reign of at least 70 years for Śarvanātha (191 + 247=438 A.D. to 508 A.D.). Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has recently upheld this view[7] originally proposed by Kielhorn and Fleet, chiefly owing to the difficulty of finding an intercalary *Āshāḍha* in the year 191 of the Sōhāwal[8] plates of Śarvanātha, if referred to the Gupta era. The difficulty is not, however, insurmountable, as it is very probable that the succeeding month of *Śrāvaṇa* that has been actually shown as intercalary in the tables attached to Pillai's *Indian Chronology* may have been antedated by a month, according to some *Siddhānta*[9] followed in this locality; or, what is more probable, the month intercalated (which according to the rules of intercalations was *Śrāvaṇa*) must have received its name from the preceding month, a conclusion to which the late Dr. Kielhorn was forced in the calculation of the date of the Betul[10] plates of Saṁkshōbha. It is thus clear that the *dvir-Āshāḍha* of the Sōhāwal plates must be considered to be the same as the first *Śrāvaṇa*, which commenced

[1] Possibly Navagrāma was the division in which the village was situated, but the number of missing letters is too limited to admit of this alternative.

[2] The number of donees would seem to be seven, *i.e.*, three Brāhmaṇas and their respective sons, the last named having two sons.

[3] Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 284 ff.

[4] Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 93 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 110-1.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 105 of Introduction.

[7] Above, List of Northern Inscriptions, No. 1190, p. 159, n. 5.

[8] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 129 ff.

[9] According to the mean system of the first Ārya Siddhānta, the intercalary month in the year 510—11 A.D. was Āśvina (Sewell, *The Siddhāntas and the Indian Calendar*, p. 368).

[10] Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 288 ff.

on 8th June as a *pūrṇimānta* month, which was apparently followed in this locality. **The date of the Sōhāwal plates** must thus be understood as being **equivalent to 17th of June, 510 A. D.**

The mention of the Mahāśvayuja *saṁvatsara* with the (Gupta) year 198 enables us to fix the date of the present record within a narrow compass. The year 198 G.E. commenced on 9th March, 517 A.D. and the Mahāśvayuja *saṁvatsara* ended on or about the 23rd April, 517 A.D. and the present record must be dated within these limits. **The missing month** may therefore be supplied as **Chaitra** (in which case the fortnight must be the bright fortnight) or **Vaiśākha**. The date of the Betul plates of Saṁkshōbha, which has been calculated by Kielhorn to be 15th September (or October), 518 A.D. is thus about 18 months later than the date of the present grant, and it is sometime within this period that Hastin was succeeded by his son.

The reference to **Pulinda-rāja-rāshṭra** in the present inscription indicates that the dominion of the chief of the Pulindas must be located within the territory of the *nṛipati*-Parivrājaka family, and is probably the region comprised of the northern slopes of the Vindhya range. The Pulindas are first mentioned in the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*, along with the Sabaras, with whom they have been always[1] associated and sometimes confounded.[2]

The locality Navagrāma is too common to admit of definite identification.

TEXT.

1 Namō Mahādēvāya || Svasty=**ashṭanavaty-u[*ttarē-bda-śatē** Gupta-nṛipa-rājya-bhuktau śrī-]

2 mati pravarddhamānē Mah-Āśvayuja-samba(va)tsarē [* . māsa . paksha . . . .]

3 m=asyāṁ samba(va)tsara-māsa-divasa-pūrvvāyāṁ n[*ṛipati-parivrājaka-kul-ōtpannēna mahārāja-]

4 Dēvāḍhya-praṇaptrā mahārāja-śrī-Prabhaṁjana-[*naptrā Mahārāja-Śrī-Dāmōdara-sutēna gō-sa-]

5 -hasra-hasty-aśva-hiraṇy-ānēka-bhūmi-pradē[na] [*guru-pitṛi-mātṛi-pūjā-tatparēṇ=ātyanta-dēva-]

6 brāhmaṇa-bhaktēn=ānēka-samara-śata-vija[*yinā sva-vaṁś-āmōda-karēṇa Mahā-rāja-śrī-]

7 **Hastinā Pulinda-rāja-rāshṭrē** Navagrāmakā(kō) [*nāma grāmaḥ pūrvv-āghāṭa-parichchhēda-maryādayā sōdra-]

8 ṅgaḥ sōparikaraś=chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśyō [*mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē]

9 Parāśara-sagōtrēbhyō Mādhyandina-Vā[*jasanēya-sabrahmachāribhyō=mībhyō]

10 Brāhmaṇa-Bhaṭṭa-Yajñāḍhyasvāmi-tat-putra-Bha[*ṭṭa . . . . Brāhmaṇa . . . .]

11 nasvāmi-tat-putra-Gōpayajñasvāmi-[*Brāhmaṇa . . . . yajñasvāmi-tat-putra-]

12 Bhaṭṭa-Saṁbhuyajñasvāmi-Bhaṭṭ-Ēśāna-Ya[*jña-svāmibhyō putra-pautr-ānvay-ōpabhōgyaḥ]

13 tāmra-śāsanēn=āgrā(a)hārō=tisṛishṭa[*ḥ] chaura-varjjam | tad-asmat-kul-ōtthair=mat-pāda-piṇḍ-ō-]

14 pajīvibhir=vvā kāl-āntarēshv=api na [*vyāghātaḥ karaṇīyaḥ | ēvam=ājñaptā yō . . . . . .]

[1] Varāhamihira, IX-29. Majumdar, McCrindle's *Ancient India*, pp. 156-7, 160.

[2] *Kathāsaritsāgara* (*vide* Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 130).

NAVAGRAMA GRANT OF HASTIN: G. E. [1] 98.

2

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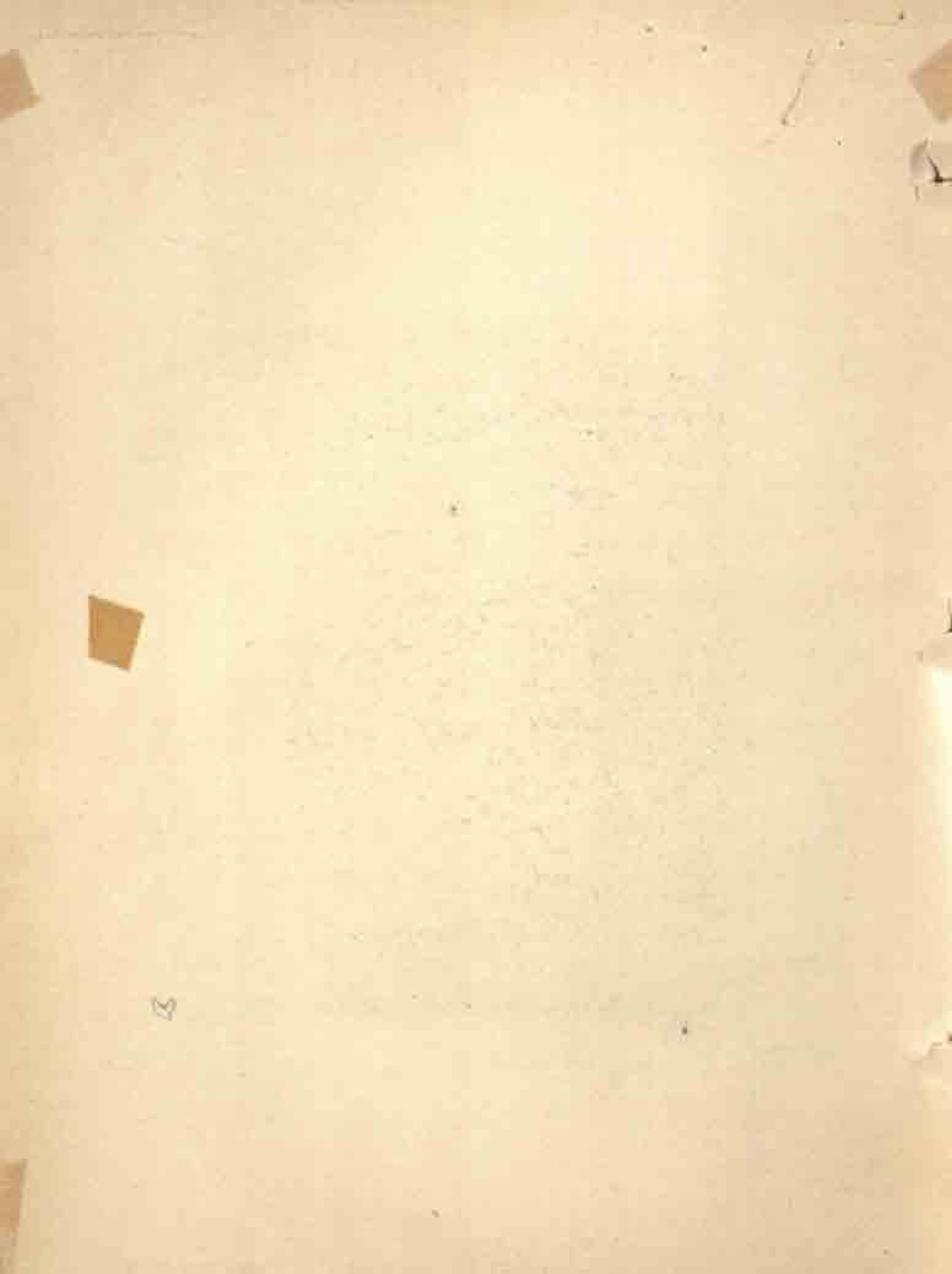
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K. N. Dikshit.
Reg. No. 2919. E. 32.

SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.



No. 21.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM BERAR.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

A.—The Amrāpur Stone Inscription of the reign of Siṅghaṇa—Śaka 1133.

The inscription, which is edited here from an impression kindly sent to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, is in a temple of Śiva[1] called Ambikēśvara at Amrāpur (ancient Ambaḍāpura), a village about 28 miles from Buldana in Berar. It is inscribed on a stone built into the wall above the lintel of the door of the *garbhagriha*. The whole record which consists of eight lines covers a space of 11" in breadth and 1' in height. The size of letters varies from 1·7" to ·9". The **characters** are Nāgarī. The initial *a* occurs in *aṁkatō-pi* in ll. 1-2 and *Ambaḍāpurē* in ll. 5-6, the initial *i* in *Bhāidēva* in l. 7 and the initial *u* in *Dēuṇāyaka* in l. 5. The medial *ē* is shown in some places by a *prishṭhamātrā* (cf. *Bhāidēva* in l. 7). The **language** is incorrect Sanskrit. The whole record is in prose. As regards **orthography** we may note that the letter '*t*' is doubled in two places after the preceding '*r*', *viz.*, *chakravartti* in l. 4 and *kirttanē* in l. 7.

The inscription states that in **Śaka 1133** when the cyclic year was **Prajāpati**, Dēuṇāyaka was the governor (of the territory round Ambaḍāpura) in the victorious reign of Śrīmat-Pratāpachakravartti **Siṁghaṇadēva**. In that year a person named Maṁgala, the son of Bhāidēva, built a *tōraṇa* (?) in the temple (*kirttana*) constructed by **Padumaṇa(Pradyumna)sēṭhī** who was a resident of Ambaḍāpura.

The date does not admit of verification for want of details; but the cyclic year for Śaka 1133 (expired) [=1211-1212 A.D.] was Prajāpati as stated in the inscription. Siṅghaṇadēva, who bears the title Pratāpachakravarttin in this record, is evidently the Yādava king of that name who ruled at Dēvagiri in the first half of the 13th century A.D.[2] There are at least three different dates for the accession of this Yādava king, each supported by a number of regular epigraphical dates, *viz.*, 1122, 1129, and 1132 Śaka years. Śaka 1133 (expired) is, however, the earliest certain date of Siṅghaṇa's reign and the present record is also the earliest inscription of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri found in Barār. It is likely that Siṅghaṇa was actually crowned in Śaka 1132 although he may have been associated with government as *Yuvarāja* in the lifetime of his father for some seven years and succeeded him in 1129 Śaka. It is also possible that the last of the 'accession' dates, *viz.*, 1132 Śaka, may have been calculated from some important event in his reign, such as the conquest of the Karnāṭak, which is alluded to in the Dōṇi inscription.[3] Anyway he must have won several victories before Śaka 1134, the date of his Mārḍi stone inscription,[4] and it is reasonable to assume that in one of these early campaigns he annexed the Berārs or the country round Ambaḍāpura where we find the present inscription.

TEXT.

1 Svasti Śrī [||*] Śakē aṁka-
2 tō-pi[5] 1133 Prajāpati saṁva-
3 tsarē svasti śrīmat-pratāpa-chakra-
4 vartti-śrī-Siṁghaṇadēva-vijaya-rājyē

---

[1] The inscription is not at the temple of Bhawani as stated by R. B. Hiralal in his *List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (Second Edn.), p. 153. The latter is on an eminence at a short distance from the temple of Śiva.

[2] Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 522.

[3] No. 79 of the Bombay-Karnāṭak collection for 1927-8.

[4] G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 48.

[5] This expression which means "also in figures" is out of place here, as the date is not expressed in words.

5 Dōṇṇāyaka bhōktā[rā[1]] Aṁbaḍā-
6 purē[2] vāstavyē Padumaṇaseṭhi-
7 kṛatē[3] kīrttanā Bhāidēva-putra-Maṁgala-
8 mṛahe (?) [tō]raṇam i(d*)am (?) — — tā — —[4]

8.—The Bārsi-Tākli Inscription of the reign of Hēmādridēva—Śaka 1098.

The inscription, which is edited here from an impression kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, is at the temple of Bhavānī in the village of Bārsi Tākli, twelve miles south-east of Akola in Berār. Its existence was noticed by Mr. H. Cousens, who has also described the temple in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India* for 1902. "It (*i.e.* the temple) consists of a shrine and a *maṇḍapa* or hall, both being freely decorated upon the exterior with bands of mouldings and figures. The *maṇḍapa* is curiously arranged with regard to the shrine, being attached as it were sideways to it, the open side of the *maṇḍapa* with its entrance being on one side or at right angles to the doorway of the shrine. The plan of the *maṇḍapa* is rectangular, while that of the shrine is star-shaped. Four decorated pillars support the central ceiling of the hall. The principal figures around the outside of the temple, excepting Gaṇapati, are the females Mahākālī and Mahishāsuramardinī, occupying important positions. The ceiling is particularly well decorated, the marginal panels being very much like those of temple No. 1 at Balsane in Khandesh ".

The inscription is engraved on the wall of the *maṇḍapa* facing the entrance. As in the case of the Rāmṭēk Lakshmaṇa Temple inscription, the surface of the wall was first rendered smooth with lime plaster before the inscription was incised in it. When Mr. Cousens saw the temple it had already been much damaged. When I visited the place in December 1931, I found it in a still more deteriorated condition as the lime plaster was gradually scaling off from the wall. The whole record covers a space of about 3′ 3″ broad by 11″ high. The average size of letters is about ¾″. The **characters** are Nāgarī. The **language** is Sanskrit and excepting the introductory *Oṁ Svasti* and the particulars of the date the whole record is in verse. Originally it must have consisted at least of twenty lines; but the last six lines of the record are almost completely gone. Of the first fourteen, again, nearly half the portion on the right hand side is destroyed owing to the peeling off of the lime plaster and though a few words and letters here and there can be read, they do not give much coherent sense. The verses are not numbered, but single and double *daṇḍas* are, in some places, used to denote punctuation. The **orthography** calls for few remarks; *s* is occasionally employed for *ś*, *e.g.*, in *Vaisākha* in l. 1; the *anusvāra* is incorrectly used in addition to the following nasal in many places, *e.g.*, *Nimilaṁm* in l. 3, *āpatamntam* in l. 4, etc. The consonant *t* following *r* is occasionally doubled as in *Kīrttau* and *varttamānō* in l. 5. The final dental nasal is changed to an *anusvāra* in *śrīmāṁ* in l. 8, *dānaṁ* (l. 9).

As stated by Mr. Cousens, the temple is at present believed to be dedicated to Bhavānī. I found, however, no image of the deity in the *garbhagṛiha*. There were, instead, three round stones (the central one being somewhat more elongated than the rest) covered with vermilion on a finely carved pedestal. There was also a stone figure of Nandin (Śiva's bull) in the *maṇḍapa* facing the deity which may easily have been brought from elsewhere. The crude symbols of divinity are in striking contrast to the rich carving on the four central pillars and the ceiling of the

[1] Read *Dāṇṇāyakā bhōktāraḥ*.
[2] Read *°pura-vāstavya*.
[3] Read *kṛitā*.
[4] The last line is very indistinct.

maṇḍapa. It may, therefore, be presumed that the original image was destroyed when the place was occupied by Muhammadans and the present stones installed at a later date. It is also doubtful if the temple was originally dedicated to the worship of Bhavānī. The benedictory stanza in the beginning of the record is in praise of Hari (Vishṇu). The building is referred to in l. 10 as the temple of Hari (*Hari-vēśma*). It is noteworthy that in addition to the figures of Mahishāsuramardinī and Gaṇapati noticed by Mr. Cousens, images of Narasiṁha and other deities of the Vishṇu cult occur on the door frame of the *garbhagṛiha* as well as on the exquisitely carved pillars of the *maṇḍapa*, which support the Vaishṇava origin of the shrine. It seems, therefore, certain that it came to be dedicated to Bhavānī, when the original image of Vishṇu had been destroyed and the people had, in course of time, lost sight of the deity in whose honour the temple had been originally erected.

The fragmentary state of the inscription does not admit of a detailed and connected account of its contents. After the customary benediction, the inscription mentions the name of **Ghaṭāma** who was born in the family of Danturāja. It then proceeds to describe a battle in which a young king, who is perhaps identical with **Hēmādridēva** mentioned later on in l. 6, defeated Rājala, the son of Mālugidēva, who was advancing on the capital, confident of success, on account of his large forces. The king is further stated to have converted his capital **Tēkkali** into the holy city of Benares by his virtuous deeds. The inscription then gives the genealogy of his hereditary **ministers**, who belonged to the Vālabhya-*gōtra*, **Bhillama**, his son **Pālama**, his son **Māila**, and his son **Gāmiyāya** or Gāmayāja, who was apparently the donor of the present record. He is described in line 10 as having built 'a temple of Vishṇu in this town (evidently Tēkkali), of which the midday sun formed the *chakra* finial, the quarters the fringe and the sky the blue umbrella'. From lines 11 and 12 we know that Gāmayāja excavated, for the use of the people, a deep tank, smiling with lotuses in bloom. In line 13 we are told of the building of a well (*vāpī*). In line 14 two brothers are referred to, but their names have been lost. The inscription seems to have closed with the usual imprecatory verses as appears from a half-verse preserved in the last line.

The **date** of the inscription is stated with full particulars as **Thursday, the seventh** *tithi* **of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśākha** in the **Durmukha Saṁvatsara=Śaka 1098**, the **Nakshatra** being **Pushya**, the **Yōga Āyushmat** and the **Karaṇa Vaṇi[ja*]**. According to D. B. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the cyclic year for the Chaitrādi Śaka 1098 *expired* was Durmukha, as stated in the record. The seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha, however, fell on Saturday and not on Thursday as stated in the inscription. In Śaka 1099 (expired) that *tithi* fell on a Thursday and the *nakshatra* was Pushya as mentioned in our record, but the cyclic year was Hēmalamba and not Durmukha as required. The date would, thus, appear to be irregular, but there are so many instances of only one detail of the date being stated wrongly in epigraphs. According to the view adopted by D. B. S. K. Pillai in his *Indian Ephemeris*, the Śaka date, as used at present, denotes *expired* years, but the name of the cyclic year denotes the *current* year. Accepting the discrepancy of one year in the number of Śaka years and treating the cyclic year mentioned in the record as *expired*, we find that *Vaiśākha Śukla Saptamī* in Śaka 1099 (Durmukha *expired*), (*i.e.*, Hēmalaṁba *current*), ended at 12 ghaṭikās (4 h. 48 m.) on Thursday after apparent sunrise and the *nakshatra* was Pushya which ended at 51 ghaṭikās (20 h. 25 m.) after apparent sunrise. This combination of a Thursday and the Pushya *Nakshatra* (an *amṛita-siddhi-yōga* as it is called) is considered specially auspicious and probably represents the time when the original image of the deity was installed in the temple. The *karaṇa* for the seventh *tithi* on Thursday was Vaṇija, but the *yōga* was Śūla and not Āyushmat as stated in the inscription. This discrepancy may be explained away by taking Āyushmat

yōga in the derivative sense of 'a conjunction leading to longevity', but the insertion of the expression between the *nakshatra* and *karaṇa* rather indicates that it was used in its technical sense of a particular *yōga*. It is also possible that the framer of the record purposely substituted Āyushmat for Śūla, as the latter is not an auspicious *yōga*. This discrepancy in respect of *yōga* is not very important; for, as D. B. S. K. Pillai has observed, 'the investigation of *yōgas* is a matter of altogether secondary importance in historical and chronological research.'[1] The date may, therefore, be considered as identical with **Thursday, the 7th April 1177 A.D.**

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it introduces a new line of princes that ruled at Tōkkali which must be identified with modern Bārsi Tākli in Berār. The founder of the family was one Danturāja. The names of this prince and of Ghaṭāma who was his descendant are not otherwise known. At the time of the inscription Hēmādridēva was reigning. Three persons of this name are known to the history of the Yādava period: (1) Hēmādridēva of the Nikumbha family, a feudatory of the Yādavas, who was ruling at Patna in the Chālisgaon region of Khāndesh sometime after Śaka 1128 (1207 A.D.)[2]; (2) Hēmādri defeated by Khōlēśvara, the famous general of Bhillama, as mentioned in the stone inscription dated Śaka 1150 at Ambē[3]; and (3) Hēmādri Paṇḍit who was a minister of Rāmadēva Yādava and is mentioned in the Ṭhāṇa[4] inscription dated Śaka 1194 (1272 A.D.). Of these the first and the third are out of the question—for the former was ruling in Khāndesh and not in Berār, while the latter was only a minister and flourished nearly a century later. Again *primâ facie* it appears doubtful if our Hēmādri who was ruling in Śaka 1098 could be identified with the second prince named above, who was defeated by Khōlēśvara sometime before Śaka 1150. Even if we suppose that the battle in which he was defeated was fought early in the reign of Siṅghaṇa who ruled from Śaka 1132 to 1169, there is a difference of at least 34 years to be accounted for between the two dates. There is, however, one circumstance which renders this identification possible in the present state of our knowledge. Our inscription mentions that Hēmādridēva defeated Rājala, the son of Mālugidēva, who invaded Tōkkali with a large army. Now two princes of the name Mālugi (or Mallugi) were reigning at the time—(1) Mallugi, the Kalachuri prince who, according to the Mārḍi stone inscription[5] dated Śaka 1134, succeeded his brother, the Kalachuri prince Sōma or Sōvidēva whose last date is Śaka 1096, and (2) Mallugi, the father and predecessor of the Yādava king Bhillama (Śaka 1109-1113). As to the first alternative, it is clear that the Kalachuri Mālugi was reigning for a short interval between Śakas 1097 to 1098 as we have a record of the second year of his reign dating from Śaka 1098. From other records, we know that his younger brother Saṅkama also began to rule in Śaka 1097 as his second and eighth years were Śakas 1098 and 1104 respectively. The only hypothesis on which this can be explained is that of joint rule by the two brothers. As the present record mentions that Hēmādridēva defeated Rājala, the son of Mālugi, this alternative is not entirely ruled out, but it is improbable that the Kalachuris could at this period engage in offensive warfare so far away from their capital, Kalyāṇī. As to the second alternative, we learn from the *Vratakhaṇḍa* of Hēmādri Paṇḍit that Mallugi, the Yādava king, took a town named Parṇakhēṭa from his enemies and while residing there carried away by force the troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala.[6] The early Yādava princes were ruling in

[1] *Indian Ephemeris*, p. 20.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 341.
[3] G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, Vol. 1, p. 64.
[4] *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 198.
[5] G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, Vol. 1, p. 30.
[6] Sir R. G. Bhandarkar *Early History of the Deccan, Third Edition*, p. 179.

Sēuṇadēśa, corresponding to modern Khāndesh; Parṇakhēṭa must, therefore, be situated somewhere to the east of Khāndesh, possibly in Berār.[1] We may note again that Khōlēśvara, a general of the Yādava Singhaṇa, defeated one Hēmādri of Parṇakhēṭa.[2] Putting these references together it seems quite plausible that Mallugi defeated the father or some elderly relative of Hēmādri of the present inscription, while the latter, when he was a mere boy, vanquished Rājala, the son of Mallugi, who was advancing on Tēkkalī with a large army; finally Khōlēśvara defeated Hēmādri early in the reign of Singhaṇa. If Hēmādri was a young man in Śaka 1098, as the present inscription seems to imply, he may have continued to reign as late as Śaka 1132. The other persons mentioned in this record, *viz.*, Bhillama, Pālama and Māila, were ministers who served the royal family and must not be confounded with some of their namesakes in the dynasty of the Yādavas.[3]

TEXT.

1 ओं[4] ॥ श्री स्वस्ति श्री शक: १०९८ [दुर्मुख संवत्सरे] वैसाख[5] मासे शुक्लपक्षे सप्तम्यां गुरौ दिने पुष्यनक्षत्र आयुष्म[दि](ति) योगे [वणिजकरणे].......

2 जयति[6] तुलसिरत्न[:*] शंकितो राघयाद[7]चरणनिक्षितम्[ड़ी] विचिंतस्राजखेषु । शिव इति नक्षत्रस्मि[8] चेतितैकादशात्मा हरिरविकृत[मूर्त्ती].......

3 वा[9](वा)[द्युक]दयभूत्स्वंशो यशोभूभुवि[10] दंतुराज: । ततस्तत: स्वप्रबलप्रतापज्वर-ज्वलच्चतुरभुद्दाम: ।[॥*] [11]निमीलंकालिनाघातिवनितावदनांबुज: । ....प्राप्ते तत: । [वर्म्मा]...रा वापा (?)....

4 च [॥*] निवारितो[12] मंत्रिगणेन बाल[:*] स्वपौरुटैस्कालुनिदेवपुत्रं । जिगाय सेनाबहुलत्वदर्पाक्रीडावयो राजलमापतंन्तं[13] ॥ स्फारं [स्फारं]..........याव श्रीकं पा.......

5 धिकवांछया[14] रणविधौ नृत्यत्कबंधव्रजे:[15] र्व्यांलुमक्षितिपालमं(म)गडलकरादाने दया-भाषणे: [।*] कीर्त्तो चामरवत्स्मेनो लघुतया [यो]....स्वयौ[ध]रेण.....भूमि: च-

6 [दा ?] च[16] नवलत्वबलेरूपेता[17] ।(।*) हेमाद्रिदेवनृपते: कलितापशल्यं नैचास्ति[18] शत्रुनिचयेन कदाचनापि ॥ सोपद्रवं[19] चिरकालंकयुतं चया[त्तं] .....मोदितं वि.... मण्डलमस्य राज्ञ: (॥) तेज-[19]

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[1] There is a village called Pātkhed about 4 miles to the south-west of Bārsī Tākli, which I would identify with Parṇakhēṭa.

[2] G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, p. 64. I read पर्णखेटीय in place of वाकखेटीय. [The name पुर्णखेट also occurs in an unpublished plate from Berar.—Ed.]

[3] Cf. R. B. Hiralal, *List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (*Second Edition*), p. 148.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] Read वैशाख.

[6] Metre: *Mālinī*.

[7] Read राघवाय°.

[8] Read नक्षत्रस्मि°.

[9] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[10] Read °भुवि.

[11] Metre: *Anushṭubh*. Read सोऽबलविलं°

[12] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[13] Read °गापतन्तम्

[14] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[15] Read °उर्व्यामतुल°

[16] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[17] Read °रूपेता.

[18] Read नैवास्ति.

[19] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

7 सी राजधानी स्वा धर्मदुर्गे कली युगे । वाराणसी कृता तेन विमलैः सुचरित्रकैः ।[।*] मार्ग[1] पुरा विरचितैः सुकृतैः चार्वविदेर्ह विहाय नियता ...... स्वजने समस्ताः ।[।*] जज्ञे[2] राज्ञो प्रज्ञ षा-

8 ग्राकटेयां मंत्री श्रीलो[2] लब्धवालभ्यगोत्र: । शूर[:*] श्रीमां[4] श्रीजसो नाम तस्माज्जात: पुत्र: पालभ: पुण्यकीर्त्तिः ॥ [3]तस्मादमुष्माद्स्तनामधेयस्तत...श्री ॥ [3]उत्कृष्टेपि युगे [यस्य..]कृता(त)ना-

9 [प्र]नीयते । अतिगार्ङ्गेण शार्ङ्गेण तत: समुदपद्यत:[4] ।[।*] [6]हरिचरणसरोज-रजचित(त्त)क्षपितसमुत्कलपातकप्रचार: तत उदयत नामे(मि)यायदाख्यो(ख्यान्) रविरिव ....सङ्कनसा(सं)मज्ञा [मेधाविनो] दरिद्रता[7] ॥ मा-

10 र्यदिने[8] दिनपतौ हरिविक्रमचूडायक्रोक्रते विततभक्तक्रमिलखदिक्के[9] । विष्णो[र्मु]र्द्ध व्रतिनि[10] तेन पुरेय तत्र नीलातपत्रमिव यत्र नभो विभाति ॥ .... टारटं(?) यस्यां दिन....

11 प्रसूता:[8] ।[।*] चक्रे[9] स तस्यां जनजीवनार्थं(र्थे)मुत्खातपातालतलं(ल) तडागं । माद्यात्म्यमं लक्षितशेषरूपै(:) पापैरपि प्राप्यत यत्र मुक्ति: ।[।*] [11]प्रसि-द्धिम[प्र]..........मंत्र[कोष्ठनिर्व्वा◡ — —]इव-

12 ति लहरिहस्तैर्ङ्गैपितामा(शा)दशापि[12] । हसति हसितपद्मैर्य्यपदं मागवाणां ॥[13] जयति सुकृतमूर्त्तौ गामयाजलतडागं ॥ [14]उत्कीर्णरूपे च सुधांसु[15][विंबे].....दिगंदिष्ट.....

13 .... ध्यामिव पीयूषधामा । प्रतिज्ञानिगतरूप: पुष्टये स्वस्य वापीं [प्रथित-सुकृतराशिं निर्म्मि(र्म्म)मे] ....

14 ....नामानो[15] तस्य बंधू बभूवतु: । गुणखानि................

19 [[16]तस्य दासस्य दासोहं] मम दत्त:(त्ति:) प्रतिपाल्य[*ताम्] ...... लीया .....

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1 Metre: *Vasantatilakā*. Read प्रायं.

2 Read श्रीलोऽलभ्य°.

3 Metre: *Indravajrā*.

4 Read समुदपद्यत.

5 Read °कुलदिक्के.

6 Metre: *Śālinī*.

7 Read श्रीमान् सिद्धली.

8 Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

9 Metre: *Pushpitāgrā*.

10 Read व्रतिनि.

11 Metre: *Upendravajrā*.

12 Metre: *Mālinī*. The amended reading °पिताशा दशापि involves a wrong *sandhi* in °पिता: आशा: which should have been °पिता आशा.

13 *Daṇḍas* unnecessary.

14 Metre: *Indravajrā*.

15 Read सुधांशु.

16 Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

No. 22.—SURAT PLATES OF KARKKARAJA SUVARNAVARSHA OF THE GUJRAT RASHTRAKUTA BRANCH; DATED SAKA YEAR 743.

PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., D. LITT., BENARES.

The accompanying plates of Karkka Suvarnavarsha, which are being edited here for the first time, were referred to by the late Dr. Bhagwānlāl Indraji in his *Early History of Gujarāt* which he contributed to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Volume I, Part I. At page 125 of the above work he briefly refers to their contents but does not give any information about their findspot or the circumstances in which or the person by whom they were discovered. He refers to them as the Surat plates and, therefore, presumably they were found in or near that city. But nothing definite is known about the findspot of the plates beyond what Dr. Bhagwānlāl has said in the above book. I have, therefore, continued his nomenclature of the present record, though I can adduce no definite evidence to connect them with Surat. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture at the Calcutta University, very kindly handed over the plates to me for being edited in the *Epigraphia Indica* and I am accordingly editing them now.

The **plates** are three in number. Their size, which is fairly uniform, is 13·6" by 7·6". The thickness is about 0·1". The edges of the plates have been raised into rims so as to protect the writing. The plates have been strung together by means of a ring passing through a hole which is at the centre of the proper left side, about 0·7" from the edge. The ring is about 0·4" in thickness and 3·2" in diameter and its edges have been secured by means of a circular seal about 1·11" in diameter. On its counterstruck surface there is an image of Garuda, who is in human form with wings on either side. He is sitting with folded hands and crossed legs, the soles of his feet touching each other. The **seal** does not bear any legend.

The inscription is written on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second. The last plate, however, has only 7 lines, whereas the fully inscribed sides have, on an average, about 18 lines. After engraving nearly half of the first plate, the engraver, it would appear, anticipated that the space at his disposal would require smaller characters and more compact lines: in subsequent lines of the record we, therefore, find the average number of letters in each line increased from 38 to 55. This economy in space is probably responsible for the third plate having only 7 lines.

The plates are in a fairly good state of preservation; the surface has been partly damaged in a few places, but the record is perfectly legible except at the beginning of l. 45 where the first two letters are doubtful. The surface of the plates was not dressed very carefully; as a result there are depressions some of which look like *anusvāras* (cf. *nēkā* l. 13) and some like medial vowel marks (cf. *vriddhayē* l. 44). In a few cases the engraver has corrected his mistakes; thus he has crossed out the medial *ā* mark of *khā* in *khāḍga* in l. 40 and of *jā* in *jānmānugaṁ* in l. 55, and in addition to the correction in *kā* in l. 51 he has crossed out the letter *ryyā* so as to change *kāryyā* into *karaṇīyā*. In some cases he has also made up his omissions by supplying the omitted letter or letters either immediately below the preceding or succeeding letter (cf. *ka* of *vrishāṁka* l. 27, *kā* of *mahāsaṁyugē* l. 32, *pha* of *phalāvāpti* l. 33, *ryyē* in *sauryyēṇa* and *yā* in *sadājñayā* l. 39) or at the bottom of the plate (cf. *āntārīti* at the bottom of the first plate, and *tathā sāsanadūtā* and *kastčan sva* at that of the third). A *kākapada* is usually, but not invariably, written to draw attention to the corrections. But the plates were not very carefully revised, and as a result, four letters inadvertently omitted in verse 25 remained to be supplied and several wrongly repeated letters, words and groups of words remained to be crossed out. (See notes to ll. 38, 43, 45, 49

52, 55, etc.) The horizontal stroke of *sha* in *shu* in *rayasarvarishu* l. 3 has been carelessly omitted, whereas it is wrongly introduced in *pra* of *prahishya* in l. 49. Slipshod execution is seen in *parigiyate* l. 24, where the short stroke to the left of the vertical stroke of *ra*, instead of being engraved at the centre, is relegated to the bottom and is allowed to merge in the medial *i* mark of the letter; in the next letter *gī* the engraver allowed his instrument to slip to the right of the left lower limb of the letter and this unnecessary line meets the medial *ī* mark of *gī*. As a result °*rigī* can be recognised only on the plate. The loop at the head of *sthaiḥ* in *sānusthaiḥ* l. 25 must again be attributed to carelessness.

The **characters** belong to the northern class of the alphabets and are similar to the characters of the Paithan, Waṇī Diṇḍorī, and Rādhanpur plates of Gōvinda III. There is no admixture of the southern forms to any extent whatsoever, except perhaps the *sha* in *Rāshṭrakūṭa* in l. 8, which shows a bend in the left limb, characteristic of the southern alphabets. The general form of the characters is similar to the Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs. Attention may be drawn, however, to the medial *ā* sign in the case of *ṇā* and *jā* which is a semi-circle open upwards, attached in the latter case sometimes to the central horizontal stroke (cf. *bhājō* l. 19) and sometimes to the topmost one (cf. *tasy-ātmajō* l. 6). Medial *u* is usually denoted by a small stroke to the left as in the case of *mu* and *shu*; in the case of *ru*, *bhru* l. 4, *tru* l. 8, *Dhru* l. 22, this stroke is transferred to the right owing to the presence of a stroke to the left in these letters; sometimes, however, a curve is attached at the end of the vertical to the left to denote the medial *u*, as in *su*. The final forms of *ma*, *na* and *ta* occur in the record; the first two are denoted by a short slanting stroke attached to the right of the vertical (cf. *yōyam* l. 42, *dharmāṇām* l. 62, *adhikārikān* l. 43), while the last one is denoted by the ordinary form of *ta* without, however, its small vertical and *mātrā*, but with a slanting line placed at a distance to the left (cf. *vasēt* l. 54 and *dadyāt* l. 57).

It may be pointed out that the Rāshṭrakūṭa records of the period to which our record belongs use three different varieties of alphabets. The purely southern variety, the precursor of the modern Kanarese, is used in the extreme south and is illustrated by the Kaḍaba plates of Gōvinda III[1]. In the central and northern portions of the empire two varieties were being used side by side, one the successor of the Valabhī alphabet and the other, the Nāgarī which was gradually displacing the former. The Sāmangad plates of Dantidurga,[2] the Talegaon plates[3] of Kṛishṇa I, and the Paiṭhan,[4] Waṇī-Diṇḍorī,[5] and the Rādhanpur[6] plates of Gōvinda III are all in the Nāgarī script, while the Baroda plates[7] of the present donor, Tōrkhaḍē[8] plates of Gōvinda III, and the Baroda plates[9] of Dhruva I exhibit the successor of the Valabhī alphabet, showing the traces of both southern and northern influence.

At the end of the record are engraved, nearly at the middle of the last two lines, two *pāda-chihnas* which are apparently intended to symbolise the foot-prints of Mahāvīra, the principal object of worship at the establishment to which the grant was made.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit throughout. No Prakritisms are to be traced in the document except perhaps in the spelling of the proper name Mallavāḍin where, if that reading is correct, we have an example of an original *d* being changed into *ḍ*. On the whole the language is correct, but a few mistakes occur. Thus there is a wrong *sandhi* in *prathamā-suchiṇām* l. 39 and in *mukhalat-ehu sōbhā* l. 5 we have the accusative for the nominative, due no doubt to the

[1] *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 340.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 275.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 157.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 158.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 199.
[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 111.
[7] *Ante*, Vol. III, p. [illegible].
[8] *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. [illegible].
[9] *Ante*, Vol. III, p. [illegible].

unconscious influence of the preceding word *khaḍgam*. In ll. 47-49 the object of the grant Ḍhāshu-vāpī is treated sometime as masculine and sometime as feminine.

With respect to **orthography** the following points are to be noted :—(1) *Va* is written throughout for *ba* ; (2) in a conjunct of which *r* is the first member, the second consonant is doubled with very rare exceptions as in *Stambhādibhir-bhuja-valād* l. 31, *arthishu* and *yathārthatā* in l. 33 and *sārtha* and *Prārtha* in l. 39 ; (3) a *visarga* before a following *pa* or *pha* is denoted by the sign for *upadhmānīya* in 4 cases (see ll. 1, 41, 58 and 59), but in 8 other cases the *upadhmānīya* mark has not been used (see ll. 11, 22, 28, 33, 37, 39, 40 and 47). (4) Whether this record uses the *jihvāmūlīya* symbol is a knotty question. Cases of a *visarga* followed by a *ka* occur in ll. 7, 10, 14, 19, 23, 38, 42, 50, 57, etc. The conjunct consonant used in all these cases really looks like a *mk* (cf. *mka* l. 38), but that combination is inexplicable. One is tempted to read it as *sk*, but the normal form of *sa* in the present record is different ; we have besides two clear cases of *ska* in *skandhāvāra* l. 44 and *yaśaskara* l. 58 and this form is entirely different from the one seen in the combination of a *visarga* and a following *k*. We are, therefore, driven to the conclusion that what looks like the form of *m* in the combination of a *visarga* with a following *k* is a symbol for *jihvāmūlīya*. It may be pointed out that in several other records the symbol for *jihvāmūlīya* is also very much similar to the contemporary sign for the letter *m*. (cf. *Ante* Vol. XVII, p. 329, Mattepad plates, l. 7, Vol. VI, p. 7, Aihoḷe Inscription, l. 17, etc.). (5) The *anusvāra* before a *śa* is denoted by the guttural nasal, cf. *vaṅśaiḥ* l. 51 ; in other cases it is sometimes converted to the nasal of the class to which following letter belongs and sometimes denoted by a dot. (6) The rules of *sandhi* are usually observed except in the portion dealing with the locality and its boundary ; see ll. 46-48. The formal part of the record is in prose, the rest of the record, excepting the introductory letter *ōm*, is in verse. The verses are not numbered, but at the end of each verse there is a punctuation mark usually consisting of two short vertical strokes, except at the end of v. 38 where we have only one stroke, probably by mistake, and at the end of v. 36 where it is altogether dropped, probably owing to the wrong repetition of a number of letters in the last *pāda* of that verse. There are no punctuation marks to denote the end of the half verse, the only exception being v. 35, where we have the punctuation mark usually used at the verse-end.

The present charter contains the grant of a field to a Jain establishment at Nāgasārikā or modern Nausārī. Ll. 42-47 inform us that when **Suvarṇavarsha Karkkarāja**, the son of **Indrarāja**, was encamped on the bank of the **Vaṅkikā** he granted **on the full moon day of Vaiśākha of the Śaka year 743 elapsed** (corresponding to **Sunday the 21st of April 821 A.D.**) Hiraṇyayōgā, which was apparently the name of a field irrigated by a well belonging to or constructed by a person named Ḍhāshu, to the Jain teacher Aparājita, who was a disciple of the most revered Sumati who in turn was a pupil of Ma(l)lavādin[1]. It is a pity that the value of the fourth letter of the proper name of the last mentioned personage should be doubtful. The letter can be read as *ri*, *di* or *ḍi*. It is quite clear that the engraver has proceeded to modify *ri*, which he had first written ; whether he has changed this letter to *di* or *ḍi* is not clear. It is obvious that the proper name in question could not have been Malavādin, but Mallavādin ; the former hardly gives any sense, and it is, therefore, quite possible that one *l* may have been inadvertently omitted. Mallavādin, who was apparently the founder of the Jain temple and the attached *Maṭha* at Nausārī, is very probably the same personage who wrote a commentary called *Dharmōttara-ṭippaṇaka* on the *Nyāya-bindu-ṭīkā* of Dharmōttarāchārya. Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyābhūshaṇa has pointed out[2] that this Mallavādin may have lived either in the first half of the 9th or in the second half of the 10th century A.D. Our charter

[1] The reading is clearly Malladhāri and not Malavādi, to judge from the facsimile—Ed.

[2] *History of Indian Logic*, pp. 194-5.

shows that the first alternative is nearer the correct date. Since a disciple of Mallavādin's disciple is the recipient of a grant issued in 821 A.D. it is obvious that Mallavādin could not have flourished in the latter half of the 10th century A.D.; he must be placed in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. This conclusion will be untenable if we accept Dr. Vidyābhūshaṇa's view that Dharmōttarāchārya, on whose work Mallavādin wrote his commentary, flourished in c. 847 A.D. But this view itself is wrong, since it is based upon an unproved assumption that king Vanapāla was ruling in Bengal in c. 847 A.D.

Mallavādin and his disciples belonged to the Sēna-saṅgha, which is described as a branch of the Mūla-saṅgha which constituted the main Digambara Church. According to the *Paṭṭāvalis*, the Mūlasaṅgha branched off into three other sub-sections known as Dēva-saṅgha, Nandi-saṅgha and Sēna-saṅgha sometime in the 1st century A.D.[1] It is with reference to this division into four sections of the main Digambara branch that Mūla-saṅgha is called *chāturāśrama* in our grant. The information of the *Paṭṭāvalis* is thus confirmed by epigraphical evidence. There is at present a Jain temple at Nausārī called the Pārśvanātha temple with two *Maṭhas* attached to it, one for the male and the other for the female ascetics. The present temple belongs to the Śvētāmbara sect and its buildings, which are being renovated at present, are said, according to local tradition, to have been built by Vastupāla in the 13th century A.D. Vastupāla may have quite possibly provided buildings to a Saṅgha that was already flourishing in the locality; in that case the antiquity of the Śvētāmbara Jain establishment may antedate the buildings in which it is now located. The Mūla-saṅgha establishment of Nausārī to which Karkka gave the present grant was most probably different from the present Jain temple since it belonged to the Digambara church, which seems to have disappeared in subsequent centuries.

After the syllable *ōm* the record opens with a homage to the gospel of Jinēndra in v. 1. The next 39 verses give the Rāshṭrakūṭa genealogy of the main branch up to Amōghavarsha I and of the Gujarat branch up to Karkka Suvarṇavarsha. Since most of these verses recur in other published Rāshṭrakūṭa records it is unnecessary to give an abstract of their contents here. Attention will, therefore, be drawn only to a few salient points. The genealogy begins with Gōvinda I, the names of his father and grandfather Indra Pṛichchhakarāja and Dantivarman respectively, which are given in the Konnūr inscription[2], Sanjān copper-plates[3] of Amōghavarsha I and the Daśāvatāra cave record[4] do not figure in this grant. The name of Dantidurga is not passed over in this record, nor is the credit of the overthrow of the Chālukyas given to Kṛishṇa I in preference to Dantidurga as is done in the Waṇi-Diṇḍōrī[5] and Rādhanpur[6] plates of Gōvinda III, Baroda plates[7] of the present donor and Kāpaḍvanj plates[8] of Kṛishṇa II. The bravery of the next ruler Kṛishṇa I is described in the next 7 verses (12-18), but the description is all conventional; his wars with the Gaṅgas and the Eastern Chālukyas are not even referred to, the only historical event mentioned is the overthrow of Rāhappa. The record, however, does not give any clue to the identification of this opponent. The successor of Kṛishṇa I, Gōvinda II, is not passed over as is done in the Baroda plates of the present donor, Kāpaḍvanj plates[8] of Kṛishṇa II and the Bagumrā plates[9] of Indra III, but the circumstances of his overthrow by his younger brother are not mentioned. The next 6 verses (20-25) describe the career of Dhruva. All these verses, with the exception of v. 25, are already known to us and contain only conventional eulogy. V. 25, however, which, so far as I am aware, does not occur in any other records so far published, is

[1] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VII, p. 471.

[2] *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 29.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. XVIII, p. 235.

[4] *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. V, p. 87.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 157.

[6] *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 242.

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 158.

[8] *Ante*, Vol. I, p. 53.

[9] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 257.

historically important. The expression '*Gāṅgaugha-santati-nirōdha-vivṛiddha-kīrtiḥ*' used in this verse to describe both Śiva and Dhruva clearly refers to Dhruva's victories over the Western Gāṅgas and possibly also over the Pālas and Gurjara Pratihāras. The expression can mean 'One whose fame is increased by the imprisonment of a scion of the Gāṅga family or lineage' and would thus be referring to the imprisonment of the contemporary Gāṅga ruler Śivamāra, which is mentioned in several other records of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[1] It is interesting to note that some of the Gāṅga records also admit indirectly the truth of the Rāshtrakūṭa claim. The Maṇṇe plates, alleged to be issued by Śivamāra's son in 797[2] A.D., are no doubt spurious, but the statement made in them that Śivamāra was entangled on all sides in difficulties seems to have been based on a genuine historic tradition. The Gaṭṭavādipur plates inform us that Śivamāra put his younger brother Vijayāditya upon the throne who "like Bharata, knowing the earth to be his elder brother's wife, refrained from enjoying her."[3] This statement, especially the Rāmāyaṇa episode recalled in the simile, makes it clear that Śivamāra was absent from the kingdom probably in the Rāshṭrakūṭa prison, and that his younger brother was trying to carry on the struggle against the conqueror in the absence of the *de jure* ruler. In the expression *Gāng-augha-santati-nirōdha*' I further see a reference to Dhruva's campaign in the Gangetic Doab, where according to the Sanjān and Baroda plates, he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Pāla and Gurjara armies. To the poet's imagination, the mighty forces of the Rāshṭrakūṭa invader, crossing the Ganges, may well have appeared to have repeated Śiva's feat of obstructing the flow of the river[4].

The next 6 verses (26-31) describe the exploits of the next ruler Gōvinda III, but the description is all conventional. The only historical event referred to is the rebellion of Stambha; Gōvinda's brilliant campaigns against the kings of Southern and Northern India are altogether passed over. A verse in the Rādhanpur plates of Gōvinda III states that he had opposed his father's plan of abdication in his favour, pointing out that he was quite content with the *Kaṇṭhikā* or necklace, the insignia of a Yuvarāja. The Kāvi plates,[5] however, distinctly state that Gōvinda obtained the kingdom from his father at a formal coronation. V. 30 of our record supports the Kāvi plates, inasmuch as it refers to Gōvinda receiving, not his *yauvarājya*, but the imperial title *rājādhirāja-paramēśvaratā*, from his father at the time of his own coronation. It is, therefore, difficult to say whether Dhruva had actually abdicated in the closing years or months of his reign. On the one hand it is possible that the expressions *Rājyābhishēka-kalaśaiḥ* and *rājādhirāja-paramēśvaratām* may have been used rather loosely by the Kāvi and the present plates to denote *yuvarājābhishēka*; on the other hand, grown wiser by the treatment which he himself had given to his elder brother Gōvinda II, Dhruva may have realised that installation as an heir-apparent was no guarantee against a war of succession and may, therefore, have actually abdicated in favour of his favourite son to avoid the chance of his succession being opposed. Under these circumstances it will be difficult to decide in favour of either of the two alternatives until we get more evidence on the point. Vv. 32-40 refer to Amōghavarsha I, his uncle Indra and the latter's son Karkka, the donor of the grant. All these verses are already known to us from other records, but v. 39 of this record combined with its date gives very valuable historical information. The verse in question tells us that Amōghavarsha I was reinstated on the throne by his cousin Karkka, when a number of Rāshṭrakūṭa feudatories had rebelled against him. The rebellion in question was already known, but when it started and how long it lasted we

[1] *E.g.*, Wani-Dindori plates, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 157.

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Nelamangala, No. 60. [3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Nanjangud, No. 290.

[4] [I do not agree that any reference to Dhruva's northern campaigns against the Pālas and Gurjaras is also contained in the expression *gāng-augha- . . . . kīrtiḥ*.—Ed.]

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 147.

could not know definitely until now. Its time could be given only vaguely as sometime between February 817 A.D. and October 835 A.D. For, the Nausārī plates[1] of the present donor issued in February 817 A.D., while referring to the succession of Amōghavarsha I, do not refer to the rebellion; while the Baroda plates[2] of his son Dhruva, issued in October 835 A.D., contain a reference to the signal services rendered to his cousin by Karkka in quelling the rebellion of the proud and wilful Rāshṭrakūṭas. The date of the present record is 21st of April 821 A.D.; it closely copies the Nausārī grant of the present donor, and the only information it supplies to us about the grantor is his reinstatement of his cousin Amōghavarsha I upon the imperial throne. It is, therefore, clear that the rebellion broke out and was quelled completely between February 817 and April 821 A.D. When Amōghavarsha was restored to the throne he was still a boy of about 12, and the government must have been carried on in his name by some regent, probably by Karkka himself. The present record is thus an almost contemporary document with reference to the rebellion and it gives the credit of quelling it to Karkka; later records of the Gujarāt branch also concur with it in this respect. The recently published Sanjān copper-plates[3] of Amōghavarsha I, however, tell us that it was with the help of Pātālamalla that the boy emperor could regain his throne. This discrepancy can be explained in two ways: (1) Pātālamalla may have been another relative or feudatory of Amōghavarsha, who may have co-operated with Karkka in overthrowing the confederacy against the boy emperor. The Gujarāt branch records would naturally ignore him and give the entire credit to Karkka who belonged to it. (2) Or, Pātālamalla may be the same as Karkka, the former being an epithet of the latter. Pātālamalla is obviously a *biruda* rather than a proper name; Dr. Bhagwānlāl Indraji avers that it was a *biruda* of Karkka, but cites no authority for his statement.[4] It is not improbable that the late scholar made that statement on the authority of some unpublished Rāshṭrakūṭa record (*e.g.*, the Baroda grant of Dhruva II of the Gujarāt branch, dated 867 A.D., which is referred to by him but yet remains to see the light of the day); but so far no published Rāshṭrakūṭa record assigns to him that title. I am inclined to hold that Pātālamalla was a *biruda* of Karkka; had Pātālamalla been a different man, a relative or feudatory of Amōghavarsha, who co-operated with Karkka in restoring him to the throne, it is difficult to understand why the Sanjān plates, which describe in detail the rebellion and the consequent anarchy, should altogether ignore the services of Karkka, while eulogising those of Pātālamalla. It is possible to argue that the omission of Karkka in the Sanjān plates is deliberate; his descendants, who ruled after him in Southern Gujarāt, had rebelled recently against the imperial authority of Amōghavarsha[5] I and therefore the latter may have naturally ignored the services rendered by Karkka in a grant issued by him, while the memory of the rebellion of the Gujarāt branch was still fresh. This explanation is possible, but I prefer to believe that one day we may find a record showing that Pātālamalla was a *biruda* of Karkka Suvarṇavarsha.

Most of the verses of the present record are already known to us from published records. Vv. 2-21 are identical with vv. 1-20 of the Nausārī grant[6] of the present donor; vv. 23-24 and 26-28 are identical with vv. 21-35 of the same record. V. 39 occurs in the Baroda plates of Dhruva,[7] the son of the present grantor, and vv. 22 and 40 occur in the Paiṭhan grant of Gōvinda III[8]

[1] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 135.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 199.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. XVIII, p. 48.

[4] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 124.

[5] The long war lasting for as many as three generations mentioned in the Baroda plates of Dhruva II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 197) in which Dhruva I lost his life and his son and grandson were ousted from the throne, was fought with a king named Vallabha, who could have been no other than Amōghavarsha I. I have discussed this question in detail in my forthcoming book, '*The Rashṭrakūṭas and their Times.*'

[6] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 135.

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 199.

[8] *Ante*, Vol. III, p. 105.

ll. 38-39 and 41-42. V. 25 alone is a new one and its historical significance has been discussed already.

After recording the grant in prose the charter recites the usual imprecatory verses and concludes with a couple of verses in praise of Jainism. The charter claims to contain an autograph of Karkka, but it should have been in proto-Kanarese characters as is the case with his sign-manuals in his Baroda and Nausāri grants. It may be doubted, therefore, whether the duct of the words '*Svahastōyam mama śrī-Karkkarājasya śrīmad-Indrarāja-sūnōḥ*' really represents that of Karkka's own handwriting. The charter was drafted by Nārāyaṇa, son of *Kulaputraka* śrī-Durgabhaṭṭa, who was the chief foreign minister of Karkka. He is obviously a brother of Nēmāditya, who had drafted the two other known copper-plate grants of the present donor,—the Baroda plates of 811-2 and the Nausārī plates of 817 A. D.; for, the latter two documents describe Nēmāditya as a son of the foreign minister *Kulaputraka* Durgabhaṭṭa. The present charter shows that the career of Nārāyaṇa was more successful than that of his brother Nēmāditya, since he succeeded his father in the important post of the Chief Foreign Minister.

Most of the copper-plate grants of old were drafted by a *sandhivigrahika* or foreign minister. I have not yet seen any attempt to explain the connection of the office of *sandhivigrahika* with the drafting of land grants. The connection is, however, established not only by copper-plates, but is also known to Smṛiti literature. An anonymous verse quoted by Vijñānēśvara on Yājñavalkya-*smṛiti*, I, 320, says :—

Sandhivigrahakārī tu bhavēd=yas-tasya lēkhakaḥ
Svayaṁ rājñā samādishṭaḥ sa likhēd=rājaśāsanaṁ |

Vijñānēśvara himself says, '*Sandhivigrahakāriṇā* (*śāsanaṁ kārayēt*) *nānyēna kēnachit*.' Yājñavalkya lays down in I, 319 that a land grant should contain an account of the genealogy of the donor. A glance at the numerous grants that have been published shows that this dictum of the sage was usually observed in practice. The genealogy had naturally to refer to the exploits of the ancestors of the donor, material for which was expected to be preserved in the archives of the foreign office, and its head was, therefore, expected to draft the charter containing the names and exploits of the donor and his ancestors.

Of the **localities** mentioned in the plates almost all can be identified with certainty. **Nāgasārikā** is modern Nausārī, about 20 miles to the south of Surat. The **Pūrāvī** is obviously the river Pūrṇā on the banks of which Nausārī is situated. Of the two villages **Ambāpāṭaka** and **Sambapura**, the latter is untraceable, but the former is obviously the same as Āmaḍpur, situated on the Pūrāvī or Pūrṇā and about 5 miles from Nausārī. Mr. M. K. Nadkarni, the Subha of Nausārī, informs me that this village was some centuries ago called Āmrapura according to the local tradition. The river **Vaṅkikā**, on the banks of which the army of Karkka was encamped when the gift was made, is the Vaṅki creek about 30 miles to the south of Nausārī. The only place that thus remains to be identified is Sambapura. This village was to the north of Ambāpāṭaka or modern Āmaḍpur and, therefore, it cannot be identified with the village of Sampur in Kamrej *Taluka*, since it is 35 miles from Nausārī. It has now probably gone out of existence.

TEXT.[1]

[The following metres have been used :—*Anushṭubh* :—vv. 2, 24, 32, 41-45 and 49. *Āryā* :—vv. 12-15, 22, 27-29, 33, 40 and 50. *Indravajrā* :—v. 23. *Upajāti* :—vv. 5 and 20. *Gīti* :—v. 8. *Pushpitāgrā* :—v. 48. *Vaṁśasthavila* :—v. 1. *Vasantatilakā* :—vv. 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 16, 25, 26, 30, 36-38. *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* :—vv. 11, 18 and 31. *Sragdharā* :—vv. 17, 19, 34 and 35.]

[1] From the original plates.

First Plate.

1 ओं[1] । श्रिय ⋊ पदं नित्यमशेषगोचरं नयप्रमाणं प्रतिबिंबदुष्करं [।*] जनस्य भव्यत्व[2] समाहितात्मनो जयत्यनुधाधि जिनेन्द्रशासनं[3] ॥[१॥*] स वो

2 व्याद्वेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं [।*] हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतं ॥[२॥*] आसीद्वि[4]षत्तिमिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्व[5]स्तिनय-

3 न्नभिमुखो[6] रणशर्वरीषु[7] [।*] भूपश्शुचिर्व्विधुरिवास्तदिगन्तकीर्त्तिर्गो[8]विन्दराज इति राजसु राजसिंहः[9] ॥[३॥*] दृष्ट्वा चमूमभि-

4 मुखीं[*] सुभटाट्टहासामुन्नामितं सपदि येन रणेषु नित्यं [।*] दष्टाधरेण दधता भृकुटिं ललाटे खड्गं कुलं च हृद[यं*]-

5 ञ्च निज[ञ्च*] सत्वं ।[।४॥*] खड्ग[ं*] कराग्रान्मुखतश्च शोभां[10] मानो मनस्तस्समभेव यस्य [।*] महाहवे नाम निशम्य सद्यस्त-

6 यं रिपूणां विगलत्यकाण्डे [॥५॥*] तस्यात्मजो जगति विश्रुतदीर्घकीर्त्ति-[11] र्वार्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी [।*] भूपा-

7 स्त्रि[12]विष्टपनृपानुकृति[13]कृतज्ञः श्रीकर्कराज इति गोत्रमणिर्ब्बभूव[14] ।[।६॥*] तस्य प्रभिन्नकरटच्युतदान-

8 दन्तिदन्तप्रहाररुचिरोल्लिखितांसपीठः [।*] क्ष्मापः क्षितौ क्षपितशत्रुरभूत्तनूजस्स राष्ट्रकूटकनकाद्रिरिवेन्द्रराजः ॥[७॥*] तस्योपा-

9 र्जितमहसस्तनयश्चतुरुदधिवलयमालिन्या[:।*] भोक्ता[15] भुवश्शतक्र[तु*][16]सदृशश्श्रीदन्तिदुर्गराजोभूत् ॥[८॥*] काञ्चीशकेर-

10 लनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्ष[17]वज्रटविभेदविधानदक्षं [।* कर्ण्णाटकं बल[18]मचिन्त्यमजेयमन्यैर्भृत्यैः कियद्भिर-

11 पि यस्सहसा जिगाय ॥[९॥*] अभ्रूविभंगमगृहीतनिशातशस्त्रमश्रान्तमप्रतिहताज्ञमपेतयत्नं [।*] यो वल्लभं सपदि[19] दण्ड-

12 बलेन[20] जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप ॥[१०॥*] आसेतोर्व्विपुलोपलावलिलसल्लोलोर्म्मिमालाजलादाप्रालेयक-[21]

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[1] Expressed by a symbol.

[2] Read भव्यस्य.

[3] Read °शासनम्.

[4] Read °द्वि°.

[5] Read ध्वस्ति°.

[6] Read °मभिमुखो.

[7] The central horizontal stroke of *shu* is missing.

[8] Read °र्त्तिर्गो°.

[9] Read °सिंह:.

[10] Read शोभां.

[11] Letters र्वार्त्ता which were omitted while engraving this line are written at the bottom of the plate. A *kākapada* above र्त्ति draws attention to the correction at the bottom.

[12] Read भूपालस्त्रिविष्टप°.

[13] See introduction for the symbol of *jihvāmūlīya*.

[14] Read °र्ब्बभूव.

[15] Read भोक्ता.

[16] Read °सदृश°.

[17] [श्रीहर्ष here is a variant of हर्ष in other Rāshṭrakūṭa grants.—N. P. C.]

[18] Read बल°.

[19] Read सपदि.

[20] Read °बलेन.

[21] What looks like an *anusvāra* is a natural depression on the surface of the plate.

140 A

i

iia

iib

38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54

iii

56 58 60 62

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13 लंकितामन्तशिलाजालात्तुषारगाचलादा[1]पूर्व्वापरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रान्तप्रसिद्धावधेर्य्यैनेदं[2] ज-
गती स्वविक्रमबलेनै[3]का-

14 तपत्रीकृता ॥[११॥*] तस्मिन्दिवं प्रयाते वल्लभराजे क्षतप्रजाबा[4]धः [।*] श्री-
कक्कराजसूनुर्म्महीपतिकृष्णराजोभूत् [5]॥[१२॥*] यस्य स्वभुजप-

15 राक्रमनिश्शेषोत्सादितारिदिक्चक्रं [।*] कृष्णस्येवा कृ[ष्णं*]चरितं श्रीकृष्णराजस्य
॥[१३॥*] शुभतुंगतुंगतुरगप्रवृद्धरेणूद्धरुद्धरविकिरणं[।*] ग्रीष्मेपि नभो निखिलं[7]

16 प्रावृट्कालायते स्पष्टं ॥[१४॥*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टं समीही[8]तमजस्रं [।*]
तत्क्षणमकालवर्षं वर्षति सर्व्वार्त्तिनिर्व्वा[प*]णं ॥[१५॥*] र[ा]हप्पमा-

17 त्मभुजजातव[9]लावलेपमा[10]जौ विजित्य निशितासिलताप्रहारैः [।*] पालिध्वजावलि-
शुभामचिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां

18 ततान ॥[१६॥*] क्रोधादुत्खातखड्ग[11]प्रसृतरिपुभ[10]यै[12]र्ध्वंसमानं समन्तादाजा[13]वुद्वृत्तवै-
रिप्रकटगजघटाटोपसंक्षोभदक्षं [।*] शौ[14]र्य्यन्यस्तारि-

Second Plate: First side.

19 वर्गो[15] भयचकितवपुः क्वापि दृष्टैव सद्यो [16]दर्प्पाध्मातारिचक्रक्षयकरमगमद्यस्य दो[17]र्द्दण्ड-
रूपं ॥[१७॥*] पाता यश्चतु[18]रम्बुराशिरसनालंकारभाजा[19] भु-
20 वस्त्रैय्या[20]श्चापि कृतद्विजामरगुरुप्राज्याज्यपूजादरो[21] [।*] दाता मानभृदग्रणीर्ग्गुणवतां
योसौ श्रियो भ[22]स्वभो भोक्तुं स्वर्ग्गफलानि भूरितपसा
21 स्थानं जगामामरं[23] ॥[१८॥*] येन श्वेतातपत्रप्रहतरविकरव्राततापात्सलीलं जग्मे[24]
नासीरधूलीधवलितवपुषा वल्लभाख्यस्सदाजौ [।*] श्रीमद्गोविन्दराजो जि-
22 तजगदहितस्त्रैणवैधव्यहेतुस्तस्यासीत्सूनुरेक र लितारातिमत्तेभकुम्भः ॥[१९॥*]
तस्यानुजः श्रीध्रुवराजनामा महानुभावः प्रथितप्रतापः [।*]
23 प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रच[क्र*]क्क्रमेण वा[25]लार्क्कवपुर्व्व[26]भूव ॥[२०॥*] जाते यत्र च
राष्ट्रकूटतिलके सद्भू[27]तचूडा[म*]णौ गुर्व्वी तुष्टिरथाखिलस्य जगतस्सुस्वामिनि
प्रत्यहं [।*] [सत्यं*] सत्यमिति प्रशा-

[1] The scribe or the composer has joined together the two words in a *sandhi*, without taking notice of the half-verse end, as required by rules of prosody.

[2] Read °र्य्येनेदं. [3] Read "बलेनैका". [5] Read °बाधः

[4] The punctuation mark is damaged. [6] Read है .

[7] Read लिखितं. [8] Read समीहित°.

[9] Read °बला°. [10] Read °भाजौ- [11] Read स्फुरत्प्रकटकरकिरणै°.

[12] Read °र्ध्वंसमानं- [13] Read °वुद्वृ°. [14] Read शौर्यं°

[15] Read °वर्गो. [16] Read दर्पो°. [17] Read दोर्द्दण्ड°.

[18] Read °स्फु°. [19] Read °भाजो. [20] Read स्त्रय्या°.

[21] Read °दरः ; the word being at the half-verse end, no *sandhi* is permitted. [22] Read स्वभो.

[23] Read °भाजनं. [24] Read जग्मे. [25] Read वालार्क्क°.

[26] Read °वभूव°. [27] भूप was the word probably intended by the poet.

24 सति सति च्चम्यामसुद्रान्तिकामासीत्स्मीपरे गुणाच्छतानिधौ सत्यव्रताधिष्ठिते ॥[२१॥*] शशधरकिरणनिकरनिभं यस्य यशस्सुरन[1]गापगानुकैः [।*] परिगी-

25 यतेनुरक्तैर्व्विद्याधरसुन्दरीनिवहैः ॥ [२२॥*] दृष्टोन्नत्वं यौविक्रमाय नित्यं सर्व्वस्वमानन्दितवन्धुवर्ग्गः [।] पादाग्रहष्टो हरति स्म वैनाचाणान्यमस्यापि नितान्त-

26 वीर्य्यः ॥[२३॥*] रक्षता येन निश्शेषं चतुरम्भोधिसंवृतं [।*] राज्यं धर्म्मेण लोकानां कृता हृष्टि[2]परा हृदि ॥[२४॥*] योऽसौ प्रसाधित-[समुद्रत[3]*]सारदुर्गो गांगो[4]वसन्ततिनिरोध-

27 विरुद्धकीर्त्ति[5]रात्नीकृतोच्चलद्दधांक[6]विभूतिरुच्चैर्व्योम्नि तनान प्रभिश्वरतामिहैकः ॥ [२५॥*] तस्यात्मजो जगति सत्प्रथितोरुकीर्त्तिर्ग्गोविन्दराज इ-

28 ति गोत्रललामभूतः [।*] त्यागी पराक्रमधनः प्रकटप्रतापसन्तापिताहितजनो जनवल्लभोभूत् ॥[२६॥*] प्रिथ्वी[7]वल्लभ इति च प्रथितं यस्या-

29 परं ज[ग*]त्ति नाम [।*] यश्चतुरुदधिसीमामेको वसुधां वशे चक्रे ॥[२७॥*] एकोप्यनेकरूपो यो ददृशे भेदवादिभिरिवात्मा [।*] परबल[8]जलधिमपारं

30 तरन्सदोर्भ्यां रणे रिपुभिः ॥[२८॥*] एको निर्हेतिरहं गृहीतशस्त्रा श्च परे व[9]हवो [।*] यो नैवंविधमकरोच्चित्तं स्वप्नेपि किमुताजौ ॥[२९॥*] राज्याभिषिककलशैरभि-

31 षिच्य दत्तां राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां स्वपित्रा [।*] अन्यैर्म्महानृपतिभिर्व्व[10]हुभिर्व्व[11]समेत्य स्तम्भादिभिर्भुजवला[12]दवलुप्यमानां ॥[३०॥*] एकोनेकानरेन्द्रवृन्दसहिता-

32 न्यस्तान्समस्तानपि प्रोत्खा[ता*]सिलताप्रहारविधुरां[13] वध्वा[14] म[15]हासंयुगे [।*] लक्ष्मी[म*]प्यचलां चकार विलसच्[16]चामरग्राहिणीं ।[17] संकीर्णद्द्विपसज्जनस्तुह्रद-[18]

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[1] Read °नगाप°. [2] Read °वृष्टि°.

[3] Four letters are missing; the reading given is conjectural.

[4] The engraver's instrument has slipped to the left of the first vertical in गौ.

[5] Read कीर्त्तिः [।*] चालीकृतो°; °कीर्त्ति, being at the half-verse end a *sandhi* is not possible.

[6] The letter कृ, omitted while engraving, is written below the line under the letter य between two *kākapadas*. A small *kākapada* above the letter य, clear in the plate, draws attention to the omitted letter.

[7] Read पृथ्वी°. [8] Read परबल°. [9] Read बहवः.

[10] Read °र्ब°. [11] The letter र्व is repeated by mistake.

[12] Read °बला°. [13] Read °विधुरान्. [14] Read बद्ध्वा.

[15] Read महा°. The letter हा omitted while engraving is written below the line between म and सं.

[16] Read °चलत्. [17] This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

[18] Read °सुहृ°.

33 स्युपभोग्यां भुवि ॥[२१॥*] तत्पुत्रेत्र गते नाकमाक्रम्यतारि[1]प्रजे [।*] श्रीमा[2]न्धाराज[3]र्व्वाख्य[:*] ख्यातो राजाभवद्गुणै : ॥[२२॥*] अर्थिषु यथार्थतां[*] यःसमभि[4]ष्टता[5]फ[6]लाप्तिलब्ध[7]तो-

34 षेषु [।*] वृद्धिंनिनाय परमाममोघवर्षाभिधानस्य ॥[*२३॥] राजाभूत्तत्पितृव्यो रिपुभवविभवोद्भूत्यभावैकहेतुर्लक्ष्मीवानि[8]न्द्रराजो गुणिजननतिकरा[9]स्तयमत्का-

35 रकारी । रागादन्यान्व्युदस्य प्रकटितविनया यं नृपं सेवमाना राजश्रीरेव चक्रे स[कल*]कविजनोद्दो[10]यतथ्यस्वभावं ॥[२४॥*] निर्व्वाणावाप्तिवानामहितहितजनो-

36 पास्य[11]माना सुवृत्तं वृत्तं जित्वान्यराज्ञां चरितमुदयवान्सर्व्वतो छिमकेभ्य: ॥(।) एकाकी दृप्तवैरिस्खलनकतिसमप्रातिराज्येश्वरा[12]ड्भ्रांटीयमण्डलं

37 यस्तापन इव निजस्वामिदत्तं ररक्ष ॥[२५॥*] यस्यांगमात्रजयिन: प्रियसाहसस्य क्ष्मापालवेषफलमेव व[13]भू[व*] सैन्य[14]मुक्ताम्बी य[15] सर्व्वभुवनेश्वरमादिदे-

Second Plate : Second side.

38 वं नावन्दतान्यममरेष्वपि यो[16] समरेष्वपि यो मनस्वी [॥२६॥*] श्रीकर्क्कराज इति रचिरा[17]तराज्यभारस्सारकुलस्य तनयो नयशालिसौ[18]र्य्य: [।*] तस्या-

39 भवद्विभ[व*]नन्दितव[19]न्धुसार्थ: पा[20]र्थ: सदैव धनुषि प्रथमो[21]श्रचीनां ॥[२७॥*] दानेन मानेन सदाज्ञया[22] वा वी[23]र्य्येण शौर्य्येण च कोपि भूप: [।*] एतेन साम्योस्ति

40 न वेति कीर्त्तिस्वकौतुका भ्राम्यति यस्य लोके ॥[२८॥*] स्वे[24](स्वे)च्छाग्रहीतविषया[न्*] दृढसङ्घभाज: प्रोद्वृत्तदृप्ततरशौल्कि[25]तराष्ट्रकूटान्[26]त्स्वातख[27]ड्गनिज-

41 बाहुवलेन[28] जित्वा योमोघवर्षमचिरात्स्वपदे व्यधत्त ॥[२९॥*] तेनेदमनिलविद्युच्चंचलमालोक्य जीवितमसारं [।*] क्षितिदानपरमपुण्य:⟨प्रवर्त्तितो ध-

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[1] Read °क्रम्यारिपुप्रजे.

[2] The usual spelling of this king's name is ध्रुव.

[3] Read समभीष्ट°.

[4] This letter ता is superfluous.

[5] क्ष was first omitted; it was subsequently written below the line under the preceding letter ष्ट between two vertical lines.

[6] Read °[illegible]°.

[7] Read °[illegible]°.

[8] Read °[illegible]°.

[9] Read °निकरा°. A letter first written before नि has been subsequently crossed out.

[10] Read °[illegible]°.

[11] Read पास्य.

[12] Read °[illegible]°.

[13] Read [illegible].

[14] Read सैन्यम् । सुक्ता.

[15] Read [illegible].

[16] Letters समरेष्वपि यो are repeated by mistake.

[17] This letter रा is superfluous.

[18] Read °शौर्य्य:

[19] Read °[illegible]°.

[20] Read पार्थ:

[21] Read प्रथम .

[22] [illegible] is written below the line under ज्ञ which was originally written after ज्ञ by mistake but was subsequently crossed out.

[23] Read शौर्य्येण. The letter र्य्ये is written below the line between शौ and ण.

[24] Read स्वेच्छा°.

[25] Read शौल्किक°.

[26] Read कूटान् । उत्खात°.

[27] The engraver had first inscribed खा, but the medial आ stroke was subsequently crossed out.

[28] Read बाहुबलेन.

42 मंदायोयम् ॥[४०॥*] स च समधिगताशेषमहाश[1]ब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिश्चव[2]र्ण-
वर्षश्री[क*]कराजदेवकुशली सर्व्वानेव यथास[3]बध्यमानाराष्ट्रपति-

43 विषया[4]धपतिग्रामपतिग्रामकूटयुक्तानियुक्ताधिकारिका[5]न्विकमहत्तरादी[6]कान्
समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया श्रीशङ्कातट-

44 स्थावासितविजयस्कन्धावारस्थितेन मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये[7]
श्रीनागसारिकास्थलनिविष्टाईच्चैत्याल[या*]यतननि[वद्ध*]

45 सम्ब[8]पुरा[9]भ्यन्तरनिवसतिकायाः खण्डस्फुटितनवकर्म्मचरुधनि[10]दानपूजार्थं[11]तथा तथा[12]
तिव[13]ध्यमानचातुष्टयमूलसंघोदयान्वयसेन-

46 सेन[14]संघमल[15]वाटि[16]गुरोशिष्यश्रीसुमतिपूज्यपादः[16] तच्छिष्यश्रीमदपराजितगुरोः[17]
श्रीनागसारिकाप्रतिव[18]द्धयम्बापाटकग्रामस्य[19] उत्तरदिग्वि

47 भिरन्ध्रयोगाभिधाना[20] ग्रामवापी यस्या[21]घाटनानि पूर्व्वतः श्रीधरवापिका दक्षिणतो
वहः[22] अपरतः पूरावी महानदी[23] उत्तरतस्सम्ब[24]पुर-

48 वापिका[25] [।*] एवमियं चतुराघाटोपलक्षिता सधान्यहिरण्यादेया[26] अचाटभटप्रवे-
श्य[27]स्सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः[28] आच-

49 न्द्रार्क्कार्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनः[29] शिष्यपृ[30]शिष्यान्वयक्रमोपमो[31]पभोग्यः[32] शकनृप-
कालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु सप्तसु चिचत्वारिंशद-

50 धिकेषु[33]तीतेषु वैशाखपौर्णमास्यां महावैदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपादि[34]तोस्यो[35]चितया[35]
चाचार्य्येस्थित्या भुंजतो भोजयतश्कर्षतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदि-

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[1] Read °भ्यु°.
[2] Read °समस्त°.
[3] This letter य is superfluous.
[4] The letters षयि are wrongly repeated.
[5] Read °द्विकान्.
[6] What looks like a second slanting stroke to the left of कु is a natural crack on the surface of the plate.
[7] Letters सम्ब are indistinct in the plate as its surface is corroded at this place, but the proposed reading is certain, since Sambapura is mentioned below in l. 47 among the boundaries.
[8] After स्व there is a clear *kākapada*, but the omitted letters, if any, are nowhere supplied, neither below the line nor at the bottom of the plate. The text, as it stands, is fairly intelligible; there may have been no real omission, the *kākapada* being a mistake.
[9] Read °र्थमि°.
[10] Read °पूजार्थं स.
[11] तथा is wrongly repeated.
[12] Read °निवास°.
[13] The word सेन is wrongly repeated.
[14] Read °स्य°.
[15] The letter वि is slightly doubtful in the impression, but fairly clear in the original.
[16] Read °पादस्तच्छिष्य°.
[17] Read गुरोः.
[18] Read °द्धाम्बा°.
[19] Read °ग्रामस्यो°.
[20] Read °नाम्नी°.
[21] Read यस्या घाटा°.
[22] Read वटोऽपरतः.
[23] Read °नद्युत्तरत°.
[24] Read सम्ब°.
[25] Read वापिका.
[26] Read °देयाचाट°.
[27] Read °प्रवेश्यास्स°. The word वापी is clearly in the feminine, but while mentioning its adjectives, the scribe hesitates throughout this passage between the masculine and the feminine.
[28] Read °णीयाचन्द्रा°.
[29] Read °कालीना.
[30] Read शिष्यपु°.
[31] The letters मोप are wrongly repeated.
[32] Read भोग्या.
[33] Read °ष्वतीतेषु.
[34] Read °पादिता । तस्या उचित°.
[35] चाचार्य.

51 यतो वा न केनचित्परिपन्थना करणीया[1] ॥ तथागामिनृपतिभिरस्म[2]द्वंशैरन्यै[3]र्व्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यान्यैश्व-

52 र्याणि तृणाग्रलग्नचंचलम[4]बिन्दु[5]चंचलं च जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयम-नुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्च [॥*] यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृत-

53 [6]तमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स पं[च*]भिर्म्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च संयुक्तस्यादित्युक्तं च भग[व*]ता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [॥*] षष्टिं वर्षस-

54 हस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥[४१॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [।*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते

55 भूमिदानं हरन्ति ये ॥[४२॥*] सर्व्वेषामेव दानानामेकज[7]न्मानुगं फलं [।*] हाटकक्षितिगौरीणां नैकजन्मानुगं फलं ॥[४३॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्र-

Third Plate: First side.

56 क्ष नराधिप [।*] महीम्महिमतां[ं] श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं ॥[४४॥*] व[8]हु[भि*]र्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सग[9]रादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य-[तस्य*] तदा फलं ॥[४५॥*] अग्नेरपत्यं

57 प्रथमं सुवर्ण्णं भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्य्यसुताश्च गावः [।*] लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं यःकाञ्चनं गाश्च महीं च दद्यात् ॥[४६॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मा-

58 र्थयश(श)स्कराणि [।*] निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुᳶपु-नराददीत ॥[४७॥*] इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दु[10]लोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य-जीवितञ्च [।*] अति-

59 विमलमनोभिरात्मनीनैर्[11] हि पुरुषैᳶपरकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[४८॥*] यथा चैतदेवं तथा शासन[12]दाता लिपिप्रस्थ[13]हस्तेन स्वमतमारोपयति ॥ स्वहस्तोयं मम श्री[14]कर्क्कराजस्य श्रीमदि-

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[1] कार्या was first engraved, but it was unnecessarily changed later into करणीया by crossing out the medial ा mark of का and the following र्या and adding the letters रणीया.

[2] Read °द्वंश्यै°.

[3] Read °न्यैं.

[4] Read जल for चंचल.

[5] Read बिन्दु.

[6] This स is superfluous.

[7] Originally न्मा was engraved, but the medial ा mark was subsequently crossed out.

[8] Read ब°.

[9] Read °सग.

[10] Read °लाम्बुबिन्दु°.

[11] Read °नै.

[12] Read शासन. A kākapada after स्व draws attention to the words शासनदाता, omitted while engraving the line, but written later at the bottom of the record between two kākapadas.

[13] A kākapada above स्थ draws attention to the letters हस्तेन स्व, omitted while engraving the line, but written later at the bottom of the record after the word शासनदाता between two kākapadas.

[14] A kākapada above क draws attention to the letter श्री, omitted while engraving the line, but written later below the line between म and क.

60 न्द्रराजसुतस्य ॥ लिखितं चैतन्मया महासन्धिविग्रहाधिपतिना नारायणेन कुलपुत्रकश्रीदुर्ग्गभट्टसुतेन ॥ श्रीयाद्दुरितविद्वेषी[1] शासनं जि-

61 नशासनं [।*] यदन्यमतशैलानां भेदने कुलिशायते ॥[४८*] जयति जिनोक्तो धर्म्मष्षड्जीवनिकायवत्सलो नित्यं । चूडामणिरिव लो[के*]

62 विभाति यस्सर्व्वधर्म्माणाम् ॥[४९॥*]

TRANSLATION.

NOTE.—Vv. 2-21, 23, 24 and 26-38 have been translated by Mr. (now Dr.) D. R. Bhandarkar in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 142 ff., while editing the Navsāri plates of the present donor. The first two lines of v. 35 which he has declared to be unintelligible continue to be so to me as well. Vv. 39 and 40 have been translated by Hultzsch in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 201-2.

V. 1. Victorious is the gracious gospel propounded by the best of Jinas, which is a perpetual abode of prosperity, which is clear in its entirety, which is based upon the (*seven*) metaphysical viewpoints (*Nayas*[2]), which prohibits (*recourse to*) evil ways and which brings about beatitude to one with a controlled mind.

V. 22. Whose (Dhruva's) glory, resembling in colour a mass of lunar rays, is sung with zest by swarms of Vidyādhara damsels seated on the top of the divine (*i.e. Mēru*) mountain.

V. 25. Who (*i.e.* Dhruva) alone here (*in this world*) appeared as Paramēśvara (i, supreme ruler; ii, god Śiva;) since he had made his own the paraphernalia and glory of Vṛishāṅka (i, a king named Śiva[3]; or ii, who had appropriated to himself the high bull banner and ashes); since he was accustomed to take proper care of (or furnish) his strong and towering forts; (or ii, since he was in the habit of decorating (*his consort*) Durgā who is the very essence of the most magnanimous;) and since his fame had increased by the imprisonment of a scion of the Gāṅga family or by the obstruction of the flowing current of the Ganges (*by his armies*) (or ii, who had increased his fame by interrupting the continuous flow of the Ganges) (*when it was lost in his matted hair*).

Ll. 42-48. And now that king Śrī-Karkkarāja *alias* Suvarṇavarsha who has acquired (*the right to the use of*) all the (*five*) musical instruments[4] and who is the chief of great feudatories, notifies, while in good health, to all the provincial governors (*Rāshṭrapati*), district officers (*Vishayapati*), village land-lords[5] (*Grāmapati*), village headmen (*Grāmakūṭa*), revenue clerks and their subordinates[6] (*Yukta* and *Niyukta*), the officers among the village elders[7] (*who were the descendants of*) the (*original*) colonisers[8] (*of the villages*) (*Vāsāvakamahattarādhikārin*) and other officers concerned:

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[1] Read [illegible].

[2] This refers to the famous *Sapta-bhaṅgi-naya* doctrine of Jainism which is a peculiar feature of its philosophy.

[3] There seems to be an allusion here to the annexation of Gaṅgavāḍi whose ruler's name was Śivamāra. It is also possible that this adjective may refer to the use by the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the image of seated Śiva as their *lāñchana*, but then it would not be particularly appropriate for Dhruva.

[4] These five instruments were *śṛiṅga*, *śaṅkha*, *bhēri*, *jaya-ghaṇṭā* and *tammaṭa*. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 96.

[5] Since both *grāmapati* and *grāmakūṭa* are mentioned, it is clear that one of these terms, preferably the former, is to be understood as referring to village land-lords.

[6] Since these officers are mentioned after the village headmen and before the village elders, it is likely that they may denote the village accountant and his assistant.

[7] For the interpretation of *Mahattara* as a member of the village council, see Altekar, *History of the Village Communities in Western India*, pp. 20-22.

[8] The expression *vāsāvaka* is obscure; it occurs again in the grant of Dantivarman (*above*, Vol. VI, p. 292.) The meaning suggested is only tentative.

Let it be known to you that for the enhancement of the fame and religious merit of myself and my parents was given by me,—while staying in the victorious camp on the bank of the holy Vaṅkikā,—(*the field*) called Hiraṇyayōgā (*irrigated by*) the well of Ḍhāshu,[1] situated to the north of the village Ambāpāṭaka, attached to śrī-Nāgasārikā whose boundaries (are as follows):—to the east (*the field watered by*) the well of Śrīdhara, to the south a stream, to the west the great river Pūrāvī, and to the north the (*public*) well of Sambapura:—to the glorious preceptor Aparājita, the disciple of revered śrī-Sumati, who was the disciple of Mallavādin (*belonging to*) Sēna-saṅgha, a branch of the fourfold Mūla-saṅgha, for the purpose of (*daily*) worship, cooked rice offerings,[2] and the repairs and renovation of the monastery (*vasatikā*), which is an ornament of Sambapura and is attached to the temple of Arhat, situated within the boundaries of śrī-Nāgasārikā.

Ll. 48-53. This (*field*), as determined by its boundaries, has thus been given (*by me*) with the discharge of water, after having bathed, **on the full moon day of Vaiśākha, when seven centuries increased by forty-three (years) had elapsed according to the era of the Śaka king**, to be enjoyed by successive disciples as long as the sun, the earth, the oceans, the rivers and the mountains endure, along with the right to receive the revenues in corn and gold, exempt from (*the exactions levied at*) the entry of the irregular and regular soldiers, and interference from all the royal officers. While this field is being enjoyed or caused to be enjoyed, tilled or caused to be tilled or assigned (*by the donee or his successors while*) leading the life proper for a (*Jain*) preceptor, nobody whatsoever is to cause any hindrance. Similarly this gift should be confirmed and protected as in no way different from their own donations by future kings, whether our descendants or not, realising that prosperity is as ephemeral as the lightning and remembering that the religious merit of the gift of land is common (*to all the rulers ruling for the time being*) and that the life is as unstable as a drop on the edge of (*a blade of*) grass. Whosoever, owing to the clouding of his mind by the cover of darkness of ignorance would snatch away or consent to (*this grant*) being snatched away would incur the five great sins as also the (*five*) subsidiary ones. And it has been observed by the divine Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas:—

(Here follow the usual imprecatory verses.)

Ll. 59-62. The donor who has seen (*the contents of*) this document[3] writes in his own handwriting his opinion that this (*engraving*) is in accordance with (*the charter originally granted*). This is my own sign-manual, of **śrī-Karkkarāja**, son of Indrarāja. This (*charter*) was drafted by me, Nārāyaṇa, the son of Durgabhaṭṭa, of noble extraction, the principal foreign minister.

V. 49. May the system of Jina, which hates evil and which is as efficacious as the thunderbolt in destroying the mountains, (*in the form*) of other theories, be (*ever*) successful.

V. 50. Victorious is the Dharma preached by Jina, ever compassionate to the six classes of animate beings and which shines in this world as the crest-jewel of all other religions.

[1] In Gujarāt, fields are often known after the names of the wells irrigating them. The well by which this field was irrigated was apparently constructed by an individual named Ḍhāshu.

[2] *Charubali* is enjoined in Hinduism, but not in Jainism. The inclusion of this phrase in the present record is due to the absentmindedness of the drafter, who, accustomed to include this expression in Brahmanical grants where it was appropriate, allowed it to remain in the present grant also, forgetting that it was in favour of a Jain establishment.

[3] This sentence is rather enigmatical. If the reading were to be amended as *Śāsanadāt(r)i-lipitaka*, the translation would be 'The (*principal*) writer (*in the secretarial office*) of the donor certifies that . . . . .'

No. 23.—THE CHANDREHE INSCRIPTION OF PRABODHASIVA : THE KALACHURI YEAR 724.

BY THE LATE MR. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

The inscription which is edited below was discovered by the late Mr. Beglar, one of the Assistants of the late Sir A. Cunningham, at **Chandrēhi** or **Chandrēhe**,[1] a small village near the banks of the Śōṇa close to its confluence with the Banās. It lies in lat. 81° 32′ E and long. 24° 18′ N (Rewah Topographical Survey Sheet No. 291 of 1877). The village is situated in the State of Rewah in Baghelkhand Agency of Central India and is noted for the existence of ancient ruins, two buildings among which are still standing, *viz.*, a temple of Śiva and a fine Śaiva monastery.[2]

The inscription which has already been noticed by Kielhorn[3] is incised on two slabs of stone of the same size which are let into the back-wall of the front verandah of the monastery, one on each side of the main door. Altogether there are twenty-seven lines of writing which are unequally divided, the first slab, marked A in the text below, bearing fourteen lines and the second, marked B, thirteen. The inscribed surface is a sunken panel with a plain border, which is on the whole in a very good state of preservation. Except for a few stray letters the writing is clearly legible.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and with the exception of the invocation at the beginning and the second half of the concluding line, which are in prose, the whole of the record is in verse. It has been carefully incised and mistakes are very few, *e.g.*, *sakṛud* for *śakṛad* (l. 12) and *-charaṁ-ñjagati* for *-charaṁ=jagati* (l. 16). As regards **orthography** the following peculiarities may be noticed : *n* is used for *anusvāra* in *haṅsa* (l. 2) and *dhvaṅsa* (l. 18) ; consonants with a superscript or subscript *r* have not always been doubled, *e.g.*, *r=muni* (l. 10), *kārya* (l. 14), *gurōr=guru* (l. 23), *śatru* (l. 13), *mahīdhrā* (l. 18), *etc.*

The **characters** belong to the Northern variety of the Indian alphabet of the 10th century A.D. and bear great resemblance to the Bilhari Inscription of the Kalachuri Yuvarājadēva II[4]. The principal peculiarities of this alphabet are the presence of two acute-angled triangles in the lower part of *kh*, *cf.* *śikhi* (l. 1), the looped form of *th* where the loop is not yet open, *cf.* *tathā* (l. 1) and the angle at the back of *d* ; *cf.* *ambhōdē* (l. 1). There is no acute angle in the lower part of *p* or at the bottom of *v*, *m*, and *y*. Two different forms of *ph* have been used, *cf.* *phaṇi* (l. 1) and *sphāri-* (l. 2). *R* is wedge-shaped and one loop of *l* is longer than the other.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the erection of a monastery (*maṭha*) and the excavation of a tank and a well by a Śaiva ascetic named **Prabōdhaśiva** who also repaired and re-excavated a well formerly caused to be excavated by his preceptor Praśāntaśiva. This inscription and the Gurgi inscription of Prabōdhaśiva provide us with the spiritual genealogy of the Rewah branch of the ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan whose full genealogy has been discussed elsewhere.[5]

The present record throws light on the date of erection of the temple of Śiva at Chandrēhe which was the first specimen of its kind to be discovered. We learn from verse 17 that Prabōdhaśiva built a monastery close to the temple erected by his spiritual preceptor Praśāntaśiva (vv. 21-22). Therefore the temple of Śiva which stands within a few yards of the entrance to the monastery must be the temple erected by Praśāntaśiva. According to the date given in this inscription the

[1] Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vols. XIII, pp. 6 ff. and XIX, pp. 90 f.

[2] *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, 1921, p. 53.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 85, No. 11 and above Vol. I, p. 354, footnote 1.

[4] Above Vol. I, pp. 251 ff. and plate.

[5] *The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments* by R. D. Banerji (*Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. of India*, No. 23), chapter IV, pp. 110 ff.

monastery itself was built or completed in the **Kalachuri Chēdi year 724** (=972-3 A.D.). Thus Praśāntaśiva's temple must have been constructed in the earlier part of the tenth century. The date of another ruin near Chandrēhe is also fixed by this inscription. From verse 7 we learn that Praśāntaśiva had built another *āśrama* near the confluence of the Śōṇa at the foot of the Bhramara hill. The place is still called Bhramarsen and is referred to by Beglar.[1]

The date is given in the last line as [Kalachuri] **Samvat 724 Phālguṇa śudi 5.** For want of further particulars it is not possible to verify the exact date but it would roughly correspond to March 973 A.D. The *praśasti* was composed by the poet Dhāṁsaṭa, son of Jōka and grandson of Mēhuka. It was written by Dāmōdara, son of Lakshmīdhara and younger brother of Vāsudēva and was engraved by Nīlakaṇṭha at the command of *sūtradhāra* Sūrāka.

I edit this inscription from the original in the monastery at Chandrēhe which I visited twice with the help of Rai Bahadur B. N. Zutshi, President, and Rai Bahadur Pandit Janki Prasad, M.A., LL.B., Home Member, of the Council of Regency, Rewah State.

TEXT.

[Metres: vv. 1, 12 and 13 *Śikhariṇī*; v. 2 *Mandākrāntā*; vv. 3, 4 and 8 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 5-7, 9-11 and 18 *Pṛithvī*; vv. 14, 16 and 19 *Hariṇī*; vv. 15 and 17 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 20 *Anushṭubh*.]

A.

1 Ōṁ namaḥ Śivāya || Phaṇi-śvāsa-śyāmē svanad-amara-nady-ambhasi cha yaj-jaṭā-jūṭ-āmbhōdē nayana-śikhi-vidyud=vilasati | tathā chūḍā-chandra-dyuti-

2 nikara-dhār=ēva kakubhaṁ kapālānāṁ mālā tulayati sa Sarvvō vijayatē || [1||*] Hansa[2]-śyēnī hasita-mahasāṁ saṁhatiś=Śaṅkarasya sphāri-bhūtā vadanam=abhitō

3 nāga-charmm-āvṛitasya | kiñchit-kaṇṭha-chchhavi-kalushitā mēgha-niryan-mṛigāṅka-chchhāyāṁ svachchhāṁ sapadi dadhatī sampadaṁ vō dadātu || [2||*] Chāri-saṁ-charaṇa-pravīṇa-charaṇa-vyā-

4 pāraṇā-ghūrṇṇita-kshōṇī-kuṇḍa-namat-phaṇ-īśvara-phaṇaṁ vidrāṇa-dig-vāraṇaṁ | dōr-ddaṇḍa-bhramaṇād=akāṇḍa-chalita-brahmāṇḍa-khaṇḍaṁ mudā bhūyād=vō niviḍa-

5 kvaṇad-ḍamarukaṁ Chaṇḍī-patēs=tāṇḍavam || [3||*] Śrīman-**Mattamayūra**-santatir-iyaṁ Gaṅg=ēva lōka-trayaṁ pūyād=yattra **Purandaraḥ** kṛita-tapā jajñē gurur=bhūbhujāṁ | śishyas=ta-

6 sya **Śikhāśivaḥ** śikhi-samō-vi(bi)bhrat=tapas-tējasā dīpatvaṁ vinipātit-āndha-tamasō nirvvāṇa-mārggē sthitaḥ || [4||*] Tatō Madhumatī-patēḥ kṛita-mahā-tapa-

7 s-sañchayaḥ **Prabhāvaśiva** ity=abhūt=sakala-śaiva-chūḍāmaṇiḥ | anēka-nṛipa-vanditaḥ sa **Yuvarājadēvēna** yas=tapō-dhana-patiḥ kṛitaś=charaṇa-pūta-gō-lagnikaḥ || [5||*]

8 **Praśāntaśiva**=chandramās=tad-anu tasya śishyō=bhavat=tamaḥ-pramathan-ōdyama-prakaṭita-svarūpaḥ śuchiḥ | va(ba)bhāra guṇishu śriyaṁ kunda-kalpa-śaivēshu yaḥ samujvala-

9 yaśaḥ-prabhā-dhavalit-ākhil-āśā-mukhaḥ || [6||*]Sa Śōṇa-nada-saṅgamē Bhramara-śaila-mūlē=tulaṁ priyāla-vana-saṁkul[ē] phala-mṛiṇāla-kand-āśanaḥ | chakā-

10 ra viditaṁ janair=muni-sakhaḥ praśānt-āśramaṁ sva-pāda-pada-paṁktibhiḥ pavita-bhūtalō yaḥ kṛiti || [7||*] Dēv-ōdyāna-gat-ēndra-saṁsadi mudā gandharvva-vidyādharai-

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[1] Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 14 f.

[2] Read *Haṁsa*.

11 r=ānandāya cha Dhūrjjaṭēḥ ślathayatā vādy-ādaraṁ Nandinā | līlā-lōlita-maulinā
kara-galad-valgēna yasy=ōchchakair=Bhāsvat-sārathinā tathā

12 prati-Tapaḥ sa(śa)śvad-yaśō gīyatē || [8||*] Prabōdhaśiva ity=abhūt=sakala-śishya-
varga-āgraṇīḥ sa tasya Madana-dvishaḥ Paraśurāma-nāmā yathā | yaśaḥ-
khachita-

13 diṅ-mukhō guṇi-janāya vittaṁ dadan(un)=nirjjita-vasundharō vijita-mitra-vargg[illegible]-
cha yaḥ || [9||*] Udagra-śikhi-tarppaṇa-praguṇit-aika-pāṇiḥ kshaṇaṁ Kumāra

14 iva sarvvadā parihṛit-āṅganā-saṅgamaḥ | samunnata-mahībhṛiti prakaṭit-ātma-śakta-
kramō Manōbhava-ripu-priyō vihita-dēva-kāryaś=cha yaḥ || [10||*]

B.

15 Vichārya nikhil-āgamān=vidhi-samādhi-va(ba)ddha-śivaraḥ priyāla-phala-mūlak-āmalaka-
śāka-śālūka-bhuk | Nad-ōtsanna-dharā-talē guru-jan-āśri-

16 kārī [illegible]-haraṇa-jagati[1] vismayaṁ vyadhita vā(tā)[illegible]-bhāvē-pi yaḥ || [11||*]
Mahībhṛin-mūrddh-āgra-praguṇatara-pādaḥ samudayī dadhan=mitrair=vaṁ ya[illegible]-timira-
bhuta-

17 raṁ kāryam=akarōt | tathā sandhy-ārambhē nikhila-jana-vandyaḥ kim=aparaṁ
pratāpēna vyāpnōt=tri-bhuvanam=api prāpta-mahimā || [12||*] Guru-grāva-grāma-
śikhara-

18 na-dalana-dhvansa(dhvaṁsa)-vidhinā samādhir=dhvānaṁ yō vyadhita jaladhau
Rāghava iva | sarit-[illegible]=ivaṁ vipina-gahanēshv=adbhutataraṁ paraṁ=
āścharyaṁ hi prabhaya-

19 ti mahat-karmma mahatām || [13||*] Jadatara-maruch-Chhōṇasy=āmbhaḥ-kaṇair=ayam=
āśramō mṛiga-pati-mahā-dhvānai ruditaṁ pratidhvanit-āmv(b)araḥ | śikhari-
śikha-

20 ra-prānta-prēṅkhad-dvirēpha-payōdharō janayati janē vidyuch-chhaṅkāṁ mah-aushadhi-
jāchishā || [14||*] Chumv(b)anti vānara-gaṇā mṛiga-śatru-pōta-[illegible]-stanaṁ
piv(b)ati ch=ā-

21 tra śiśur=mṛigasya | vairaṁ nijaiḥ pariharanti virōdhinō=pyō sarvvasya śāmyati
manō hi tapō-vanēshu || [15||*] Guru-kṛita-sur-āgārād=āsīd=amuṁ ma-

22 ṭhaṁ=unnataṁ svakam=iva yaśaḥ śubhr-ābhr-ābhaṁ viśālam=achīkarat | anupra-
athō Sindhu-prakhyaṁ taḍāgam=achīkhanat=prachura-salilaṁ kūpaṁ ch=ātra

23 Pravō(bō)dhaśivaḥ śamī || [16||*] Śrīmat-Praśāntakēna-kāritam=atra kūpaṁ [illegible]
śīrṇṇa-patit-ākhila-dāru-pūram | bhaktyā gurōr=guru-śilā-rachanā-

24 vichitraṁ sō=chīkarat=tad-anu dūram=achīkhanach=cha || [17||*] Va(Ba)bhūva bhuvi
Dīkshitō vihita-kīrttanō Mēhukaḥ sa saj-jana-gaṇ-āgraṇīr=ajanayat=sutaṁ

25 Jējakaṁ | tatas=tv=Amarik-ōdarē samabhavat=kavir=Dhīraśaṭaḥ praśastim=akarōd=asau
vikaṭa-varṇṇa-va(ba)ndhām=imām || [18||*] Paśupati-jaṭā-jūṭa-bhrashṭā him-ā-

26 dri-śilā-tala-skhalita-salilā chañchad-vīchi-pavittrita-bhūtalā | vrajati saritāṁ nāthaṁ
yāvad=Bhagīratha-vartmanā sura-sarid=iyaṁ tāvat=kīrttiḥ sthir=āstu bhuvi sthi-
tā || [19||*] La-

27 kshmīdhara-sutaḥ khyātō Vāsudēv-ānujaḥ sudhīḥ | imaṁ Dāmōdarō-[illegible]-praśastiṁ
pravar-āksharāṁ(m) || [20||*] Sūtradhāra-Sūrāk-ājñay=ōtkīrṇṇā Nīlakaṇṭhēna || Saṁvat
724 Phālguna-śudi 5 ||

[1] Read charaṇa-jagati.

A

2 4 6 8 10 12 14

B

16

18

20

22

24

26

TRANSLATION.

Verse 1. Oṁ ! Adoration to Śiva. Victorious is that Śiva (Śarvva) in whose piles of matted hair, (*being like*) a cloud and in the h aming waters of the divine river (Ganges), dark with the hissing of snakes (*on Śiva's body*), flash the lightning (*in the form*) of the fire of (*his third*) eye and whose garland of human skulls elevates quarters even as the shower of the collected effulgence of the moon on (*his*) crest.

V. 2. May the mass of lustre of the laugh of Śaṅkara clad in an elephant skin which is as white as the geese which is spread around his face and which is slightly darkened by the reflection of his (*dark or blue*) neck (*and*) which (*therefore*) bears the clear splendour of the moon[1] emerging from a cloud, bring you prosperity.

V. 3. May the Tāṇḍava dance of the lord Chaṇḍi (*i.e.*, Śiva) give you pleasure, which caused the hood of the lord of the snakes (*viz.*, that) to be bent down owing to the hollow on the earth revolving on account of the movements he feet (*of Śiva*) skilled in practising the *chāri* step (*in dancing*), which (*dance*) put to flight th lephants of the cardinal points on account of the revolutions of his rodlike arms, which (*dance was*) suddenly caused commotion in parts of the universe (*and*) which (*was accompanied by the*) p sound of the *ḍamaru*.

V. 4. May the uninterrupted succession of the illustrious **Mattamayūra** (*clan*) purify the three worlds, like the Ganges ; in which (*clan*) was born **Purandara**, who had performed austerities (*tapas*) and who was the spiritual preceptor of kings. His disciple (*was*) **Śikhāśiva** (*who was*) like the fire, (*and*) who through the lust of his austerities became a lamp (lit. bore the qualities of a lamp) illuminating (lit. standing on) the path of final beatitude and having destroyed the intense darkness (*of ignorance*).

V. 5. After him (*who was*) lord of **Madhumatī** came **Prabhāvaśiva** who had accumulated great aus erities (*to his credit*), who was wor pped by many kings, who was the crest-jewel of all Śaivas (*and who*) was made to accept the ea , sanctified by his *feet* (*i.e.*, was induced to settle in his territory by free gifts of land, etc.,) by **Yuvarājadēva**.

V. 6. Thereafter came his disciple **Pra ntaśiva**, (*who like*) the moon, (*was*) pure, whose real self was manifested in his attempt dispel ignorance (or darkness), who whitened all the quarters with the rays of his bright fame and who bestowed prosperity on the meritorious Śaivas, as the moon bestows splendour on the fine night lotuses.

V. 7. He, the virtuous, whose food is fruits, the stalk of the lotus and (*edible*) bulbs, who had the Munis as his companions, and o had sanctified the face of earth by his footsteps, built an incomparable hermitage, well-know o the people, at the confluence of the river **Sōṇa** and at the foot of the Bhramara hill covered h dense forest of *Priyāla trees*.[2]

V. 8. Whose fame was incessant ung with delight in every (*month of*) Māgha[3] in a high tone by *Gandharvas* and *Vidyādhis*, in the assembly of Indra in the celestial garden and by Nandin, who for the pleasure of Śiva laxed his attention to instrumental music (*to enable the God to hear his devotee's fame sung*) d by) the charioteer of the sun who lolling his head (*from one side to the other*) in an ecstatic d let the reins of the horses slide from his hands.

V. 9. **Prabōdhaśiva** is the foremost among all his (Praśāntaśiva's) disciples, just as Paraśurāma was of the ent of Madana (*i.e.*, Śiva), who had conquered all enemies, who had

[1] [Apparently the moon with slight dark spot on its surface is likened to the splendour of the laugh, while the cloud in the vicinity has counterpart in the elephant skin—Ed.]

[2] *Buchanania Latifolia*.

[3] [This month being the occasion of the Śiva-rātri festival is particularly sacred to Śiva—Ed.]

placed the earth under obligation by bestowing riches on the qualified (*and*) who had adorned the faces of the quarters by his fame.

V. 10. Who betimes, was like Kumāra (*i.e.*, Kārttikēya), whose one hand was manifested in pouring libations on high tongues of fire (*as Kumāra one hand was engaged in pacifying his fierce peacock*), who had always abjured the company of women, who had shown the effect of his own power (or weapons) on exalted kings (or *high mountains*), who was devoted to (*Śiva*), the enemy of the mind-born (*i.e.*, Kāma) (*as Kumāra is the favourite of Śiva*) and who had performed (*all*) the duties towards the gods (*just as Kumāra carried out the slaughter of the demon Tāraka, a duty imposed upon him by the gods*).

B

V. 11. Who, after investigating all the scri[...]s acquired the knowledge of God through meditation and performance (*of religious duties*[...]o living on greens (*śāka*), roots of water plants (*śālūka*) and fruits such as *āmalaka*, *priyāla* a[...]ell as roots (*mūla*), caused the world to wonder by practising austerities, even in (*his*) boyho[...] the bank (lit. *on the surface of land*) washed by the river (*Śōṇa*), imitating his spiritual pr[...]t.

V. 12. Who, having obtained greatne[...]ed in a friendly manner (*or as the sun*) setting his auspicious foot on the heads of (*wor*[...]*ing*) kings (*just as the sun, having reached high altitude emits his powerful rays on the p*[...]*f mountains*) (*and*) performed the duty of dispelling ignorance (or *darkness*); who was worship[...]by all in peaceful undertakings (*just as the sun is worshipped by all at the beginning of thr*[...]*ndhyās*). What more (*to say*) ! He has pervaded the three worlds with his prowess (*just as the* [...] *spreads heat over the three worlds*).

V. 13. Who, through the expedients e[...]xcavating, breaking and ramming masses of heavy[1] stones built a wonderful way throug[...]untains, through rivers and streams (*as also*) through forest and thickets, as Rāma (*did*) thr[...] the sea. The achievement of the great proclaims great wonder in the world.

V. 14. At night, this hermitage (*āśrama*) cau[...] the people the semblance of lightning on account of the phosphorescence of plants (*growin*[...]*r it*), resembling lightning, (*that*) of clouds on account of the (*dark*) bees flying at the sides of m[...]ain peaks, (*that of thunder*) on account of roars of lions causing the skies to echo (*and that o*[...]*wers*) on account of the air being cooled by the sprays of the waters of the Śōṇa.

V. 15. In this place herds of monkeys kiss the [...]d lions, the young one of a deer sucks at the breast of the lioness ; so other (*lower animals*), re[...] (*natural*) enemies, take leave of their antipathy ; indeed, in forests devoted to austerities [...]nds of all become peaceful.

V. 16. Near the temple built by his preceptor, [...]m Prabōdhaśiva caused to be built this high and big monastery (*maṭha*) (*which was whit*[...] his own fame, resembling the white clouds ; he also caused to be excavated, close to the [...]ain, a well with copious water and a tank, called the Sindhu.

V. 17. On account of his devotion for his precep[...]caused to be deeply re-excavated (*and re-built*) with beautiful masonry of heavy stones, t[...] which was excavated by Praśānta-śiva, at this place, (*but which*) had become dilapidated [...]unt of (*the passage of*) time, and full of wood.

V. 18. There was a Dīkshita named Mēhuka whose fa[...] known in the earth. He who was the foremost among good men, begot a son named [...] the womb of Amarikā. To him was born the poet Dhāṁsaṭa. He composed this *praś*[...]ficult composition.

[1] [The process of road-making described here is strikingly simila[...] adopted by modern engineers in metalling roads and we may thus conclude that 'macadamising[...]ll-known in Hindu India. The word ध्रुं must be taken to mean here 'crushing' or 'ramming' [...] metal and apparently survives in *Hindi* दुरमुस and *Bengali* दुरमुस = a rammer.—Ed.]

V. 19. Let this fame (*of this work*) last as long as the divine stream (*i.e.*, Ganges) wandering through the mass of matted hair of Śiva, with its waters shattering over the rocks of Himādri (*the Himālayas*), whose billowing waves purify the earth, proceeds to the ocean (lit. *lord of rivers*) along the path (*shown by*) Bhagīratha.

V. 20. This *praśasti* was written, in excellent letters, by the learned and famous Dāmōdara, who was the younger brother of Vāsudēva (*and*) the son of Lakshmīdhara.

Inscribed by Nīlakaṇṭha according to the orders of the (*master*) mason Sūrāka. The year 724, the 5th day of the bright half of Phālguna.

No. 24—THE NALA INSCRIPTION AT PODAGADH; 12TH YEAR.

By C. R. Krishnamacharlu, B.A., Madras.

The record edited below was discovered[1] in the spring of 1922 by the late Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, the then Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, and myself when we were touring in the Jeypore Agency of the Vizagapatam district, Madras Presidency. We had gone thither to examine the Telugu inscriptions at Koṇḍakambēru[2] in the Malkangiri Agency, brought to the notice of the Department by F. G. Butler, Esq., I.C.S., the Assistant Agency Commissioner at Kōrāput, and the Nāgarī inscription at Dodra,[3] a village situated at a distance of about 10 miles from Poḍāgaḍh, reported by Mr. Burrows, the late Forest Officer, Jeypore, in the year 1916-17. Our attention was drawn to the inscription at **Poḍāgaḍh** by the Daffadar of the Umarkōṭ Thāṇa office who accompanied us as our guide. It was no small surprise to us to be led at the end of our tedious journey to the slab bearing the inscription[4] leaning against the natural rock at a height of 40 feet from the ground level. This was a veritable epigraphical oasis in the deserted and barren Agency tracts.

The approaches to the hill are thickly shaded by the tall teak trees of the forest. Within a furlong from the foot of the hill, as we approached it, we observed some *sati* stones (nearly a dozen) lying scattered in a group which gave us hopes of some useful discovery. Not far from this spot was a ruined Śiva temple with fallen roof and dilapidating walls and entrance, with the Nandin (bull), Gaṇēśa and other associate minor sculptures lying about it. There was a well-watered pond also within a few yards of it embowered by a thick-set bamboo grove. All these human associations brought home to us the impression, suggested by the discovery of the Nāgarī inscription at Dodra, that the Agency tracts are now only a fallen country like the adjoining State of Bastar.[5] The provenance has been described at some length only with a view to indicate the extent of the decadence that has come over a country, which, judging from its few known inscriptions and monuments, once enjoyed a civilised and cultured life in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The Agency tract seems well worthy of a systematic study by scholars owing to the wealth of antiquarian and ethnographical material it contains, although it has now relapsed into primeval jungle.

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[1] [Sewell in his *List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I (p. 317) refers to an 'inscription on the rock in Dēvanāgarī characters at Poḍāgaḍa,' which is possibly the same as the present inscription though his information, derived from local sources, appears to have been rather inaccurate. The stone door-way referred to in his account as being close to the inscription is probably the entrance to the ruined Vishṇu temple referred to in verse 5 of the inscription.—Ed.]

[2] Nos. 286 and 287 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for the year 1922.

[3] No. 282 of the same Collection.

[4] No. 283 of 1922.

[5] For the inscriptions of this State, see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 160; Vol. X, pp. 25 ff.; Vol. XII, p. 242; see also R. B. Hiralal's *List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*.

The Poḍāgaḍh hill and village shown as 'Poragarh' in the *Imperial Gazetteer Atlas* (Vol. XXVI), Plate 42, lie on the north-western frontier of the Jeypore Agency bordering on the Bastar State. The way to the hill and the inscribed slab lie from the Nowrangpur side, through the village of Bhaṇḍārigūḍa which is only a small cluster of insignificant huts. The inscription has been reviewed in the Madras *Epigraphical Report* for the year 1921-22, page 99, where a plate of the record has also been given.

The language of the inscription is **Sanskrit** verse. The epigraph consists of twelve or possibly thirteen verses of which the first is a variety of the Āryā metre while the others excepting verse 9 (which is Vaṁśasthavila) are Anushṭubh. The inscription begins with the expression "*Siddham*". Verse 1 contains a glorification of Hari in His aspect as the essence of victory. Verses 2 to 4 describe the recovery of the lost sovereignty by Prince [**Skanda?**]**varman**,[1] son of king **Bhavadatta** of the **Nala** family, and his repopulation of (the capital) **Pushkari**. Verses 5 and 6 record his foundation of a [*pā*]*damūla* or foot-print of Vishṇu, for the worship of which he made the gift of a holding and of some money in the shape of *bhūri-dakshiṇā* the proceeds of which were to be availed of for the feeding of Brahmans, ascetics and the destitute. In verse 7 the holding is made permanently tax-free in the name of the Purusha (Highest Being) and non-interferable by state officials. Verses 8 and 9 give (apparently) the warning of the sinfulness involved in the violation of the charity and the promise of salvation, through the grace of (god) Vāsudēva, to those that conform to the good path of kings and maintain the donation. Verse 10 gives the **date** of the setting up of the inscribed monument, perhaps under the personal supervision of the prince, as **the 27th day of the Mādhava** (*i.e.*, **Vaiśākha**) **month in the 12th year.** Since we have no materials to determine the exact date of the commencement of king Bhavadatta's[2] or his son's reign it is difficult to give the English equivalent of the date. We may, however, for the present, reasonably refer it to the 12th year from the date of accession of or the recovery of the lost crown by prince [Skanda]varman. Verse 11, which is partly damaged, mentions the General (*sēnāpati*) Pritibhāgavata(?) who is described as devoted to his master. He was probably the executor of the charter like the *ājñapti* of the Eastern Chāḷukya and the *sāndhivigrahika* of the other copper-plate records. The writer of the record is said in verse 12 to be Jānturadāsa, the son of Chauli, and the engraver is probably the person mentioned last, *viz.*, Viśvarūpa, son of Aja.

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the **Southern type of alphabet** and closely resemble those of the Tāḷagunda pillar inscription of Kākusthavarman[3] which has been assigned by Professor Kielhorn to the first half of the 6th century A.D.,[4] and those of the Mandasor Inscription of Kumāragupta of the Mālava year 493.[5] The comparatively more developed forms of the letters *ja*, *tha*, *dha*, *ba*, *ma* and *ya* and more ornamental signs of the secondary *i*, *ri* and *ya* employed in the Kadamba inscription, suggest an earlier date for our record. The *anusvāra* is marked by a small round loop in the Tāḷagunda inscription while in our record it is denoted only by a point which also shows its earlier character. **The record may therefore be assigned to the latter half of the 5th century A.D.** The letter *ta* is written without the loop which is found in *na*, as in the inscription referred to. The final *m* is denoted by a

[1] The name is much blurred in the estampage and I have given here only the most probable reading. But I do not feel quite certain of the correctness of the restoration.

[2] Bhavadatta of the present record can be tentatively identified with Bhavattavarman of the Rithapur plates. The suffix *varman* which is certainly applied to the son's name has been apparently dropped in the father's name owing to metrical difficulties. In the Rithapur plates the dropping of *da* of Bhavadatta is obviously a scribe's mistake.

[3] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 24 and plate opposite page 32.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 31.

[5] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pl. XI.

miniature was written after the previous letter and near its bottom, *e.g.*, *siddham* in line 1, *Pushkarim* in line 4, etc. The *jihvāmūlīya* is employed in one case, *viz.*, in *jananyāḥ-kritinā* (l. 4). The *upadhmānīya* is employed in the compound words *pituḥ=pitāmaha* (l. 4), *°maḥ=pārthiva°* (l. 10) and *[bhartu]ḥ=pri°* (l. 13). The consonant following the *rēpha* is, in some cases[1], doubled as in almost all early records but aspirates[2] following it are left single. The consonant preceding the *rēpha* is also doubled in a few instances (*e.g.*, *vikkrama* in l. 2; *vyatikkramēd=yō* in l. 10). The word *mukhya* is written as *mukkhya* (l. 2).

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is **the first stone record of the Nala dynasty** hitherto discovered. The Nalas have been known directly only from the Rithapur[3] copper-plates of Bhavattavarman and indirectly by the mention of their defeat by the early Chalukyas of the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian Era. The Western Chalukya king Kīrtivarman I (A.D. 567-597) claims to have destroyed them.[4] He is also stated to have destroyed the residence (*nilaya*) of the Nalas. They are described as the traditional enemies of the Chalukyas[5] at whose hands they suffered defeat like the Mauryas of the Kōṅkaṇ.

Sir R. G. Bhandarkar speaking of the family of Nalas defeated by Kīrtivarman I remarks 'over what province it ruled we do not know'[6]. Dr. Fleet depending upon the mention of the Naḷavāḍi-*vishaya* made in a copper-plate grant of the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya I of about A.D. 657 thinks that there is a probable indication that the territory of the Nalas lay in the direction of the Bellary and Karnūl districts.[7] The mention of the Nalas in the Aihole inscription may be taken to indicate that they were the enemies of the Chalukyas on the north-east while the Mauryas of Kōṅkaṇ and the Kadambas of Vaijayantī were their enemies on the north-west and the south-west respectively. The provenance of this inscription and of the Rithapur plates localises them in the southern part of the Central Provinces and Berar including the Bastar State. On the extreme east the kingdom might have included the northern part of the Jeypore Agency (Vizagapatam district) from which our inscription comes.

The town **Pushkarī** mentioned in the inscription (probably the capital of the Nalas) cannot be identified.

TEXT.[8]

1 सिद्धम् ॥ हरिणा जितं जयति जेष्यती[त्ये]षा गुणस्तुतिर्[हि सा] [।*]
नन्नु भगवा[नेव]

2 जयो जेतव्यं चाधिजेता [च] ॥ [१*] श्रीनलान्वयमुक्ख्यस्य विक्कमक्षपित-
द्विषः [।*]

3 नृपतेर्भवदत्तस्य सत्पुत्रेणान्यसंस्थिताम्[9] ॥ [२*] भ्रष्टामाहृत्य राजर्द्धिं

4 शून्यामावास्य पुष्करीम् [।*] पितुᳶपितामहानाञ्च जनन्याश्चात्मनस्तथा [॥३*]

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[1] *rājarddhiṁ* (l. 3), *pūjārtthaṁ* (l. 6), *sarvvaiḥ* (l. 9), *visarjjitam* (l. 8).

[2] *nripatēr-Bhavadattasya* (l. 3) and *dharmmārthaṁ* (l. 5) ; but *cf. pūjārtthaṁ* in the above note.

[3] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. VI, p. 4.

[5] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Davangere No. 1; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 11.

[6] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 181.

[7] *Ibid*, p. 282.

[8] From inked estampages prepared by myself.

[9] It is also possible to read as सत्पुत्रेणाप्यवस्थिताम्.

5 ज्ञात्वा ध[र्म्मा]र्थेनेभ्यागानि(मि)दमात्मचितैषिणा [।*] पादमूलं कृतं विष्णो [राज्ञा] श्री[स्कन्दव]-

6 र्म्मणा ॥ [४*] पूजार्त्थमस्य चैवेह मोदकभूरिदर्चितम् [।*] पुत्राय पुरं [द] . . .

7 श्रीतारका[म्][1] ॥ [५*] [2]सत्रोपभोज्यं विप्राणां यतीनाञ्च विशेषत[:] [।*] [दीनानाम]प्यनाथानां . . .

8 च सर्व्वश: ॥ [६*] [3]अप्रवेश्यं भटैश्चेदं सदा करविसर्ज्जितम् । श्री[चक्रद्रो]-णपुत्र[ा*]य . . .

9 यथोचित[म्*] ॥ [७*] स्थितिश्चैवं पुरो यथा धर्म्मां स्तम्भे निवे[शि]ता [।*] यश्चैमां ज्ञापयि[ष्य]त्यात्मसहाया[त][4] . . . . [८*]

10 व्यतिक्रमेद्यो हि महीपते[:*] स्थिति[म्] कृतार्थम=पार्त्थिवकिल्बिषमिष्टे[त ।*]

11 ममान्वियायाश्च [नरेन्द्र]मत्पथम् स वासुदेवाश्च[य]माप्नुयाच्चिर[म्*] ॥[९*]

12 द्वादशेब्दे नरेन्द्रेण माधवे मासि चोत्तमे [सप्तविंशे] दिने पुण्ये

13 स्तम्भोयं [गा]पितस्स्वयम् ॥ [१०*] [5]प्रीतिभागवते[ने]वम् भर्त्तु=पिय[चा] . .

14 सेनापतिना [6]ऽत्रत्विना मानिनेत्नात्स्तुविना ॥ [११*] . .

15 लिखितं [चौ]लिसूनुना भत्रा [जां]तुरदासेन [।१२*]

16 [चा]त्रेन विश्वरूपेन(ण) निर्गुणेन गु[णै]षिणा] [॥१३*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). Victory! The praise of (His) qualities (in) such (words) as "Hari was victorious, is victorious (and) will be victorious," is not that (*i.e.*, appropriate). For, verily, the Divine (Hari) is himself the conquest, the object to be conquered and the conqueror.[7]

(Vv. 2 to 4). This *foot-print* (or *sanctuary*)[8] was made by the illustrious king [**Skanda**]-**varman**, the noble son of king **Bhavadatta**—who was the foremost (*scion*) of the glorious **Nala** family (*and*) repelled his enemies by his valour—(on) having reclaimed the lost royal prosperity which had fallen into other hands (or *was unsettled*) and having repeopled the deserted (*town of*

[1] Read तारकम्. [There is no room for more than three letters at the end of the sixth line. The second half of the fifth verse may therefore be possibly restored as पुत्राय पुरं दत्तमचावद्वार्कतारकम् ।—Ed.]

[2] [Read सत्रोपभोज्यं.—Ed.]

[3] The Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman have the expression चभटप्रावेश्य and सर्व्वकरविसर्ज्जित (above, Vol. XIX, p. 103, ll. 12-13 of the text. *Cf.* also above, Vol. XI, p. 2, l. 9 of the text).

[4] This might be restored as महापातकसंयुतः.

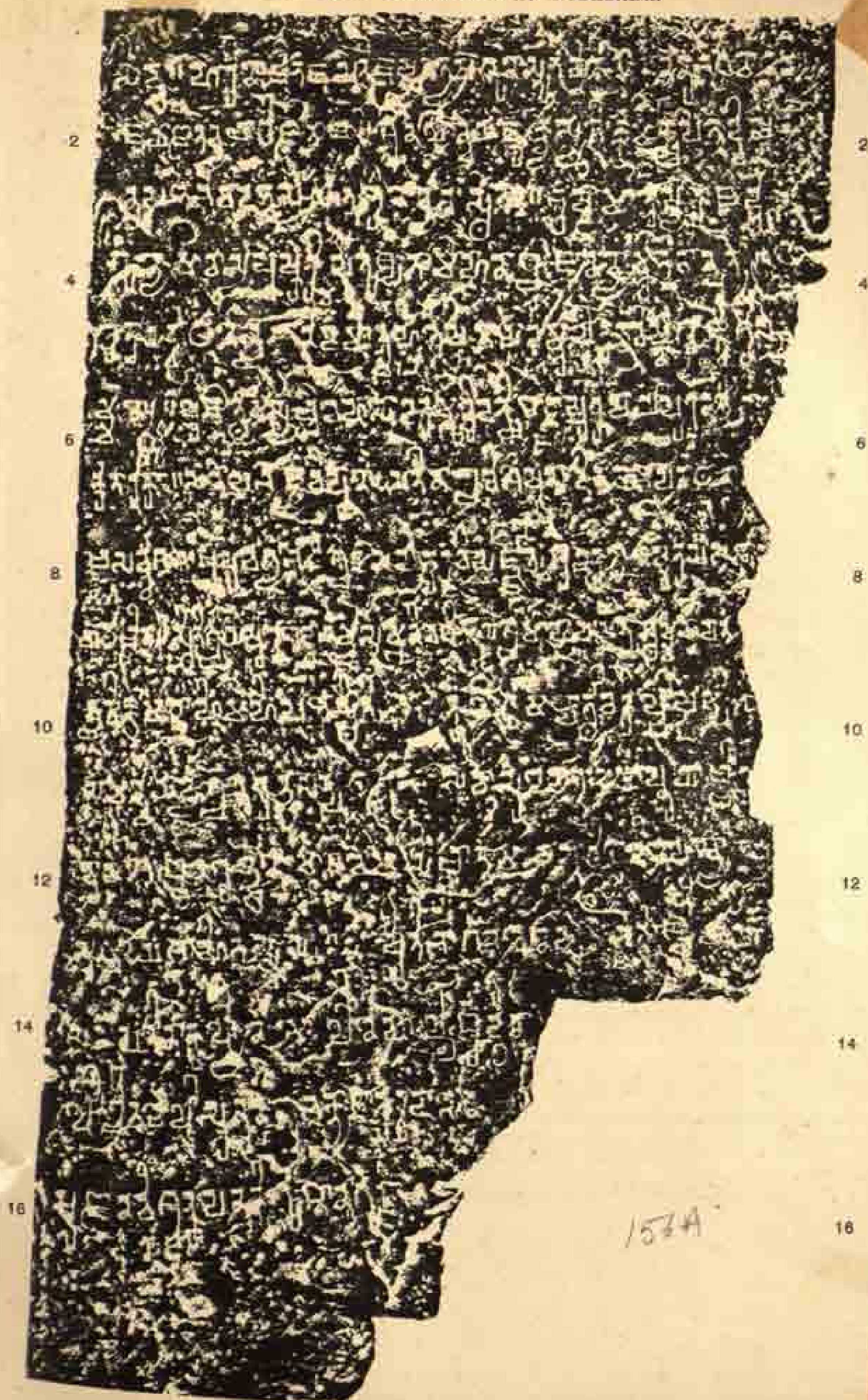
[5] [Read [चि]तिमांसवतेनैव.—Ed.]

[6] [Reading is कलत्रवत्ताणि. One *pāda* is apparently lost at the ends of the lines 14 and 15. The existing two *pādas* in l. 15 seem to be the second and first *pādas* respectively of an *Anushṭubh* half-verse.—Ed.]

[7] Compare this statement with the description of Vishṇu as "*vijayō jētā*" given in verse 16 of the *Vishṇu-sahasranāma*.

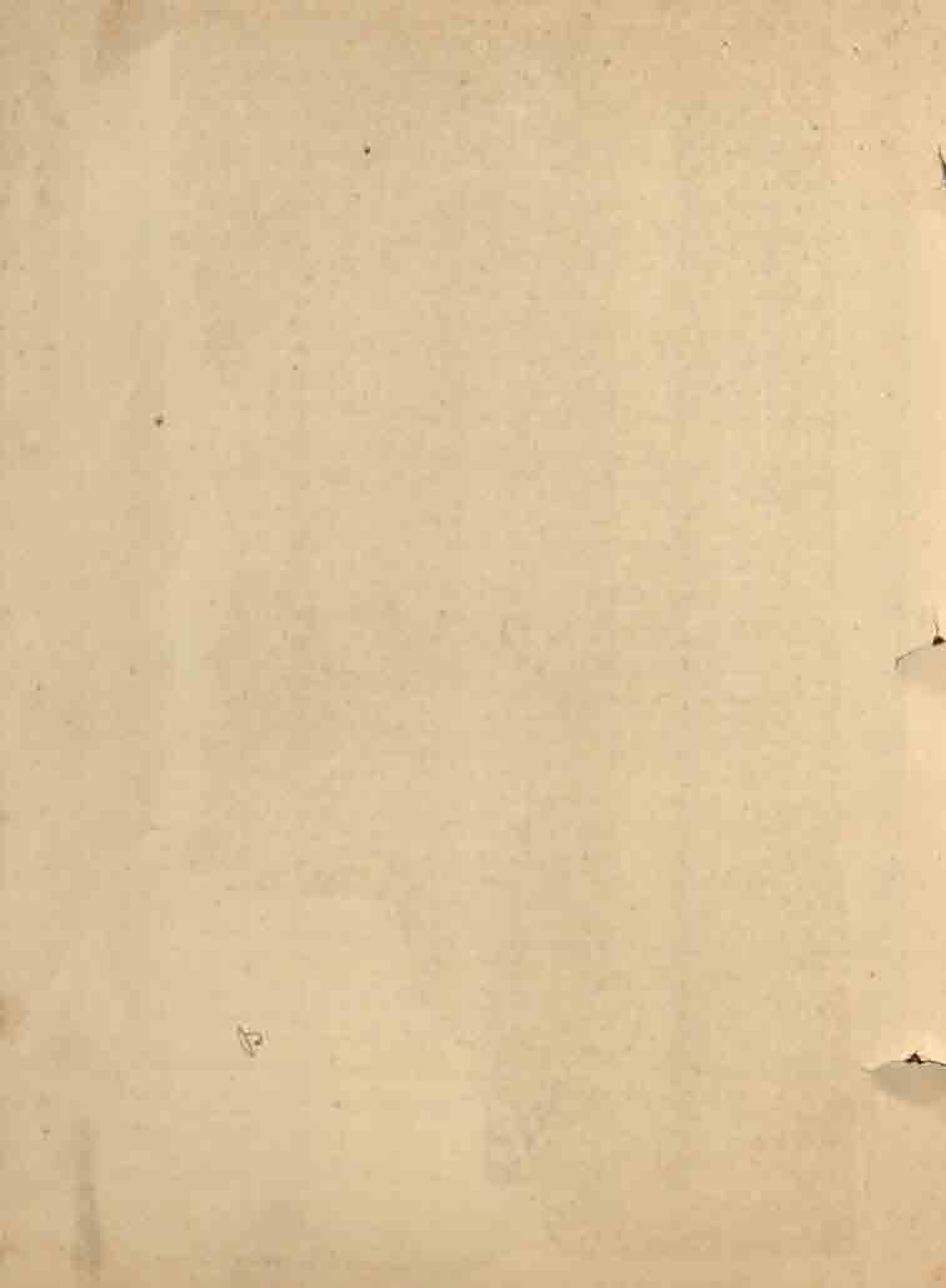
[8] [The word *pādamūla* is evidently used here in the sense of a sanctuary; see above, Vol. XI, No. 19, p. 197.—Ed.]

The Nala Inscription at Podagadh.



H. KRISHNA SASTRI.

Printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta.



Pushkarī, with the hope of obtaining religious merit for his father, other ancestors and mother and desiring welfare for himself.

(Vv. 5 and 6). And for His worship in this (*temple*), with (*libation of*) water and with abundant *dakshiṇā* ....a holding (*pura*)[1] for the Supreme Being (*Purusha*) to last as long as...... the Sun and the stars. The proceeds have to be used entirely for the (*free*) feeding in a *satra* of Brahmans, especially of ascetics, of the poor and of the destitute......

(V. 7). This (*holding*) (*shall remain*) impenetrable to State servants and permanently tax-free to the son of the noble [Chakradrōṇa]......as may be suitable.

(V. 8). This order (*of the king*) was composed and recorded on the pillar in front (*of the temple*): Whoever causes damage to this (*shall incur*) great sin.

(V. 9). Whoever transgresses the order of the king, that low-born (*one*) will commit offence against the king; he who will conform to the good path followed by kings will for long find refuge in (*god*) Vāsudēva.

(V. 10). This pillar was caused to be planted by the king, personally, on the sacred **twenty-seventh day in the excellent month of Mādhava** (*i.e.*, **Vaiśākha**) **in the twelfth year** (*of his reign*).

(V. 11). Thus was promulgated (*the ordinance*) on all sides (*i.e.*, everywhere) by the General **Prītibhāgavata** (*who was*) devoted to his master (*and it*) was composed by **Mālin** of poor intellect (*alpabuddhi*).[2]

(Vv. 12 and 13). (The edict) has been written with devotion by **Jānturadāsa**, the son of [**Chauḷi**,[3] (*and engraved ?*) by **Viśvarūpa**, the son of **Aja** (*who is*) devoid of qualities (*and aspires for good qualities ?*).

No. 25—A NOTE ON TILAKWADA PLATES OF THE TIME OF PARAMARA BHOJADEVA OF V. S. 1103.

BY D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A., SATARA.

These plates were discovered in 1917 in **Tilakwāḍā**, a peṭā mahāl under Sankhedā, in the Baroda State, in the bed of the river Narmadā and are now preserved in the oriental section of the Baroda Central Library. They form the last two of the three plates which made up the complete grant. The late Mr. J. S. Kuḍālkar, M.A., Curator of Baroda State Libraries, exhibited them and read an article on them at the First Oriental Conference held in Poona in November 1919 which was subsequently published in its Proceedings,[4] and again in his own Journal, now extinct, called *Library Miscellany*.[5] The present note deals specially with the historical bearings of the plates.

The first of the extant two plates begins with the description of a sovereign named **Bhōja-dēva**, who is said to have destroyed all the enemies by his great valour. His feudatory was **Sū(Śū)rāditya** born in the family of the *Sravaṇabhadras* and who had migrated from **Kānya-kubja** (modern Kanauj). Sū(Śū)rāditya was helpful to Bhōjadēva in making his rule firm by slaughtering the (enemy) warriors in the battle with Sāhavāhana as well as the warriors of other princes. Śūrādityā's son was **Jasōrāja** who was enjoying **Saṅgamakhēṭamaṇḍala**.

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[1] Though the word '*pura*' generally means a 'town' or a 'city', it appears in certain inscriptions to have a special reference to the tax-free lands possessed by temples or Brahmans. The latter are referred to in Kanarese inscriptions as '*Brahmapurī*' or '*Brahmapura*'; see *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kadur Nos. 10, 125; Vol. XI, Chitaldrug No. 12; and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 47; Vol. V, pp. 18, 22, 150; and Vol. VI, p. 203, Text l. 23. Dr. Kielhorn suggests that it might have been some establishment set up for Brahmans.

[2] This epithet as also *nirguṇēna* in the next line is prompted by modesty.

[3] [Probably Chauli of this record is the same as Chulla, the writer of the Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 103).—N. P. C.]

[4] Vol. II, pp. 319 ff.

[5] Vol. VI.

The charter records the grant by Jasōrāja of the village **Vilūhaja** and one hundred (measures) of land in the village **Ghaṇṭāpallī** to a Śaiva ascetic Dinakara for the worship of Ghaṇṭēśvara (Śiva). The writer of the grant was Sōhika, son of the Kāyastha Aiyala of the Vālabhya family.

The inscription being incomplete gives us no clue as to the antecedents of king **Bhōjadēva,** whose feudatory issued the present grant. But there can be no doubt that Bhōjadēva mentioned here is the famous *Paramāra* king of the same name. The earliest date so far found for Bhōja is V. S. 1076 from the Bānswārā plates[1] and the latest is V. S. 1099.[2] The latest date of Vākpati Muñja is V. S. 1050.[3] He was succeeded by Sindhurāja and the latter by Bhōja, evidently, some time before V. S. 1076, the date of the Bānswārā plates. For Bhōja's successor Jayasiṁha, we have V. S. 1112 as the earliest date in his Māndhātā plates.[4] It is evident therefore that Bhōja died some time before V. S. 1112 and after V. S. 1099. If there is any truth in the popular tradition that Bhōja ruled for 55 years, we shall not be far from truth if we assign to Bhōja's reign the approximate period from V. S. 1055 to V. S. 1110. The Bhōjadēva of the present record of V. S. 1103 must therefore be identical with the Paramāra Bhōja. The contemporary Chaulukya ruler of Northern Gujarāt was Bhīma I, but his rule does not seem to have extended much to the south and east of his capital. In the Lāṭa country (Surat and Broach Districts) another Chaulukya family was ruling which did not acknowledge the power of the Chaulukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaṇa as may be seen from the Surat plates[5] of Kīrtirāja of Śaka 940 and of Tribhuvanapāla of Śaka 972. We know also that the Paramāras were not new to the province of Gujarāt in the time of Bhōja. For the two grants[6] of the Paramāra Sīyaka of V. S. 1005 recently found at Harsola in Ahmadābād District and the incomplete grant[7] of V. S. 1026 of the same king found in Ahmadābād show us that that part of Gujarāt at any rate was in the hands of the Paramāras during the time of Sīyaka.

At Kaḷavaṇa in the Nāsik District an undated grant[8] of the time of Bhōja is found which leaves no doubt that Bhōja's power was at this period acknowledged there. It moreover speaks of Bhōja's defeating the kings of a number of countries including Lāṭa and Gujarāt. In the Beṭmā plates[9] of Bhōja of V. S. 1076 the village granted may probably be located in Gujarāt. All these indications point to the fact that the Paramāras were connected with Gujarāt[10] in the early days of the rise of their family and had gained influence over a considerable tract of country under king Bhōja in Gujarāt and elsewhere in its neighbourhood.

No account is given of Sāhavāhana who was among other kings subdued by Bhōjadēva with the help of Śūrāditya. Sāhavāhana no doubt stands for the word *Chāhamāna* as the change

[1] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 182 ff.

[2] From a MS. of *Rājamṛigāṅka.*

[3] From a MS. of Amitagati's *Subhāshitaratnasandōha.*

[4] Above, Vol. III, p. 48.

[5] *Kielhorn's List* No. 354 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 201.

[6] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 241 ff.

[7] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 178 ff.

[8] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 71 ff. See also my note on the grant published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VII, p. 222. There is reason to believe that the date of this grant, which mentions a solar eclipse in the month of Chaitra, must be confined to V. S. 1102-1104 and was therefore nearest to the date of the present grant.

[9] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 322 ff.

[10] In fact I am led to believe that the Paramāras had no footing in Mālwā before about V.S. 1027, a short time before Sīyaka sacked Mānyakhēṭa as is known from the *Pāiyalachchhī-Nāmamālā* of Dhanapāla, since the Pratāpgadh inscription of Pratīhāra Mahēndrapāla of V. S. 1003 shows that Mālwā was governed by a Pratīhāra governor. See above, Vol. XIV, p. 177.

of *sa* to *cha* and *va* to *ma* is common. The Châhamânas of Nâḍol were hereditary enemies of the Paramâras of Mâlwâ; Châhamâna Sôbhita, son of Lakshmaṇa is styled lord of Dhârâ in an inscription[1] which showed that he had defeated Vâkpati Muñja, the king of Dhârâ, and become for some time the lord of the city and the surrounding country. Sôbhita's son, Balirâja, again, is said to have routed the army of Muñjarâja.[2] Châhamâna Aṇahilla of the same family is said to have slain Sâḍha, a general of king Bhôja.[3] To avenge this defeat and death of his *daṇḍanâyaka* Bhôja might have waged a war with the Châhamâna king and defeated him with the help of Sûrâditya of our inscription.

Though the actual construction in the record may be taken to denote that Sûrâditya of the Śravaṇabhadra family, whose son issued the present grant, had migrated from Kanauj, it is equally possible that the family of Sûrâditya had migrated from Kanauj at an earlier date. We know that the Pratihâras of Kanauj were sovereign lords of Gujarât for some time as is evidenced by the Waḍhwân plates of Mahipâla[4] and the Ûnâ plates of Mahêndrapâla.[5] In their palmy days it is not surprising if some fortune seekers[6] like the ancestor of Sûrâditya founded a principality in Gujarât. The name Śravaṇabhadra of his family denotes that it was probably a Kshatriya family like the Uttamabhadra family of Śaka Ushavadâta's Nâsik inscription.[7]

The reason why this grant, though it belongs to the time of the sovereign Bhôja, does not contain the usual relief[8] of *Garuḍa* of the Paramâra family must no doubt be that the record was issued by a feudatory of Bhôja and that the latter had nothing in fact to do with the actual issuing of the grant. The Kalavaṇa plates also, issued by a local authority under a feudatory of Bhôja do not contain the usual Garuḍa and snake seal of the Paramâras.[9] It must at the same time be noted that more space in the record is devoted towards the praise of the sovereign family than of the family of the actual donor of the grant.

The grant was issued on **Monday, the Amâvâsyâ** (*sôma-parvan*) **day of the month of Mârgaśiras in the year 1103** of Vikramâditya. The Christian equivalent of the date, as kindly calculated for me by Mr. K. N. Dikshit is most probably **Monday, the 11th November 1045 A.D.** taking the month as the *Pûrṇimânta* and the year as a *Southern Vikrama Year*, which should be ordinarily prevalent in the locality in question.

No. 26—KHAROD INSCRIPTION OF RATNADEVA III—CHEDI SAMVAT 933.

BY N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., PH.D., OOTACAMUND.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab affixed to the temple of Lakhnêśvar (Lakshmaṇêśvara) in Kharod, a village in District Bilaspur, C. P., 37 miles from the district headquarters. It has been noticed[10] before but is published here for the first time. It contains 28 lines of writing covering a space of about 3' broad by 1' 5¼" high. The size of the letters is about ½". The writing has suffered a good deal the whole way down, particularly, towards the proper left. The

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[1] Above, Vol. XI, p. 308.

[2] Above, Vol. XI, p. 68.

[3] Above, Vol. IX, p. 1.

[4] Above, Vols. IX, p. 71 and XI, p. 67.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 183.

[6] In a number of plates found of this period the donees are said to have migrated from *Madhyadêśa*.

[7] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 78. [The recently discovered Narwal plates of Vâkpati Muñja contain references to Śravaṇabhadra as a locality from which certain Brahman donees originated. Again, some of the names of Brahmans in the same grant end in—*âditya*. It is therefore not improbable that Sûrâditya belonged to a Brahman family originally from Śravaṇabhadra, that may have settled in Mâlwâ.—Ed.]

[8] Similarly the Kalavaṇa plates of the feudatory of Bhôjadêva do not contain the *Garuḍa* relief and other peculiar features of Paramâra grants. See above, Vol. XIX, pp. 71 ff.

[9] See *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. VI, p. 220.

[10] Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vols. VII, p. 201 and XVII, p. 43; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 82 f.; *PRAS. W.C.*, 1903-04, pp. 53 f.; Hiralal's *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar* (2nd edition), pp. 117 f.

characters are Nāgarī of the 12th Century A.D. The **language** is Sanskrit and with the exception of *Ôṁ namaḥ Śivāya* at the beginning and the date at the end, the whole of the inscription is in verse. The verses are all numbered, their total being 44. The **orthography** does not call for any special remark with the exception of the facts that *avagraha* has been frequently used where necessary and *v* and *b* have not been distinguished.

The inscription is important as it gives a complete genealogy of the Kalachuri rulers of Ratanpur down to Ratnadēva III. It has been noticed by several scholars but owing to the damaged condition of the stone the information so far given was meagre and unsatisfactory and also contained several errors. I cannot claim to have deciphered the whole record but I have been able to make out with a fair amount of certainty all that is important in it. The inscription is divided into two parts, the first containing verses 1-19 and the second verses 20 to the end. Like several other records of this dynasty the present record is Śaiva. The first two verses contain an invocation of Śiva and the third that of the Moon to whose race the Kalachuri family is said to belong. The next verse brings in the princes of the Haihaya lineage of whom **Sahasrārjuna** is said to have imprisoned "the overlord of Laṅkā." In verse 5 **Kōkalla** and his eighteen sons are mentioned after whom comes **Kaliṅgarāja**—one of the younger if not the youngest of Kōkalla's sons—who by propitiating Baṅkēśvara or Śiva obtained the overlordship of Tummāṇa. He was followed in regular descent by **Kamala, Ratnadēva (I.)** and **Pṛithvidēva (I.)**. Verse 6 speaks of Pṛithvidēva's son, **Jājalladēva (I.)** who defeated in battle **Bhujabala**, the lord of Suvarṇapura. In the next two verses are described the exploits of his son and successor **Ratnadēva (II.)** who defeated the king **Chōḍagaṅga**, the lord of Kaliṅgadēśa. His son was **Pṛithvidēva (II.)** who is credited with defeating the king **Jaṭēśvara** (vv. 9-10). His son was **Jājalladēva (II.)** (vv. 11-12). After his death his elder brother (?) **Jagaddēva** 'came from the Eastern countries' and became king (v. 13). The next verse (v. 14) speaks of the able rule of this king. Verse 15 gives the name of his wife as **Sōmalladēvī.** Their son was **Ratnadēva (III.)** who is glorified in the next three verses (vv. 16-19).

The second part, an imperfect account of which was given by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar[1] for the first time, begins with verse 20 in l. 15. It gives the pedigree of Gaṅgādhara, a minister of Ratnadēva (III.) and also an account of his various charitable and pious deeds. There was one Dēvadhara belonging to Kāśyapa-*gōtra*. His son was [Rāja]dēva. The name of his wife occurs in l. 16 but is now not quite legible. Probably her name was Jīvā. They had a son named Gaṅgādhara who afterwards became a minister of Ratnadēva (III.). The rest of the inscription is devoted to the praise of Gaṅgādhara's virtues and records his benefactions. It appears from verse 25 that when the kingdom of Ratnadēva was in a critical situation, most probably when the king was engaged in fighting a powerful adversary, Gaṅgādhara, through his wonderful ability, restored the peace and prosperity of the kingdom. We also learn from verse 27 that it was through the advice of this capable minister that Ratnadēva made his kingdom free from all foes. Gaṅgādhara had two wives named Rāṇmā (?) and Padmā. The former gave birth to two sons Prada and Jījāka while the latter had one son born to her named Khaḍgasiṁha. Verses 30-40 mention a series of charitable and pious acts performed by Gaṅgādhara. He built a temple of Śiva, which is evidently identical with the Lakhneśvar temple at Kharod where the inscription is found. To the south of this temple he constructed a *maṭha* made of well seasoned wood for the habitation of the ascetics. He also built, evidently at the same place, a beautiful *maṇḍapa* for Śauri (Vishṇu). On the top of a hill to the west of Ratnapura, he constructed a temple of Ekavīrā which resembled a *Pushpaka*.[2] In the forest of Vaḍada (*vanē Vaḍadē*)[3] he built a *maṇḍapa* for "the enemy of the

[1] *PRAS. W.C.*, 1903-04, pp. 53 f.

[2] For a description of *Pushpaka* see P. K. Acharya, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 113-14. [The temple of Ekavīrā still exists on a hill to the west of Ratanpur—Ed.]

[3] Bhandarkar reads *Nāvaḍaḍē* and Hiralal *Vasuvaḍē*.

(*three*) cities ', *i.e.*, Śiva, as well as extensive temples dedicated to Śiva and Gaṇēśa. In the fortress (*durga*) he built a temple for the goddess Durgā. He also seems to have dedicated a shrine to the Sun (*Ravi*) at a place the name of which is not clear and also erected a Śiva temple at Pōratha. To the north of Ratnapura he built a temple for Ṭuṇṭā[=Ḍhuṇḍhi(?)-Gaṇapati.] He also had tanks excavated in the villages of Tipuraga (?), Girahali (?), Uluvā and Sēṇā[da ?]rā. Besides the above-mentioned pious donations he raised a beautiful flower garden at Nārāyaṇapura and also a *sarva-satri* or public almshouse abounding in savoury food and drink.

The *praśasti* was composed by Kumārapāla of the Haihaya lineage who appears to have had a younger brother of the name of Jaihaṇa (?). It was written by himself on the slab and engraved by one Nātū who was clever in this art. The Kumārapāla of this inscription is evidently identical with the Kalachuri Kumārapāla, the composer of the Śeorinarayan[1] and Malhār[2] inscriptions. According to the last verse it seems that a part (*kalā*) of the inscription was composed by the *Śrēshṭhin* Ralhaṇa who was the minister in charge of religious endowments (*Dharma-karm-ādhikārin*) in the reign of Ratnadēva (III).

The **date** of the inscription is given in the last line as **Chēdi saṁvat 933** without any further details and would correspond to 1181-82 A.D.

In most of the inscriptions of the Ratanpur rulers a reference is made to Kōkalla and his 18 sons. Kielhorn seems to have taken him to be Kōkalla (I),[3] the founder of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripurī. We know from the Benares Plates of Karṇadēva[4] that Kōkalla (I) was contemporary of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj, Vallabharāja or the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇarāja II and the Chandēlla Harsha. He would thus belong to a period between 860 and 900 A.D. as has been pointed out by Kielhorn.[5] But according to the Amōdā Plates[6] of Pṛithvīdēva I, Kōkalla whose son was the founder of the Ratanpur branch, 'took treasures of the Karṇāṭa, Vaṅga, Gūrjara, Kōṅkaṇa and Śākambharī kings and also of those born of the Turushka and Raghu families.' The absence of any names of these kings renders the identification difficult, but the reference to Turushkas is very significant. If this term has been used in a broad sense to refer to the Muhammadans (which is very probable) and if the exploits mentioned in this inscription are not due to a mere poetical exaggeration, then the reference cannot be to Kōkalla I of the Tripurī family as he belonged to a period anterior to any Muhammadan invasion of North India. A still better clue is afforded by another reference in verse 9 of the same plates that 'having churned the king of Utkala with emaciated water he (*i.e.*, Kamalarāja, son of Kōkalla II) made over the goddess of wealth (*Śrī*) to his overlord Gāṅgēyadēva'.[7] This latter prince can be no other than Gāṅgēya Vikramāditya, the son of Kōkalla II.[8] The reference to Gāṅgēya's defeating the Utkala king is found also in the Goharwā Plates of Karṇadēva.[9] Again, according to the present inscription, Kaliṅgarāja appears to have been a younger son of Kōkalla while according to the Amōdā Plates of Pṛithvīdēva I, which is the oldest known record of the Kalachuri rulers of Ratanpur, the eldest son of Kōkalla became the ruler of Tripurī and the others were made petty chieftains and Kaliṅgarāja is mentioned as the descendant of one of the younger sons of Kōkalla. The latter pedigree

[1] Hiralal, *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.), p. 122, No. 202 and *PRAS W.C.*, 1903-04, pp. 52 f.

[2] Above, Vol. I, p. 42.

[3] See Index to Inscriptions of Northern India, above, Vol. V, p. 107.

[4] Above, Vol. II, pp. 305 ff. and Plates.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 301.

[6] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 78 ff.

[7] I am unable to accept Hiralal's explanation that 'Kamalarāja endeavoured to equal Gāṅgēyadēva in prosperity.'

[8] R. B. Hiralal has not identified the Utkala prince who was defeated by Kamalarāja. The pun on the words *kshīṇōda* and *Gāṅgēya* shows that the prince referred to was probably Kāmārṇava, the father of Vajrahasta.

[9] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 142 ff.

is found in other records of the Ratanpur kings and may therefore be accepted as correct. Suvarṇṇapura of verse 6 is probably identical with Sonpur on the Mahānadī, the present capital of the homonymous state now transferred to Bihār and Orissa from C. P. But we are not aware of Bhujabala the ruler of Suvarṇapura from any other source. Suvarṇapura is mentioned in the Sonpur plates[1] of Kumāra Sōmēśvaradēva and the Jatesiṅga Ḍuṅgri Plates[2] of Mahāśivagupta which show that Sonpur was at an earlier time under the suzerainty of the Sōmavaṁśī rulers of Trikaliṅga. Only two chiefs of Sonpur are mentioned in the Sonpur Plates, *viz.*, Abhimanyudēva and Sōmēśvaradēva.[3] This as well as other inscriptions of the rulers of Ratanpur show that their relations with the Eastern Gaṅgas, their immediate neighbours on the east, were not friendly. Chōḍagaṅga, the lord of Kaliṅgadēśa who was defeated by Ratnadēva II, is identical with the Eastern Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. The king Jaṭēśvara who was defeated in battle by Pṛithvīdēva II is no other than Kāmārṇava, the son of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga as we know from an inscription[4] in the *āsthāna-maṇḍapa* at the Mukhaliṅgam temple dated Śaka 1079.

My reading of verse 13 in the text throws some new light on the genealogy of the Ratanpur kings after Jājalladēva II. Kielhorn and following him, Hiralal, were under the impression that Sōmalladēvī was the wife of Jājalladēva II and that Ratnadēva III was their son. No other inscription of Jājalladēva mentions the name of his wife. But in verse 13 of the present inscription it is clearly stated that after the death of Jājalladēva II, Jagaddēva, probably his elder brother, came from the eastern countries and became king. The reading appears to be *jyāyān-asya* and not *=putrō* or *=sutā*. If Jagaddēva was the son of Jājalladēva the succession would have been in quite a natural order. But if Jagaddēva was the elder brother of Jājalladēva and thus the eldest son of Pṛithvīdēva, as the reading of verse 13 appears to show, I do not understand why he did not become king after the death of his father Pṛithvīdēva II. The most plausible explanation seems to be that Jagaddēva was all the time engaged in a conflict with the Eastern Gaṅgas and was thus obliged to be absent from the capital and that owing to his long absence Jājalladēva took the reins of government in his own hands. The verse under consideration seems to imply that Jājalladēva's death took place somewhat suddenly and that was probably the reason why Jagaddēva hastened back from the eastern countries to take charge of the government.

Of the **geographical places** mentioned in the inscription several have already been identified by Hiralal. Thus **Tummāṇa,** the original capital of the Ratanpur Kalachuris, exists under the name of Tumāna in the Lāphā Zamindari of Bilāspur. **Suvarṇṇapura,** as has been pointed out already, may be Sonpur. **Ratnapura** is the present Ratanpur and **Nārāyaṇapura** and **Pōratha** are still known by the same names (the latter as Portha) and are situated, respectively, about 20 miles S. W. and 30 miles N. E. of Kharod. The name read as Vanavadda by Hiralal, I have read as *vana* **Vaḍada** which may be Balodā[5] near Kharod. If the reading **Sāṇādarā** is correct, it may be identified with the present-day Sendri between Bilaspur and Ratanpur. **Uluvā** is probably the same as Ulba in Raipur District. I cannot identify the other places mentioned in the inscription.

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[1] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 237 ff.

[2] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 52 ff.

[3] R. C. Majumdar identifies this Sōmēśvara with the king defeated by Jājalladēva as mentioned in the Ratanpur stone inscription (above, Vol. I, pp 32 ff.). Hiralal, however, identifies this latter Sōmēśvara with the Nāgavaṁśī king of Bastar. If Mr. Majumdar is correct in his identification, then Bhujabala would be only a *bhrātṛ* of Sōmēśvara.

[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1044.

[5] [Baloda, 20 miles north of Kharod, must be the Vadada of this record. Being the headquarters of a forest range, it is aptly called *vana*. Baloda (or Baloda Bazar, as it is called) is the headquarters of a Tahsil in Raipur District, but there is no forest in its immediate vicinity.—Ed.]

In editing the Amōdā Plates of Pṛithvīdēva I, Hiralal suggested that the term Vaṅkēśvara, which is found in the present inscription also, might refer to an 'aboriginal' local deity[1]. In Sanskrit and Prākrit *vaṅka* has the same meaning as Skt. *vakra* and the latter is a name of Rudra according to the *Anēkārthasāra* of Dharaṇidāsa. Thus Vaṅkēśvara may signify Śiva and the word *īśvara* added after Vaṅka would point to the same conclusion. This explanation seems quite justified as we know that the Kalachuris of Ratanpur were adherents of the Śaiva faith.

I edit this inscription from an impression found amongst those received from the office of the Director General of Archaeology in India by the Government Epigraphist for India.

TEXT.

[Metres: vv. 1, 5, 7, 9, 10, 14, 25, 26, 42, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 2, *Śikhariṇī*; vv. 3, 30, 41, *Sragdharā*; v. 4, *Bhujaṅgaprayāta*; vv. 6, 8, 36, 38, 39, *Āryā*; vv. 11, 13, 15, 17-19, 27-29, 31-35, 37, 40, 43, 44, *Anushṭubh*; v. 12, *Mālinī*; v. 16, *Mandākrāntā*; v. 20, *Upajāti*; vv. 21, 23, 24, *Vasantatilakā*; and v. 22, *Vaṁśasthavila*.]

1 Ōṁ namaḥ Śivāya || Kalyāṇāni karōtu Parvvatasutā-pāṇi-graha-prakra[mē] dēvaḥ kēli-kalā-nidhis-trijagatā[ṁ] Daksh-ādhvara-dhvaṁsakaḥ | yaḥ kaṇṭha-dyuti-vāsasā jana-[dṛiśā] — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — [Gau]rī-vaktra-nirīksha[ṇāya]

2 [vi]dadhē mugdh-ēndu-dīpa-tvishā ||1|| Kriyād=vaḥ kalyāṇaṁ niravadhi vidhātus=trijagatāṁ sammumīlan-nīl-ōtpala-dala-ruchīnāṁ sahacharī | ruchiḥ kaṇṭhasy=ōchchair-achala-tanayā-vaktra-kamala-prasarppat-[saurabhyē tora-madhukar-ā-]

3 — ⏑ [tir]=iva ||2|| Jīvātuḥ kairavāṇām=amṛita-rasa-dharī(ras=) sūpakāraḥ surāṇāṁ=tārāṇāṁ prāṇa-nāthaḥ kusuma-śara-kathā-'dhyāyināṁ Pīṭhamarddaḥ | ādarśō dig-vadhūnāṁ [pṛi]thu-gagana-sarō-rā[jahaṁsas]= ⏑ — ṇāṁ śṛiṅgārō — ⏑ — — ⏑

4 ⏑ [ra]-ruchir=abhūd=Atri-nētrāt=sudhāṁśuḥ ||3|| Dharitrībhujō Haihayā[s=ta]sya vaṁśē va(ba)bhūvur=yaśaḥ prāpa yēshām=udāram | bhuja-jyā-latā-va(ba)ddha-Laṅk-ādhināthaḥ **Sahasrārjjunō** vīra — — ⏑ — — ||4|| [Śrī-**Kōkalla**-nṛipas ?]=tad-anvaya-bhavas=ta-

5 t-sūnavō='shṭādaśa khyātō [hy=ē ?]shu laghuḥ **Kaliṅganṛipatir**=vVaṅkēśvar-ārā-dhanāt | Tummāṇ-ādhipatiḥ sutō='sya **Kamalaḥ** śrī-**Ratnarājas**=tataḥ **Pṛithvī-dēva**-narēśva[rō]='bhavad=ataḥ [kshōṇ-īśa]-chūḍā-maṇiḥ ||5|| [**Jājalladēva**-] nṛipatis=ta-

6 t-sūnur=abhūt=Suvarṇṇapura-nātham | **Bhujava(ba)lam**=ava(ba)laṁ chakrē nija-bhuja-va(ba)lataḥ samīkē yaḥ ||6|| Āsīt=tat-tanayō nay-ōchita-matiḥ kshōṇ-īśa-chūḍā-maṇi-srē(śrē)ṇi-sañcharaṇa-[pravu(bu)ddha ?]-charaṇaḥ [śrī-**Ratnadēv**-āhvayaḥ] | lōk-ālō-

7 ka-gir-Indra-kandara-darī-viśrānta-vidyādharī-vaktr-ēndu-dyuti-jāla-[pāṁ]sa(su)la-yaśō-rāśiḥ pravīr-āgraṇīḥ ||7|| Yaś=**Chōḍagaṅga**-nṛipatiṁ Kaliṅga-dēś-ādhipa[ṁ] gaj-ādhīśam | samiti **Jaṭēśvara** ⏑⏑⏑⏑ [kṛitak-Āśvayujō-stikaṁ=cha(?)—] ||8||

8 **Pṛithvīdēva**-nṛipas=tataḥ samabhavad=yan-mauli-[dē]ś-ōllasad-ratn-ārchchir-nichayēna rañjitam=Umābharttuḥ pad-āvja(bja)-dvayam | jitvā yēna **Jaṭēśvarō** nara-patiḥ saṁkhyē sva-dōr-vvikra[maiḥ] — — — ⏑⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑⏑⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ||9||

9 Gaṇḍ-ōdbhēdi-mad-āmvu(bu)-ni[rjita]-kari-tyā — ⏑ — vyājataḥ kiṁ vāchyaḥ sa jagat-trayī-maṭha-kṛit-āvāsō yaśas-tāpasaḥ | yasy=ō[dvē]lana-kīrṇṇa-bhūti-kaṇikā-ja[-na paṁtē śasi ?] — — — dhī-Him-ādri-kūṭa ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ||10||

[1] See above, Vol. XX, p. 77.

10 Tasmāj=**Jājalladēvō**=’bhūj=janānāṁ janak-ōpamaḥ | ajasram yad-guṇa-grāmaṁ varṇṇayanti mahī[bhu]jaḥ ||11|| Atha kāla [ha]ta-daivād=rājñi Jājalladēvē Kalachuri-kula-chaṁdrē vra(bra)hma-sā¹ — ◡ — — | [jaga]t-ālam=a[pa-rākaṁ] sarvvatō-dy-ā[nilhakāraṁ kali]-ka-

11 lita-vivēka-vyasta-lōkam=va(ba)bhūva ||12|| Jyāyā[n=asya] **Jagaddēvas**=tataḥ prāg-dēśato=’jñaśā | samētya rājy-ādhipatir=vva(bba)bhūv=ādbhuta-vikramaḥ ||13|| Chaurair=a ◡ ◡ paṁ prayātam=a ◡ — — yaiḥ [prabhinnaṁ] ◡ — — — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ da-

12 [rī]-kōṇē=’ribhiḥ saṁsthitam | tasmin=śaurya-[vi]lāsa-dāna-rasikē rājya-sthitē bhūpa-[tau] [vyā]ghrād=apy=adhi[kāṁ va]nē [na] kurutē bhītiṁ=janaḥ paryaṭan ||14|| Lakshmīr=iva Mur-ārātē Rativat=Pushpadhanvanaḥ | rā[jñaḥ] Sōmalla-dēvī[=ti] ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ◡ —

13 bhavat ||15|| Putras=tābhyāṁ (tayōḥ) tridaśa-vanitā-gīta-kīrttiḥ pṛithi[vy]ām=āsīd=āśā-kuhara-viharach-chāru-kīrtti-pratānaḥ | — — ruvitsīkṛita-sura-taruḥ saṅgar-ōddā-ma-[vai]ri — — — [śrī] ◡ ◡ pa-dayitō [**Ratna**]**dēvaḥ** praviraḥ ||16|| ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ◡ — — ⏓

14 [mṛi]g-ākshī-nayan-ōtsavam | svatō=’dhikaṁ hriy=ā=āsīd=anaṅgō Makaradhvajaḥ ||17|| Saṁskṛit-ādi-pada-nyā[saṁ] vaichitr[y]a-chitra-dāyinā | jihvā raṅg-āṅgaṇē yasya nariṇa[rti?] ◡ — kṛitā (?) ||18|| [Rājadhānī] dharā-bharttus=tasya ⏓ ⏓ ◡ — ◡ ⏓ | ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ◡ — ◡ ⏓

15 m=abhūd-atimanōharam ||19|| Chha || Gōtrē=’bhavat=Kāśyapa-nāmadhēyē kalā-nidhir=Dē[va]dharō dharāyām | ya[thā] dhar-ōddhāra-vidhau dhurīṇō Harir=tathā sō=pi vipad-gatānā[m] ||20|| Puttras= ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ratasya śrī-[Rājadēva] iti — ◡ ◡ — pa-

16 yōdhiḥ | śastrēshu śāstra-nivahēshu paraṁ pravīṇō=nān=ōpamānam=iha kō=pi na saṁjagāma ||21|| ◡ — ◡ saṁ siddhi-nimi[tta]m=uttamaṁ pativratānāṁ dhuri saṁsthitā priyā | va(ba)bhūva [Jīv=āl ?] viśuddha-śī ◡ — [kala]mā gṛihaṁ [sachcha]ritasya tasya² ||22|| Tābhyām=ajā-

17 yata guṇ-ōtkara-ratna-sindhur=Gaṅgādharō=’dbhuta-matiḥ sujan-aika-va(ṁ)[baṁ]-dhuḥ | dhanyasya yat=kshaṇam=ap=iha parōpakārād=anyat=kadāchid=api na vyasanam=va(ba)bhūva ||23|| Yan-mānasaṁ sukṛita-śīla-day-ō[paśānti] — — ◡ [mauli ?] ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — [l] yēn. [ā?] ◡ sāra ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ [lō ?]-

18 bha-tṛishṇ-ādibhiḥ paratō(ta) ēva kṛitō nivāsaḥ ||24|| Kōśē nāśam=upāgatē gaja-va(ba)lē kshīṇē=’tirīṇē jan² durbhiksh-ōpahatiṁ gatē janapadē dīnāṁ daśām=āśritē | yēn=ō[chchaiḥ] padam=āpadāṁ ◡ ◡ ◡ — śrī-Ratnadēva-[prabhō rājyaṁ] maṇ[dava(ba)lā] ◡ — krita³

19 punaḥ saptāṅga-saṁpūrṇṇatām⁴ ||25|| Dhairy-audārya-vivēka-vikrama-yaśaḥ-sauśīlya-śāstrāṇy=athō śauch-āchāra-parām=ananya-sadṛiśīṁ Chāṇakya-vidyā-mati[m] | dṛishṭvā [ch=aiva] nitānta-[tṛipta]-manasā śrī-Ratnadēvēna yaḥ sarvv-ā[chā]ra-dhurī[ṇa] ēsha vihitaḥ prādhāny-amātyē padē

20 ||26|| Yasya mantrēṇa sarvvatra nirjit-ārāti-maṇḍalaḥ | śrī-Ratnadēva-bhūpālaś=chakrē rājyam=akaṇṭakam ||27|| Rā[ṇṇa ?]-Padm-ābhidhā [cha dvē] bhāryē bhakti-parāyaṇē | va(ba)bhūvatuḥ sad-ā[chāra]-pavitrita-kula-dvayē ||28|| Ēk=ātra Prada-Jī[jā]kau suṣhuvē tanay-ōttamau | siṁhā(ha)-

¹ [The lacuna may be filled up as *yuvam-āgāt*.—Ed.]

² A syllable at the end appears to be missing.

³ Read *akrita*.

⁴ *Svāmy-amātya-suhṛit-kōśa-rāshṭra-durga-balāni cha.* These are the seven constituent parts of a kingdom.

KHAROD INSCRIPTION OF RATNADEVA III—CHEDI SAMVAT 933.

SCALE : ONE-FOURTH.

21 vi[kra]mam=anyā cha Khaḍgasiṁham=ajījanat ||29|| Ālōky=ānēna vidyut-tati-taralatar-āsāra-tāruṇya-[dadhnīṁ] Lakshmīm=a — ◡ m=ēvaṁ cha [ji]ta-mṛigadṛiśāṁ prītim=a[py]=aṅganānām | — — —k-ā[pta]yē [tat=punar]=iha sukṛitair=[dṛi]shṭa — — pta-vō(bō)dhād=ētach=chakrē navīnaṁ sahaja-śubha-ma-

22 tir=maṇḍapaṁ Bhūtabharttuḥ ||30|| Maṭhaḥ kaṭhōra-kāshṭh-aughair=atr=aiv=ākāri dhīmatā | dēva-dakshiṇa-dig-bhāgō nivāsārthan=tapasvinām ||31|| Kāritaṁ vistṛita[ṁ] Saurī-maṇḍapam[1] puṇya-kāriṇā | Gaṅgādharēṇa [dharaṇēr=bhū-shāṁ]=ēv=ātisundarām ||32|| Śrīmad-Ratnapurē chā-

23 ru pratīchyāṁ Pushpak-ōpamam | akarōd=Ēkavīrāvā maṇḍapaṁ giri-mūrddhani ||33|| Maṇḍapaṁ vanē Vaḍadē[2] [Pu]r-ārātēr=vinirmitam | Hara-Hēramvayōś=chakrē tatr=aiva vi[sa(śa)d]-ālayau ||34|| Dēvī-Durggā-gṛihaṁ durggē Ravēḥ Paha[takē(?) purē] | Pōruthē bhavanaṁ Śambhōr=a-

24 bhraṁkasham=achīkarat ||35|| Ratnapurasy=ōdīchyāṁ diśi Tuṁṇā-Gaṇapatēr=asau chakrē | maṇḍapam=aśēsha-vāñchhita-phala-dātur=vighna-hantuś=cha ||36|| ||[3] Saras=[Ti]puruga-[grā]mē nirmmala[ṁ*] vihach-āśhva(bu)jam | tathā Gurahalī-[grāmē] sphārāṁ pushkariṇīm=api ||37|| ◡◡◡◡◡◡

25 kṛitam=amalaṁ sarasija-ruchiram sadā jagat-sēvyam | tāp-āpaham=uru-harim=iva [U]luvā-grāmē saraś=chakrē ||38|| Guñjan-muñja-madhuvrata-chaya-chumvita-vika-cha-paṅkajām=akarōt | pushkariṇīm=a[pi śōbha]na-Sēṇā[dā]r-ā[bhi]dha-[grā]mē[3] ||39|| Mishṭ-ānna-pāna-sampannā[ṁ sa]-

26 rvasatrī[ṁ] vyadhād=asau | Nārāyaṇapurē pushpa-vāṭikām=api śōbhanāṁ ||40|| Yāval=līlāvatīnāṁ nayana-sarasija-prānta-saṁsthō Manōbhūr=yāvan=Maināka-paksh-āvila-chapula-chalad-vīchi-mālaḥ payōdhiḥ | chandr-ārkkau yāvad=ētau gagana-tala-samud[d*]yōtamānau prabhātas=tā-

27 vad=Gaṅgādharasya pravara-guṇa-nidhēḥ sthairyatām=ēta kīrttiḥ ||41|| Dakshō lakshaṇa-nirṇṇa(rṇṇa)yē kavi-kalā-sarvva[sva]-viśrāma-bhūś=chhandaḥ-sundara-vu-(bu)ddhir=adbhuta-matiḥ sāhitya-Chāṇakyayōḥ | khyātō Haihaya-vaṁśa-bhūḥ kavi-vṛishā yasy=ānujō Ja[lhaṇa]s=tēn=ākāri Kumārapāla-kṛitinā [ch=ēyaṁ ?]

28 praśastir=amudā ||42|| Aksharair=mauktik-ākārais=tēn=aiv=ālēkhi kautukāt | [Nāt]-nāmnā samutkīrṇṇā śilpa-vijñāna-śālinā ||43|| Śrēshṭhinā Ralhaṇēn=ātra dharmma-karmm-ādhikāriṇā | kṛitā kalā kalāpajña-jana-suśruta-vu(bu)ddhinā||44|| Chēdi Saṁvat 933 [||*] Maṅgalam=astu ||

No. 27.—THE UDAIYARGUDI INSCRIPTION OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN; A.D. 988.

BY PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A., MADRAS.

This inscription[4] is engraved, along with some other Chōḷa inscriptions of the tenth century A.D., on the west wall of the central shrine in the Anantīśvarasvāmin temple at **Uḍaiyārguḍi**, a hamlet of **Kāṭṭumannārkōyil**, in the Chidambaram taluk of the South Arcot District. The village is celebrated in the hagiology of South Indian Vaishṇavism as the birth-place of Nāthamuni and his grandson Yāmunāchārya, also called Āḷavandār, the spiritual preceptor of Rāmānuja. In the inscriptions, the place is called **Vīranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam**, the same as the Vīranārāyaṇapuram of Vaishṇava literature and our inscription further describes

[1] Read *Śauri-*. Probably the length is introduced for the sake of the metre.
[2] The metre is irregular here.
[3] Here in this and the next line enough space for 3 or 4 letters is left uninscribed.
[4] No. 577 of 1920. *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1920-21, part II, paragraph 31.

it as a *brahmadēya* on the Northern bank (evidently of the Coleroon). Most probably, it was an *agrahāra* founded by Parāntaka I Vīranārāyaṇa (A.D. 907-53), whose inscriptions are also found in the Anantīśvara temple.[1]

The inscription consists of eight lines of almost equal length, and occupies a space of about 12' by 1½'. Except for the loss of some letters at the end of the first and second lines, it is in a fair state of preservation. The size of the letters is on an average well over an inch, some of the ligatures being 2" high. The **characters** employed are Tamil and Grantha. The writing is of the regular type found in the Chōḷa inscriptions of the tenth century. The chiselling of the letters is very good and hardly excelled in its beauty by any stone inscription of the period outside the Tanjore temple. In general appearance, our inscription strikingly resembles the Tamil part of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōḷa[2], allowance being made for the difference in the material on which the inscriptions are engraved. The loops in ṉ are fully developed; but not so in ṇ. Medial ā and r are clearly distinguished though not always; the first two lines contain several instances where the distinction is maintained, while r is written exactly like the subsidiary ā in *piṟappuṟumāṟidum* and *mā...māṟidum* in line 3, and in *āḷvār* in line 7. Medial ī and ū are sometimes, but by no means always, distinguished from i and u by loops, the loop indicating length in ī being placed at the end of the left arm of the curve indicating i instead of at the end of the right arm as at present. The long ī is best seen in the letters *Śrī* and *Vī* and in ṟī in *taṉṉīr* (line 7). The long ū is sometimes indicated by the short u-sign attached to the main letter and followed by the ā-sign as in *malai-yaṉāḍu* in line 2 and *nūṟṟorupatu* in line 6; the regular sign with the loop occurs in *Koṭṭaiyūr* in line 4, *māṟuridum* in line 5, and twice in *Veṇṇaiyūr* in line 6. Though the length of these medial vowels is not always indicated in the inscription, I have added it in my readings where necessary. The letter y is invariably written in the Grantha form as in some of the Uttaramērūr inscriptions of Parāntaka I and in the Museum plates of Uttama-Chōḷa. The *puḷḷi* is not marked.[3] Ligatures are almost invariably in Grantha form; *lla* is written in two forms in line 6—*Palla* and *Malla*—in the one case, a Grantha *la* placed over a Tamil *la* and in the other, two Tamil *las* placed one above the other.

As regards **orthography**, a tendency to omit r is noticed in such forms as *ivaga[ḷ]* (lines 2 and 3 and 4). The only other features calling for notice are the insertion of y in *miy-pādāyai* in line 5.

The **language** of the inscription is Tamil. The construction of the second sentence (ll. 1-4), the most important in the whole inscription, is much obscured by its faulty grammar. It gives a list of the names of some persons involved in treason, and of their relatives, but the first five names in the list are in the nominative case, while the remaining eight are virtually in the genitive as indicated by the possessive suffix *idum* attached to each of them and by the phrase summing up the whole (*ivargaḷaivar*) being clearly employed in a possessive sense. Line 4 also contains a similar confusion of case endings.

The **object** of the inscription is to record an endowment by **Araiyaṉ Bharataṉ** *alias* **Vyāḷagajamalla-Pallavaraiyaṉ**, the son of Nakkaṉ Aravaṇaiyāṉ *alias* Pallava-Muttaraiyaṉ, the lord of Veṇṇaiyūr. The aim of the endowment was to provide for the supply of drinking water in a *maṇḍapa* before the temple in which the inscription is engraved, and for the daily feeding of fifteen Brahmans. The endowment took the form of land, and in the narration of the

[1] *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, 1920-21, part II, para. 24 and Appendix B, Nos. 539, 547, 549, etc.

[2] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 128. [While in the Uttama-Chōḷa plates, the letter *ṟ* or r is almost a plain vertical stroke without any curve at the top as in the sign for medial long ā, in the present inscription the symbols for both of these have a curve at the top, usually open on the proper right side.—C. R. K.]

[3] [The *puḷḷi* is marked in a few cases: e.g., see maṅgalattu p-perunguri p-peru* in l. 1, though in the rest of the inscription it is not so.—C. R. K.]

circumstances of the purchase of the land by the donor, the important historical fact is disclosed that **Āditya II Karikāla** fell a victim to assassination at the hands of some persons who, to judge from their names and titles, must have been highly placed Brahman officials of the army.[1]

The inscription opens by stating that in the **second year of Kō-Rājakēsarivarman,** a letter (*śrīmukham*) was sent by the Emperor to the Great Sabhā of Vīranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (line 1). The letter is next reproduced (lines 1-4). It recounts that Sōmaṉ........., and his younger brothers Ravidāsa and Paramēśvara had been found guilty of treason (*drōhi[ka]ḷ-āna*) for their murder of Karikāla Śōḷa 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya' (ll. 1-2); the properties[2] of these three persons and their relatives specified (ll. 2-3) were to be taken over[3] by Brahma-śrīrājaṉ of Koṭṭaiyūr and Chandraśēkhara-bhaṭṭa of Puḷḷamaṅgalam (l. 4); the Sabhā (*tāṅgaḷum*) were to arrange, in co-operation with these two persons, for the sale at current prices of all these lands and to remit the proceeds to the Treasury in accordance with the king's order (l. 4). The letter concludes with the statement that it was written out by Kurukāḍi Kiḻāṉ (l. 4). In accordance with this letter, the lands of Rēvadāsa[4] (either the second of the traitors named above or more probably his *uḍappiṟandāṉ* Malaiyanūrāṉ), Rēvadāsa's son and his mother, situated in the western *piḍāgai* of Vīranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (line 5) were bought from the *sabhā* by Bharataṉ *alias* Vyāḷagajamallaṉ. The property purchased comprised, according to an old measurement (*paḻambaḍi*), two (*vēli*) and three quarters and one-twentieths, and six residential houses (line 6), and the price paid was 112 *kaḻañju* of gold (lines 6-7). In the month of **Mēsha** in this year, on a **Sunday** which was a **Pūraṭṭādi** day, Bharataṉ gave this land and these houses to be utilised in the Anantīśvara temple for the purposes specified (lines 7-8).

The astronomical details given in line 7 will be seen, from a reference to Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, to be correct for **Sunday, the 15th April, A.D. 988,** which would fall in the third regnal year of Rājarāja I, whose accession has been fixed by Kielhorn between 25th June and 25th July 985 A.D.[5] The regnal year cited in our inscription is the second, and this must be understood to be, not the current, but the expired year. The chronology of the record, its reference to the murder of Karikāla 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya', *i.e.*, Āditya II, the elder brother of Rājarāja I, and its paleographical peculiarities alike point to the identity of the Rājakēsari of this inscription with Rājarāja I who began his rule in A.D. 985. In fact there is no other Rājakēsari in the period after Āditya II whom the facts recorded in the inscription suit so well.

The interval between the close of the reign of Parāntaka I and the beginning of that of Rājarāja I is still one of the rather obscure periods in Chōḷa history. The order of succession of the kings who ruled in this period is far from clear, and the length of each reign does not lend itself to precise determination. There is no doubt, however, that the immediate predecessor of Rājarāja

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[1] [There is nothing to suggest that the officials belonged to the army.—C. R. K.]

[2] See n. 1, p. 170 *post*.

[3] The expression *periṭṭuḍaiyōm* makes it appear like a gift to these two persons. But in view of what follows this cannot be understood literally. [The expression has to be read as '*periṭṭuḍaiyōm*' in the sense of 'nominated'; cf. *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 404, l. 128 and p. 429. If the sense intended were 'obtaining' the original should be *peṟṟ*.—C. R. K.]

[4] The second of the traitors named at the beginning of line 2 is called Ravidāsaṉāṉa Pañchavaṉ-Brahmādhirājaṉ. The name given in line 5 is Rēvadāsa, a slightly different form, though it is possible that the sign of medial *e* preceding *va* in the beginning of line 2 or at the end of line 1 has not come out in the impression. But Rēvadāsa is here called a Kramavitta and has the *alias* Malaiyanūrāṉ, facts which strengthen the doubt that he may be different from Ravidāsa of line 2. But the preceding phrase *i-śrī-mukhattil eḻuttiṉa* means that the same man is mentioned in the letter reproduced earlier in the inscription; and this may be a reference either to Ravidāsa or Malaiyanūrāṉ of line 2. [The surname 'Malaiyanūrāṉ' clearly proves that the reference is to the latter of the two persons.—C. R. K.]

[5] Above, Vol. VIII, App. 2, p. 22.

I was Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōḷa, who had a reign of about sixteen years (A.D. 969-85).[1] Of Āditya II, the Parakēsari 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya,' we have inscriptions bearing the fifth regnal year.[2] He was the son of Parāntaka II Sundara-Chōḷa, and it is generally admitted that the period of his rule must lie between the end of Sundara-Chōḷa's reign and the commencement of that of Uttama-Chōḷa. The latter was the son of Gaṇḍarāditya and most probably a baby at the time of his father's death[3]. This was doubtless the reason why the succession passed to a junior branch of the family, and Ariñjaya, his son Parāntaka II, and his son Āditya succeeded one after another. After Āditya, we find Uttama-Chōḷa ruling for sixteen years before the crown passed to Āditya's younger brother Rājarāja. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I seem to furnish a clue which, when interpreted with the aid of the present inscription, enables us to trace the probable course of events. Verses 69 and 70 of these plates state that though on the death of Āditya, the people, in their eagerness to witness the destruction of the increasing darkness of *Kali*, desired Arumoḻivarman, *i.e.*, Rājarāja, to take up the reins of government, he, the true Kshatriya, did not desire to rule his kingdom so long as his paternal uncle coveted it, and that Arumoḻi was made the *Yuvarāja* by Madhurāntaka Uttama-Chōḷa who became king.

Though the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates and other Chōḷa records tell us nothing of the manner of Āditya's death, the reference to the increasing darkness of *Kali* looks like a thinly veiled allusion to the state of anarchy that prevailed at the sudden demise of the late king. The people's wish to have Arumoḻi as king, Arumoḻi's unwillingness to accept the throne when his paternal uncle coveted it, and the recognition of Arumoḻi as heir apparent, may be taken to indicate the troubles of a disputed succession ended by a political compromise by which Uttama-Chōḷa was indeed to enjoy the fulfilment of his heart's desire, but the succession was to revert to the ruling line, *viz.*, that of Ariñjaya. A certain Madhurāntakaṉ Gaṇḍarādittaṉ is found in the service of Rājarāja I, and it is probable that he was a son of Uttama-Chōḷa. If this view is correct, he must be taken to have acquiesced in his exclusion from the succession which was the direct result of Arumoḻi having been made the *Yuvarāja* at the time of Uttama's accession. Apparently the choice before Arumoḻi after his brother's death was between a civil war with his paternal uncle and a compromise such as the one actually adopted; Arumoḻi preferred the latter course, and his wisdom seems to be commended in the phrase *Kshatradharmāvidvān* (v. 69) of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, **Malaiyaṉūr** and **Koṭṭaiyūr** cannot be identified without more details. **Puḷḷamaṅgalam** may be the same as Puḷḷamaṅgai, a village near Paśupatikōyil, about nine miles south of Tanjore. **Veṉṉaiyūr-nāḍu** may be the same as the subdivision of Vaḍagarai-Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāḍu in the Sōḻamaṇḍalam.[4] If that is so, Veṉṉaiyūr must be included in the list of villages in the *nāḍu* given by Venkayya.

I edit the text from a set of estampages received from the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

TEXT.

1 Svasti Śrī [||*] Kō-**Rājakēsarivarmmarkku** yāṇḍu **2**-āvadu Vaḍagarai-brahmadēyam Śrī-**Viranārāya[ṇa]-chchaturvvēdimaṁgalattu**-pperuṅguṟi-pperumakkaḷukku Chakravartti-śrīmukham Pāṇḍiyaṉai-ttalai-koṇḍa **Karikāla-Sōḻaṉai**-kkoṉṟu drōhika-[ḷ]-ā[5]ṉa Sōma[ṉ]................[6]rumbi

[1] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Nos. 135, 138 and 144.

[2] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 204.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. [14].

[4] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, II Introduction, p. 24.

[5] The stone is damaged here but there can be no doubt about the missing letter.

[6] There is a gap of seven or eight letters here. They must form the rest of the name of the first *drōhi* followed by *irug*.

2 Ravidāsaṉ=āṉa Pañchavan-Brahmādhirājaṉum ivaṉ-rambi Paramēśvaraṉ=āṉa Irumuḍi-chchōḷa-Brahmādhirājaṉum ivagaḷ-uḍappiṟanda Malaiyaṉū[1]rāṉum ivagaḷ-tambi-mārum=ivagaḷ-makkaḷiḍum ivar-brāhmaṇim[ār][2]-pērālum=i. . . . .[3]ramattam

3 pērappaṉmāriḍum=ivagaḷ-makkaḷiḍum=ivagaḷukku-ppiḷḷai-kuḍutta māmaṉmāriḍum tāyōḍ=uḍappiṟanda māmaṉ māmaṉmāriḍum[4]=ivagaḷ-uḍappiṟanda poṉgaḷai vēṭṭāriṉavum=ivagaḷ-makkaḷai vēṭṭāriṉavum=āga ivv-aṉaivar [muṟi]yum namm-āṇaikk=uriyavāṟu Ko-

4 ṭṭaiyūr Brahmaśrīrājaṉum Puḷḷamaṅgalattu Chandraśēkhara-Bhaṭṭaṉaiyum pera-ttandōm tāṅgaḷum=ivagaḷ-kaṉkāṇiyoḍum-ivagaḷ śoṉṉavāṟu namm-āṇai-kk=uriyavāṟu kuḍiyoḍu kaḍipērum vilaikku viṟṟu=ttālattiḍuga ivai Kuru[kāḍi]-kiḻāṉ-eḻutt=eṉṟu[5] i-pparišu vara i-

5 śrīmukhattin mērppaṭṭa Malaiyaṉūraṉ=āṉa[6] Pāppanachchēri Rēvadāsa-kramavi-ttaṉum ivaṉ-magaṉum-ivaṉ-ṟāy Periyanaṅgai-chchāṉiyum=i-mmūvariḍum-āṉa nilam śrī-Vīranārāyaṇa-chchatu[r]vvēdimaṅgalattu mīy-paḍāgai Dēvaṉmaṅgalam=āṉa paṭṭila nilam śrī-Vīranārāyaṇa-chchatu[r*]-vvēdi-

6 maṅgalattu sabhaiyār-pakkal Veṇṇaiyūr-nāṭṭu Veṇṇaiyūr-uḍaiyāṉ Nakkaṉ-Ara-vaṇaiyāṉ=āṉa Pallava-Muttaraiya-magaṉ Barataṉ=āṉa Vyāḷagajamalla-Ppallavaraiyaṉēṉ=i-nnilam paḻambaḍi iraṇḍō-mukkālēy-oru-māvum=agamaṇai-y=āṟum-āga i-nnilamum=i-mmaṉaiyum nūṟṟ-oṟupatt-i[7]-

7 ru-kaḷañju poṉ kuḍuttu vilai-koṇḍ=ivvūr-Tiruv-Anantēśvarattu Bhaṭṭārakar-kōyililēy-ivv-āṭṭai Mēsha-ñāyaṟṟu Nāyaṟṟu-kkiḻamai-peṟṟa Pūraṭṭādi-nāṉṟu chandr-ādityavat āḻvār-kōyil-muṉbu [Mūvā]yirattaṟunūṟṟuvaṉāṉa nilaiy-ambalattu taṇṇīr-aṭṭum brāhmaṇan=oruvaṉukku ni[ša]-

8 dam paḍi-nāḻi nellum=āṭṭaivaṭṭam=oru kāśum niśadam paḍimaiyvar brāhmaṇar=uṇbadaṟkum-āga paḍiṉāṟu ivaṟṟulēy-aiyvar śivayōgikaḷ-uṇ[ṇ]avum vaiyttēṉ **Araiyaṉ Bharataṉ**=āṉa **Vyāḷagajamalla-Ppallavaraiyaṉēṉ** i-dha[r]mamam rakshikkiṉṟa mahā-sabhaiyār-śrī-pādaṅgaḷ=eṉ-talaimēlaṉa[||*]

TRANSLATION.

Line 1. Hail ! Prosperity ! (In the) second year of (the reign of) King **Rājakēsarivarman**, the order of the Emperor (*addressed*) to the members of the Great Assembly of **Śrī-Vīranārāyaṇachaturvēdimaṅgalam**, a *brahmadēya* on the North bank :

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[1] Length is marked by the sign for secondary ō.
[2] The signs for ā and r are lost just below the missing letter noticed in note 5 above.
[3] A gap of the same length as at the end of line 1.
[4] Cancel the second *māmaṉ*.
[5] Read *eḻudu*.
[6] See n. 4, p. 167 *ante*.
[7] The length of subsidiary ā in nā is expressed by the sign for subsidiary ā. The letters *ṟṟu* and *ṟu* seem to have been corrected from the original *ṟra* and *ṭo*.

ll. 1-2. Sōmaṉ........, his younger brother Ravidāsaṉ *alias* Pañchavaṉ Brahmādhirājaṉ, and his younger brother Paramēśvaraṉ *alias* Irumuḍichchōḷa Brahmādhirājaṉ have been guilty of treason as they murdered **Karikālaśōḷa** who took the head of the Pāṇḍya :

ll. 2-4. We have ordered that the (*properties* ?)[1] (of these persons), of their brother Malaiyanūrāṉ, of their younger brothers and sons, of their wives........, of the elder brothers of their father and their children, of their fathers-in-law (*lit.* of their uncles who have given their daughters in marriage to them), of their uncles who are brothers of their mother, of the persons who have married their sisters, and of their sons-in-law[2]—these (properties ?) shall, in accordance with our command, be obtained[3] by Brahmādhirājaṉ of Koṭṭaiyūr and Chandraśēkhara-Bhaṭṭa of Puḷḷamaṅgalam.

ll. 4-7. You shall,[4] in the presence of these (*two*) persons and in pursuance of what they say and in pursuance of our command, sell at the prevailing price[5] and remit (*the amount*) to the treasury.[6] This is the writing of Kurukāḍi-kiḻāṉ. When this (*letter*) was received, the lands of the three persons, *viz.*, Malaiyanūrāṉ *alias* Rēvadāsa-Kramavittaṉ of Pāppanachchēri, who is mentioned above in the letter, his son, and his mother Periyanaṅgai-chchāni, these *lands in the pattu known as* Dēvanmaṅgalam in the western *piḍāgai* of Vīranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and including, by the old measurement, two and three quarters and one twentieth (*of a vēli*) and six residential houses,[7] these lands and these houses, were bought of the members of the Sabhā of Vīranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam by me, Bharataṉ *alias* Vyāḷagajamalla-Pallavaraiyaṉ, son of Nakkaṉ Aravaṇaiyāṉ *alias* Pallava-Muttaraiyaṉ, (a resident) of Veṇṇaiyūr in Veṇṇaiyūr-nāḍu, after payment of one hundred and twelve *kaḻañju* of gold.

ll. 7-8. In the month of **Mēsha** in this year, on the **Pūraṭṭādi** day which was a **Sunday**, **I**, Araiyaṉ **Bharataṉ** *alias* **Vyāḷagajamalla-Ppallavaraiyaṉ**, endowed these (*lands and houses*) in order that, as long as the sun and the moon endure, one Brāhmin, who supplies water in the (*maṇḍapa called*) Three-thousand-six hundred *alias* Nilaiyambalam in front of the Āḻvār shrine in the temple of Tiru-Anantīśvarattu-Bhaṭṭāraka of this village, may get ten *nāḻi* of paddy every day and one *kāśu* in a year, and that fifteen Brahmins may be fed every day, (*provided that*) among these sixteen[8], five *śivayōgis*[9] shall be fed. The sacred feet of the members of the *mahāsabhā* who protect this charity (*will be borne by me*) on my head.

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[1] The gap after *ōgu ivaṉgaḷaiy* and before *yum* in line 2 greatly obscures the meaning. The space is just enough for two letters, and I think the first of them is most probably *ma*. Some word like *magi* in the sense of 'portion' or 'share' may be suggested. The general sense is, however, clear from what follows, and I have followed this in filling the gap in the translation with : (properties ?). No. 112 of 1911 is another instance of the confiscation of the properties of persons found guilty of treason (*drōhiku*)) in the reign of Rājarāja III.

[2] Literally, 'of those who have married their children'.

[3] [See *ante*, p. 167, f. n. 2—C. R. K.]

[4] The pronouns '*tiṅgaḷum*' and '*ivargaḷ*' are at first puzzling ; but a little consideration shows that the former must refer to the members of the Sabhā to whom the letter is addressed, and the latter to the two persons to whom a part of the confiscated rights was assigned by the king. What this exactly was is not clear on account of the gap noted above—n. 1. I have understood *Kaṇkāṇi* in its abstract sense. Though *Kaṇkāṇi* also means 'superintendent,' the meaning hardly suits the present context. [The expression means 'under the supervision of these people'—C. R. K.]

[5] Literally, 'at the price which one peasant gets from another'.

[6] That *tāḷam* means 'treasury' will be seen from the following : "Nilamum viṟṟu pāṇḍi-kuḻiñjai-mārāyar daṇḍa-tāḷattu iḍuga eṉṟu śrīmukham vara ....āka toṇṇūṟu kāśum ....mārāyar daṇḍa-tāḷattu vaittu" (No. 553 of 1921) ; and "Variyilitta pon kuḍavar muṉṉiṉṟu irāda puraññāyiṟu pōnmaiyil pōnar avam pōmiṟu pākkarotta [illegible] tāḷattu vaittu taravu kōṭka eṉṟu mahā-sabhaikku-kkaḍaiyōḍu vara" (No. 279 of 1922).

[7] '*Akam*' and '*manai*' occur in the sense of 'house' and 'house-site' respectively in the Uttaramērūr inscriptions of Parāntaka I.

[8] [This number includes also the water Brahmin—C. R. K.]

[9] See *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 382.

No. 28.—THE PALANPUR PLATES OF CHAULUKYA BHIMADEVA (V. S. 1120).

By K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Calcutta.

These plates were received from Pālanpur by Mr. Puran Chand Nahar, M.A., LL.B., of 48, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta, who brought them to me for decipherment and for the preparation of impressions. They consist of two unusually thick (⅜" to ½") plates joined together by a ring 1⅞" in diameter, passed through a hole ⅞" in diameter in the middle of the edge of the longer side. Only the inner side of the plates is inscribed, in all there being 15 lines of bold writing. The dimensions are 7⅜" by 4½" of which about ¼" of the rim has been raised on all sides to protect the writing. The thickness of each plate is ¼" but there are two knobs on either side of the ring where the thickness is about half an inch. The plates weigh 106¼ *tolas*.

The **characters** of the record are Dēvanāgarī and the **language** Sanskrit prose calling for no special remarks. The engraving is full of mistakes. The document refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Bhīmadēva (I)** apparently of the Chaulukya (Solanki) dynasty of Gujarāt, who was encamped at **Ilā**, its object being the grant of 3 *halas* of land at a village named Varaṇāvāḍā to a Mōḍha Brāhmaṇa named **Jānaka**. The boundaries of the land are specified as: 'to the east, the way to the village Vāra-Asavalī; to the south, the village Pādra; to the west, the way to Chhīndriyālā; to the north, the field of Kēśava and Vālaṇa'.

The **date** of the grant is mentioned as the **fifteenth of the bright half of Pausha in the Vikrama year 1120.** It is further stated that the grant was made by Bhīmadēva, on the occasion of the *Uttarāyaṇa parvan* or winter solstice. Now the particular coincidence of the full-moon day of Pausha and the *uttarāyaṇa* occurs neither in any of the possible equivalents of Saṁvat 1120, taking the year as northern or southern, current or expired; nor within a few years on either side. It is therefore apparent that either the details of the date are wrong or that the actual date of issuing the grant was somewhat later than the date of the donation. In the latter case, it is probable that the date of issue of the grant was 6th January 1064 A.D. while the *Makara-saṅkrānti* or *uttarāyaṇa* which occurred on 25th December 1063 A.D. was the occasion of the king's donation.

The date of the grant is interesting inasmuch as it is the **last recorded date of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva.** According to Mērutuṅga in his *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*, Bhīmadēva's accession took place in V. S. 1078 (1022-3 A.D.), which must be regarded fairly accurate, inasmuch as we have V. S. 1076 as the last recorded date of his predecessor Durlabharāja. From the testimony of the Muhammadan chroniclers it is apparent that Bhīmadēva was the ruler of Gujarāt and Southern Kāthiāwār at the time of the well-known sack of the Sōmanātha temple in 1024 A.D. (*circa* 1080 V. S.). The first epigraphical date for Bhīmadēva known from his Rādhanpur[1] and Muṇḍaka grants[2] is V. S. 1086. The next reference is in the Mount Abu Vimala[3] temple inscription, where it is stated how in V. S. 1088 (1031-2 A.D.) Vimala, who had been appointed *daṇḍapati* by Bhīmadēva, founded the temple. The duration of the reign of Bhīmadēva as given by Mērutuṅga was from V. S. 1078 to V. S. 1120, but practically no records of the latter part of his long reign have survived. The date of another donation made at the Vimala Shah temple by a minister of Bhīmadēva in V. S. 1119[4] can now be definitely accepted as made within the monarch's reign and life-time. The date of the accession of Bhīmadēva's successor Karṇadēva is given by Mērutuṅga as V. S. 1120; *Chaitra sudi* 3 *Śanau*. It is clear that this date can be reconciled with

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 193 ff.
[2] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 49.
[3] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 148 ff.
[4] Above, Vol. XIX, *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 137.

that of the present grant, only on the supposition that the year used was the Southern Vikrama year commencing with the month of Kārtika. Bhīmadēva must therefore have died during the period between Pausha and Chaitra of the Southern Vikrama year 1120. On verification, however, the date of Karṇa's accession as given by Mērutuṅga appears to work out regularly only for Saturday, 12th March 1065 (=Southern V. S. 1121), which is more than a year removed from the date of the present grant. The first epigraphical dates for Karṇa are those provided by his Navsāri[1] grants dated Śaka 996 and V. S. 1131 (=1074 A.D.).

The writer of the grant was **Kēkkaka**, the son of the **Kāyastha Vaṭēśvara**, who appears to belong to a family of hereditary scribes of the Chaulukyas. Thus we know the Kāyastha Vaṭēśvara to be the writer of the Rādhanpur grant of Bhīmadēva and Kākkaka himself to be the writer of the Navsāri[1] and Sūnak[2] plates of Karṇa. The *Dūtaka* was the illustrious Bhōgāditya, the minister of peace and war, who also figures in the Navsāri plates.

Of the **geographical names, Ilā**, the place of the king's encampment, can possibly be identified with the modern **Ilol**, a petty state in the Mahīkaṇṭha Agency, to the south-east of Pālanpur. The ending *-ol* of place names in North Gujarāt (*e.g.*, Halol, Kalol, Palol) is to be considered the local equivalent of *pur*, through *ur* and *ul*. Ilāpura can thus be a good Sanskrit equivalent to Ilol. I am unable to identify the other places.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ōm[3] **Vikrama-Samvat 1120 Pausha śudi 15** ady=ēha kāla **Ilā-**
2 vāsta-śrīmad-vijayi-kaṭakē samasta-rāj-āvali-virāji-
3 ta-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Bhīmadēvaḥ** svabhujyamāna-Dhāṇadā-
4 hāra-pathakē samasta-rāja-purushān[4] janapadāṁś=cha bōdhaya-
5 ty=astu vaḥ saṁviditam yathā ady=ōtvarōyaṇa[5]-parvaṇi Mahēśva-
6 ram=abhyarchya pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō[6]bhivṛiddhayē Mōḍha-Brā-
7 hmaṇa-Jānakāya Varuṇāvāḍā-grāmē(mē) Pāṭā-saṭka-kshētrē | Vi-
8 yuka-saṭka-kshētrē cha iti hala-trayasya halaṁ 3 bhūmi[7]

Second Plate.

9 śāsanan[8]=ōdaka-pūrvam=asmābhiḥ pradattā=[9] syāṁś=cha[9] pūrva[10]-
10 sāṁ(syāṁ) Vāra-Āsavali-grāma-mārgaḥ | dakshiṇasyāṁ grāma-Pādraṁ | pa-
11 śchimāyāṁ Chhīṁdriyālā-mārgaḥ | uttarasyāṁ Kaśava[11]-Vālaṇayōḥ
12 kshētram=iti chatur-āghāṭ-ōpalakshitāyāḥ bhūmēr=asyāḥ pa-
13 ripaṁthanā kēn=āpi na kāryā | lisi(khi)tam=idaṁ śāsanaṁ kā-
14 yatu[12]-Vaṭēśvara-suta-Kēkkakēna | Dūtakō='tra mahā-sāṁ-
15 dhivigrahika-śrī-Bhōgāditya iti[13] śrī-**Bhīmadēvā**[14] ||

[1] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 252 ff.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 317 ff.
[3] Expressed by a symbol.
[4] Read *purushān*.
[5] Read *-ōttarāyaṇa-*.
[6] Read *-yaśō-*.
[7] Read *bhūmiḥ*.
[8] Read *Masaṇa-*.
[9] Read *syāch-cha*.
[10] *Va* looks like *da*.
[11] Read *Kēśava-*.
[12] Read *yastha-*.
[13] The symbol after *ti* either stands for a punctuation mark or abbreviation of *ti*
[14] Read *Bhīmadēvaḥ*.

i

2 4 6 8

ii

10 12 14



No. 29—HALDIPUR PLATES OF THE PALLAVA CHIEF GOPALADEVA.

By N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A., Ootacamund.

The existence of these plates was brought to the notice of Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Officiating Government Epigraphist for India, by Mr. S. V. Haldipur, B.A., LL.B., M.B.E., Officer Supervisor, Judge Advocate General's Department, Army Headquarters, Simla. They were discovered several years ago when digging in the garden belonging to Mr. Haldipur's family in Guddehittal at **Haldipur,** a village in the Honavar Taluka of the North Kanara District, Bombay Presidency. I now edit the inscription engraved on them from ink-impressions as well as the originals kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. K. N. Dikshit who obtained the plates on loan from the owner.

The **plates** which are in an excellent state of preservation are three in number, each measuring about 6¼" in length, 2 1/16" in breadth and ⅛" in thickness. The first and the third plates bear writing only on one side while the second is written on both the sides. Their rims are slightly raised in order to protect the writing from damage. They are strung together on an almost circular ring which has a diameter of about 2¼". The ends of the ring are soldered on to the back of the seal which is circular in shape, with a diameter of about 1". Together with the ring and the seal the plates weigh 96 *tolas*.

On the **seal** is shown in bold relief the figure of a **rampant lion** facing the proper right. The head of the animal is erect, its mouth open, the right forepaw raised and the tail twisted over its back. The Uruvapalli[1] grant of the Pallava king Vishṇugōpavarman and the Pīkira[2] grant of Siṁhavarman of the same dynasty bear on their seals the figures of the same animal. In the monolithic shrine at Śiyamaṅgalam[3] excavated by the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I and the Uṇḍavalli caves, also attributed to the Pallavas[4], we find representations of the lion. The figure in the Uṇḍavalli caves bears a striking resemblance to that found on the seal of the present grant.[5] Thus the emblem of a Pallava chief on the present seal confirms the view expressed by the late Mr. V. Venkayya[6] that "along with the recumbent bull usually associated with the emblem of the Pallavas, the lion was also the Pallava crest at some period of their history."

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the southern type which were in use in the Kanarese country during the eighth century A.D. The writing is beautifully executed and there are hardly any mistakes in engraving. The characters are round and upright unlike the longish and slanting ones found in Early Chālukya grants. In general appearance the alphabet of our grant is certainly earlier than that of the Maṇṇe Plates[7] of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III dated Śaka 732, and the plates of the same king bearing the date Śaka 726[8]. It closely resembles the characters of the Āḷupa inscriptions of Udiyāvara[9] in the South Kanara District which the late Dr. Hultzsch has assigned to about A.D. 800 and those of the Kovaḷaveṭṭu grant[10] of the Western

[1] Above, Vol. XI, p. 338 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, plate facing p. 50.

[2] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 160.

[3] *A. S. R.*, 1906-07, p. 232, f. n. 6.

[4] Longhurst: *Pallava Architecture*, Pt. I, p. 5.

[5] Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 33; the author is, however, of the opinion that the caves were the work of the Vishṇukuṇḍins.

[6] *A. S. R.*, 1906-07, p. 232, f. n. 6; see also above, Vol. XI, p. 343.

[7] *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, plate facing p. 82.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, plate facing p. 126.

[9] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 15 ff. and plates.

[10] *Mys. Arch. Report*, 1927, plates facing pp. 106 and 107.

Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha for whom we have a sure date in Śaka 710[1] and who began to rule, according to the Dêvarahalli plates[2], if they are accepted as genuine (and I think they can be), in A.D. 726. But the most striking resemblance the present grant bears in respect of palæography is to the Annigeri inscription[3] of the 6th year of the reign of the Early Châlukya monarch Kīrttivarman II (*i.e.*, A.D. 752), the form of every letter except *l* being exactly alike in both the records. As regards individual letters in the present epigraph, we have the initial vowel *a* in *aṅka* (ll. 3 and 4), *aruṇūrvvaru* (l. 7), *ardham* (l. 14), *aruṇūṟu* and *agrahāra* (l. 17). The initial *ā* occurs only once in *Ārida* (l. 8). The curves at the ends of these two letters have not yet closed completely at the top. The initial *i* consisting of two dots below a double curve occurs thrice in *Iḍevaṭṭa* (l. 13), in *iḍu* (l. 16) and *itaḥ-puram* (l. 17). Initial *ī* occurs in line 13 and *o* in line 16. Among medial vowels *ī* is distinguished from *i* by a small loop in the circular *i* sign (*cf. Lakshmī* with *sirdāṇa*, l. 3). Medial *u* is marked in two ways; when it is attached to the letter *r* it is denoted by a hook bending downwards at the proper left of this letter but in other cases it is denoted by a U-shaped symbol at the bottom of the letter to which it is added (*cf. purusha* and *guṇa* in line 3). In medial *ū* the length is indicated by the addition of a downward curve. No distinction is made between short and long *e* and *o*. Medial *ai* is made up of two strokes, one attached to the serif or the *talekaṭṭu* of the consonant and the other to the letter itself, both placed on the proper right (*e.g.*, *Kai* in *Kaikēya*, l. 2). Medial *o* is merely a combination of the *e* and the *ā* strokes, the one on the proper right and the other on the proper left of the consonant. Among the consonants, the epigraph contains the letters *ñ*, *j*, *b* and *l* which along with *kh* (not found here) furnish, according to Dr. Fleet, the leading test letters in determining the approximate period of undated records. The *ñ* which occurs only once in *taṅkaṇṇā* (l. 12) differs from *j* only in the absence of the centre prong. We have *j* in *rāja* (l. 2), *jana* (l. 4), *rājēna* (l. 6), *gōtraja* (l. 8), *jamoḷi* (l. 16) and as a second member of the conjunct consonant in *peḷjavan* (l. 14). *B* appears twice, first in *bāhu* (l. 5) and a second time in *kombe* (l. 15). All of them are of the earlier type found in records prior to the ninth century. *L* is used more frequently and though it is of a cursive type, the down-stroke of the letter on its proper right side is not yet prolonged up to the top of the letter on the left (*e.g.*, *vallabha* and *Pallava* in line 1, *vipula* in line 4, *tale* in l. 8, etc.). According to Fleet this form of *l* cannot be placed much before A.D. 800 in records coming from Western India.[4] But it should be noted that this cursive form of the letter already appears in the Râygaḍ Plates[5] of the Early Châlukya king Vijayâditya dated Śaka 625 and in the Bopgaon Plates [6] of the same king dated Śaka 640. The record includes final *n* (l. 9) and *r* (ll. 10, 17 and 18). Lingual *ḍ* can be distinguished from the dental *d* by the lower part of the letter turning upwards and ending in a loop as in *ḍu* of *paḍuvaṇṇā* (l. 12) and *ḍe* of *nāḍe* (l. 16). But the distinct form of *ḍ* is not shown in *ṇḍa* of *Chaṇḍamahāsēna* (l. 5) and *ṇḍam* of *kaṟeapiṇḍam* (l. 15) and, as Fleet has remarked, "it was seldom, if ever, the early practice to use the distinct form of the *ḍ* in the combination *ṇḍ*"[7]. The Dravidian *ṟ* as well as *ḷ* are represented in the record, the former in *aruṇūrvvarum* (l. 7), *Neydalgeṟe* (l. 13), *niriṟago*, (l. 14), *nāṟirpattenṭu* (l. 15) and *aruṇūṟu* (l. 17) and the latter in *kaḷani* (l. 11), *Peramaḷe* (l. 12), *Gūrapāḷi* (l. 12), *āḷiuḍe* (l. 17) and *aḷidorā* (l. 18) and as the first component of the conjunct consonants in *iḷdu* (l. 10) and *peḷjavan* (l. 14). These two letters differ considerably from their later varieties used, for instance, in the

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[1] *Ibid.*, 1918, p. 42.

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, pp. 223 ff. and plates.

[3] Below, p. 204.

[4] Above, Vol. VI, p. 41.

[5] Above, Vol. X, plate between pages 16 and 17.

[6] From ink-impressions in the possession of Mr. K. N. Dikshit.

[7] Above, Vol. VII, p. 203.

Mantrawāḍi[1] and Sirūr[2] inscriptions of Amōghavarsha I while they are almost exactly similar to those in the Appigeri inscription[3] and the Kendūr Plates[4] of Kīrttivarman II and the Hattimattūr inscription[5] of Krishṇa I. Thus paleographical considerations point to the middle of the 8th century A.D. as the probable period of the present record.

The language of the inscription is **Sanskrit and Kanarese.** Lines 1 to 6 are written in Sanskrit prose and the rest in **Kanarese prose which may be considered among the oldest specimens of the language.** Particular attention may be drawn to the following linguistic and grammatical features. The accusative termination *ān* as in *bhōgamān* (l. 9), *-idān* (l. 17) and *Vāraṇasiyumān* (l. 18) is found only in early records like the Paṭṭadakal inscription of Vikramāditya II[6] in which we find *dēgulamān* (l. 2), *idān* (l. 8) and the Bādāmi inscription[7] of Maṅgalēśa which has *itudān* (l. 3). In later records this case suffix is *an* or *aṁ*. In masculine nouns ending in *a* the dative termination *ge* is preceded by *n* as in *gōrajange* and *Punyārange* (l. 8). With this we may compare the datives *namrrānge* and *adeyange* found in the Udiyāvara inscription[8] of Raṇasāgara and Śvētavāhana, and *mādhavyyange* (l. 5) in the inscription of Kappe-Arabhaṭṭa of about the 8th century at Bādāmi.[9] In other inscriptions of this period the nasal *ṅ* takes the place of the dental *n*[10] (cf. *Dhareyiśange* in the Udiyāvara inscription of Pṛithvīsāgara[11]). The genitive suffix is long *ā* and not short *a* as found in later records (*e.g.*, *Kāsampoḷḷiyā* in line 9 and *Negdalgereyā* in line 13). Instances of this form of the genitive are found in the Lakshmēśvar pillar inscription[12] of the Yuvarāja Vikramāditya (II) (cf. *Pongereyā*, *sonayeyā*, etc.), but obviously it is seldom used in records of the Later Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi.[13] The peculiar forms *vadagaṇṇā* (l. 11), *paduvaṇṇā*, *tenkaṇṇā* (l. 12) and *mūdaṇṇā* (l. 13) (which denote the four points of the compass) involving a double *ṇa* are, so far as I am aware, found nowhere else either in epigraphical or literary Kanarese. Characteristic of the archaic nature of the language are the verbal nouns *appange* (l. 8) and *alidorā* (l. 18), with which may be compared the words *appange* and *envodu* in the Lakshmēśvar inscription referred to above and *uḷidorge* and *parājisidorā* of the Paṭṭadakal Inscriptions of Vikramāditya II[14]. The adverb *uḷḷappinaṁ* meaning 'as long as (they) exist' is another archaic formation[15]. The word *kulani* which denotes a wet land or a rice field is not generally found in epigraphical records later than the 10th Century. With the rather rare expression *bhukt-ānubhuktaṁ* used in the sense of 'to be in continued enjoyment' we may compare *bhukt-ānubhōgam* of the Lakshmēśvar pillar inscription. The imprecation found in the present grant, *viz.*, those who destroy this will go to the world of those who destroy *Vāraṇāsi*, etc., occurs

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[1] Above, Vol. VII, plate facing p. 201.

[2] *Ibid.*, plate facing p. 204.

[3] Below, plate facing p. 206.

[4] Above, Vol. IX, plate facing p. 205.

[5] Above, Vol. VI, plate facing p. 162.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 164.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[8] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 18 and 19.

[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 61.

[10] According to the *sūtra akāraharalingāntottiya-anusvāra-pūrvabe-ganam* of Nāgavarma's *Bhāshābhūshaṇa* (R. Narasimhachar's edition p. 28, *sūtra* No. 62), the earliest extant Kanarese grammar of the 12th century A.D. the dative termination *ge* is preceded by an *anusvāra*. It is thus evident that the forms used in our grant had become obsolete by the time of this grammarian.

[11] Above, Vol. IX, p. 20.

[12] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 189.

[13] It may be noted, however, that the genitive suffix long *ā* and the accusative suffix *ān* are allowed optionally by Nāgavarma in the *sūtras dīrgh-ādēśaḥ-shashṭhyā yathēshṭam* (*Bhāshābhūshaṇa*, No. 67) and *dvitīy-ādēśaḥ vā vṛitti* (*Ibid.*, No. 68) but the examples he cites to illustrate the latter appear to be from the works of two writers who lived before him, *viz.*, Haripāla and the poet Bhuvanaikavira.

[14] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 164.

[15] On this word Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar has kindly written to me as follows :—" Usually we have the adverb *uḷḷinaṁ* but here the form is *uḷḷappinaṁ*. May it be for *uḷḷar-appinaṁ* ?".

also in lithic records of an early period (*cf.* The Udiyāvara Inscription of Vijayāditya).[1] The significance of certain incomes, the halves of which were granted to the donee, *viz.*, *koḷaguppe peḷjavaṇi*, *kānasoppu* and *vārai* is not quite clear. I may suggest, however, that *koḷaguppe* may denote a heap (*kuppe*) made up of the share due to the state on every *koḷa* (a measure of capacity) of the produce. *Javaṇi* may mean a tax in kind on *javasa* (Skt. *yavasa*) meaning meadow grass ; *peḷjavaṇi* would then be a tax levied on big (*meadows of*) straw. *Kāna* or *kān* means forest and *soppu* means foliage in Kanarese. *Kānasoppu* may therefore be a tax on the foliage of the forest used by the cultivators for manure and other purposes. In Tamil *vārai* means spoil[2] ; and it is not unlikely that it had the same connotation in Kanarese. The words *karsa-piṇḍaṁ*[3] and *koḍibe-gāroḍaṁ* are obscure and do not occur in any of the Kanarese inscriptions so far published.

The **orthography** of the record does not call for any remarks except that *-cuṇu* has been engraved for *-cuṭu* in line 15, that the name of the donor is written as *Gōpala* instead of *Gōpāla* in line 16, that *ha* has been written for *hā* in lines 5 and 18 and that there appears to be a superfluous *anusvāra* at the end of the word *paḷeyaṁ* in line 16. These mistakes are apparently due to the engraver.

The donor of the grant was the **Pallava chief Gōpāladēva** who also bore the surname **Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya** (l. 1). It is clear that he belongs to the well-known lineage of the Pallavas as he is twice described as Pallavarāja (ll. 1 and 6) and, as noted above, uses the lion-crest of the Pallavas. The phrase *Kaikēya-vaṁś-ōdbhav-ōddhata-pradhāna-purusha* (l. 2) might only indicate that he was connected with the **Kaikēyas** probably on his mother's side. In line 5 we are told that he was the son of **Chaṇḍamahāsēna** and that he was the lord of the city **Payvegundu.** The record does not tell us anything more about the donor beyond bestowing some ordinary praise on him. The **object** of the grant was the equal share (*i.e.*, half) of the village **Kāsaṁpaḷḷi,** (l. 9) along with certain incomes, the details of which are given (ll. 14-16), to **Siṅgitale-Paṇyāra** of the Hārita-*gōtra* (l. 8). Similar instances of the endowment of a moiety of the taxes (*ardha-dāna*) also occur in Nos. VI and VIII of the inscriptions of Udiyāvara.[4] As we learn from line 17 that the village had six hundred pieces of land the portion granted must have consisted of three hundred pieces. The grant was made in the presence of the *mantri*, the *purōhita*, the *śrīkaraṇa* the one-thousand and the six-hundred. The last two were probably the *mahājanas* (the Brahmanical Assembly) and either the *nāḍu* (non-Brahmanical Assembly) or the *nagara* of the place. As Kāsaṁpaḷḷi appears to be a village it is likely that it did not have the *nagara* or the merchant guild. The reference to such bodies merely by their numbers is not uncommon.[5]

[1] Above, Vol. IX, p. 23.

[2] I am indebted for this suggestion to Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar.

[3] Since *karsa-piṇḍaṁ* is specified as 128 it appears to me that it denotes the gift of a lump sum (*piṇḍa*). If so, *karsa* may be taken to be the *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit word *karsha* (=*kārshāpaṇa*). *Karsapiṇḍaṁ* would then mean the *kārshāpaṇas* paid in a lump unlike the taxes noted above, of which the donee was to receive a half. This explanation seems to gain strength by the use of a somewhat similar expression in an inscription, of the 11th year of the Chāḷukya king Pratāpachakravarti Jagadēkamalla II (No. 503 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1915) ; the passage runs as :—*kaṇṇa lekkiya samanyamum bhaikṣy-āya-dāya sarva-āya suddhi varsham-prati hannerada gadyāṇamu piṇḍ-ādāyadoḷ uḷumbaḷiy dhārā-pūrvakaṁ māḍi koṭṭa.* Here the twelve *gadyāṇas* (gold coin) were granted as a lump sum.

[4] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 21 and 23.

[5] An inscription of about the 7th or 8th century at Aihoḷe (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 287) calls the five hundred *mahājanas* of the place as simply the 'five-hundred'. The '*mahājanas* of Chimchili' in the Gadag Taluka who are stated to be fifty-six in a Rāshṭrakūṭa record of Śaka 819 (No. 104 of the Bombay-Karnatak Collection for 1926-27) are referred to merely as the 'fifty-six' in another lithic record of the same place (No. 101 of the same collection). Similarly while the one thousand *mahājanas* of Lokkiguṇḍi are designated as such in an inscription (No. 51 of the same collection) of that place, another inscription (No. 52 of the same collection) describes them as the 'one-thousand'.

Till now no Pallava chief was known to have ruled in North Kanara or on the West Coast. Since there is little doubt that Gōpāladēva was only a feudatory chief, it is not likely that he was directly related to the imperial Pallavas of Kāñchī who continued to rule till the Chōḷa King Āditya I took possession of their territory towards the close of the 9th century A.D.[1] The only family that claimed connection with the Pallavas of Kāñchī and is known to have been flourishing in the 8th century was that of the Noḷamba-Pallavas. But their sway was then confined to portions of Tumkur and Chitaldroog Districts in Mysore and part of the Anantapur District in the Madras Presidency. Chaṇḍamahāsēna, the father of Gōpāladēva figures in this record for the first time. The only Chaṇḍamahāsēna known to Epigraphy was a Chāhavāṇa and is referred to in an inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 898 from Dhōlpur.[2] A Chaṇḍadaṇḍa of Kāñchī is, however, known to have been defeated by the Kadamba king Ravivarman in the 6th century.[3]

The Kaikēyas who seem to have given a princess of their family in marriage to Chaṇḍamahāsēna of the present record are known to have contracted similar matrimonial alliances with the Ikshvākus[4], probably of the Telugu country, and the Early Kadambas of Banavāsi. The wife of Kṛishṇavarman I of the Kadamba dynasty was a Kaikēya princess[5] and Mṛigēśavaravarman, the brother of Ravivarman was married to Prabhāvatī who "was born in the noble Kaikēya family".[6] On the authority of the Purāṇas Pargiter places the Kaikēyas in the Panjab[7] but no information is available as to when and how they came to the south.

The **record is not dated** but, as shown above, it can be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the middle of the 8th century. Other internal evidence also supports this view. We know that Satyāśraya was a distinctive and well-known *biruda* of the Chālukya kings and among the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi there were two kings of the name Vikramāditya. The surname Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya of the donor of the present grant would therefore lead one to infer that either Gōpāladēva himself adopted the name of his overlord the Chālukya Vikramāditya, most probably the second of that name, or that Chaṇḍamahāsēna who owed allegiance to the Chālukya king named his son after his suzerain. This grant might therefore either belong to the reign of Vikramāditya II who ruled from 733-34 to 746-47; or in the absence of mention of any paramount sovereign it may not be impossible that it was issued at a time when the central authority of the Chālukyas had become weak and, along with other feudatory chiefs, Gōpāladēva also tried to assume independence. The Chālukya power had not only waned towards the end of the reign of Kīrttivarman II, the latest date available for whom is A.D. 757, but a portion of their territory had also been conquered by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga. But it was Kṛishṇa I who dispossessed the Chālukyas of all their territory and established the Rāshṭrakūṭa supremacy by 'transforming into a deer the great boar' which was the emblem of the Chālukyas.[8] Since Kṛishṇa I must have ceased to rule sometime between 772, the date of his Bhāndak plates[9] and 775, the date of the Pimpari plates of Dhārāvarsha,[10] the final overthrow of the Chālukyas may be placed somewhere about 770. Thus our record **may have to be allotted to a period between 735 and 770.**

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[1] *A. S. R.*, 1906-07, p. 239 and above, Vol. XIX, p. 84.

[2] No. 12 of Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*. But we know of an earlier Chaṇḍamahāsēna who was the king of Avanti and father of Vāsavadattā so well known to Sanskrit literature.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 29.

[4] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 161.

[5] Above, Vol. VI, p. 18.

[6] *Mys. Arch. Report*, 1911, p. 35.

[7] *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 264 and 293.

[8] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 391.

[9] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 121 ff.

[10] Above, Vol. X, pp. 81 ff. Gōvinda II for whom we have no dated records seems to have ruled only for a short time before 775.

Of the places mentioned in the grant **Payvegundu** can be identified with Haigunda, a village about 12 miles east of Honavar, on the bank of the river Sarâvati. **Paramaḷe** has probably to be identified with the modern village Hennvali which lies at a distance of about six miles north-west of Haigunda; and **Taṇvaḷḷi** may be the same as the present Tumbolli, also close to Haigunda.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 ⊚ Svasti [||*] **Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya**-śrî-pṛithuvi(thvî)-vallabha **Palla-**
2 **va-râja-Gôpâladêvasya** **Kaikêya**-vaṁś-ôdbhav-ôddhata-pradhâna-pu-
3 rushasya anêka-guṇa-gaṇ-âlaṁkṛita-prasêvya-Lakshmî-nivâ-
4 sa-vaksha-sthalasya anêka-raṇa-vipula-śatru-jana-prabhañjana-ka-
5 ri-kar-âkâra-bâhu-dvayasya **Chaṇḍamaha(â)sêna**-putrasya **Payve-**

Second Plate; First Side.

6 **gundu**-pur-êśvarasya Pallava-râjêna dattaḥ[1] [||*] Mantri-purôhita-śrîkara-
7 ṇamuṁ sâsirvvaruṁ aṟunûrvvaruṁ sahitaṁ tamma prasâda-paran=a-
8 pponge Ârila(Hârita)-gôtrajange **Siṁgitale-Paṇyârange Kâsampa-**
9 **ḷḷiyâ** sama-bhâgamaṁ chandra-sûryyar=uḷḷappinaṁ sarvva-virud[dha]-ra-
10 hitaṁ Gôpâladêva[r*]-koṭṭar bhukt-ânubhuktaṁ saluttaiḍudu [||*]

Second Plate; Second Side.

11 Mane-dânamuṁ Palage-gaṇṭaṁ modal-âge kaḷaniyuṁ vaḍagaṇṇâ sîme
12 Paramaḷe paḍuvaṇṇâ sîme Tanvaḷḷi Gârapâḷi teṅkaṇṇâ sîme
13 Neydalgereyâ êri mûḍaṇṇâ sîme Idevoḷḷadâ vaḍaga-
14 ṇṇâ niṟṟaga ⊚ Koḷaguppe peḷḷavasi ardhaṁ kânasoppin-ardham
15 vâral-ardhaṁ kara-pôḍaṁ nûr-irpatt-eṇṭu(ṇṭu) kombe gâreḍam pa-

Third Plate.

16 deyaṁ meṇṭu(voṟu) mûḍe jamali ondu ⊚ Idu Gôpa(â)ladêvarâ da-
17 tti ṛtaṁ-paraṁ-uḷḷân-aḷivâr | aṟunâṟu bhûmi agra-
18 ha(â)ramuṁ Vâraṇâsiyumân=aḷidorâ lôkakke salvâr [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Lines 1-6. Hail! This is the gift of the Pallava chief **Gôpâladêva** *alias* **Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya**, who was the favourite of Fortune and Earth, the chief among the exalted personages born of the **Kaikêya** family, who was adorned with a multitude of virtues and whose breast was the abode of the (*goddess*) Lakshmî, who had a pair of arms which resembled the elephant's trunk in shape and which had destroyed the hosts of enemies in several battles, who was the son of **Chaṇḍamahâsêna** and the lord of the city of **Payvegundu**.

Ll. 6-10. Gôpâladêva, attended by his minister, the *purôhita* (family priest), the *Śrîkaraṇa* (officer of Accounts), the one-thousand (*mahâjanas*) and the six-hundred (*nâḍu*) granted, free from all opposition, to **Siṁgitale-Paṇyâra** of the Hârita-gôtra who had earned his (Gôpâladêva's) favour the equal share (*i.e.*, half) of the village **Kâsampaḷḷi** (*to be enjoyed*) as long as the sun and the moon exist. (*This estate*) was in (*his*) continued enjoyment.

[1] Read *Pallava-râjange dattô*.

i.

2 2

4 4

iia.

6 6

8 8

10 10

iib.

12 12

14 14

K. N. DIKSHIT.
Reg. No. 2918 E. 32. 500.

SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

iii.

SEAL.



THREE TIMES THE ACTUAL SIZE.

Ll. 11-14. (*The portion granted was as follows*) :—The house site and the rice-fields beginning from (*the place called?*) Palage-gaṇṭa. The northern boundary (*of this was*) the (*village*) Poramaḷe, the western boundary (*consisted of the villages*) Taṇvaḷḷi and Gārapāḷi, the southern boundary (*was*) the embankment of the (*tank called*) Neydalgere and the eastern boundary (*was*) the lake on the north of (*the hill called*) Iḍevaṭṭa.

Ll. 14-16. (*Besides this*) he was granted one half of the incomes *kolaguppe*[1] and *peljavasi*, one-half of *kāna-soppu* and one-half of *ciral* and a lump sum of one hundred and twenty eight *karsu* (=*kārshāpaṇa* ?)...........................[2] and a pair of eight *mūdes*.

Ll. 16-18. This was the gift of Gōpāladēva. He who destroys this will enter the world of those who destroy this *agrahāra* comprising six hundred lands and Benares.

No. 30.—TWO UNPUBLISHED VALABHI GRANTS.

BY D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.

A.—Bantia Plates of Dharasena II [Valabhi-] Saṁvat 257.

While examining the old records of the Watson Museum, Rājkot, I found two impressions of **two plates** of a Valabhī grant hitherto unpublished. On the cover of the impressions the late Mr. Vallabhji H. Acharya, formerly Curator of the Watson Museum, had made the remark that the impressions were given to him by a vernacular school master of the village Bantia, in the Bāntwā *tālukā* in the south-west of Kāṭhiāwāṛ, in 1904. It seems that the late Mr. Acharya was not successful in obtaining the original plates. My efforts to trace them have not yet been successful. But considering the importance of the inscription I think it proper to publish it here with the help of the impressions only.

Unfortunately the impressions were not properly taken and being kept in the files for the last 22 years the paper has become very fragile. It is clear, however, that the two plates were in a perfect state of preservation, and formed a complete grant. Each plate measures 12¼" by 8" and contains two holes meant for the rings. The first plate contains 17 and the second 15 lines of writing.

The **characters** are those usually used in Valabhī grants. As regards **orthography** it is sufficient to note that the name of the grantor king is spelt as Dharasēna (l. 15) instead of Dharasēna as is usually found in the grants. The symbols of *Jihvāmūlīya* and *Upadhmānīya* are used only once in l. 15 and l. 30 respectively. The word *bhakta* (or *datā* as in some grants) is left to be engraved after *bahubhir-vasudhā* in l. 30. The record is however generally free from mistakes.

The record opens with the name of the place, *viz.*, Valabhī from which the grant was issued. Then as usual the genealogy of the Maitraka family from Bhaṭārka, the founder, to **Dharasēna II**, the donor of the present grant is given with poetical description of each ruler, which is identical with that of all other published grants of Dharasēna II. The donee is a Brāhmaṇa named Dēvadatta, of Śāṇḍilya-*gōtra* and Maitrāyaṇīya-*Śākhā* (l. 20).[3] The property granted consists of a village named Bhaṭṭaka- (or Bhadraka) patra (dra ?) in the northern part (*uttarapaṭṭā*) of **Kauṇḍinyapura** in the Surāshṭras (ll. 11, 17, 18). The purpose for which the grant was made is, as usual with grants to Brāhmaṇas, for the maintenance of the five sacrificial rites (l. 20). The names of officers (ll. 15-16) who were addressed by the grantor king as also the privileges (ll. 18-19) accompanying the enjoyment of the grant are the same as in the grant of Dharasēna of Sam.

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[1] For the explanation of these terms see above p. 176.

[2] The meaning of *bande pirodem* is not clear.

[3] The place of residence of the Brāhmaṇa is not mentioned.

252[1]. The grant was written by Skandabhaṭa, the minister for peace and war (l. 31), and the Dūtaka was Chirbbira (l. 32). The **date** of the grant is the **fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha of (the Gupta-Valabhi) Saṁvat 254** (l. 32) when there was a solar eclipse (*Sūryōparāga* l. 22).

Both the Dūtaka and the writer in this grant are the same as in the seven grants[2] of Dharasēna II of Saṁ. 252. In his grant of Saṁ. 269 however the Dūtaka was a different person.

As regards the **localities** mentioned in the grant it is well known that **Valabhī** is modern Valā in Kāṭhiāwār. The village of **Kauṇḍinyapura** can be identified with Kodinār in south Kāṭhiāwār. The village **Bhaṭṭakapat(d)ra** in the Surāshṭras cannot be identified.

Of Dharasēna II as many as twelve grants are known; seven[3] of these are of Saṁ. 252, one[4] of Saṁ. 269, two[5] of Saṁ. 270 and the remaining two[6] being fragmentary do not give the dates. The most interesting point about the date of the present grant is the mention of a solar eclipse on the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha in Saṁ. 254. Though as many as 9 grants were issued by Valabhi kings on the *amāvāsyā*-day (mostly on the *amāvāsyā* of Vaiśākha), it is only this grant that makes mention of a solar eclipse. It is also probably **the earliest mention of an eclipse in an epigraphical record.** According to Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* (Vol. I, part I, pp. 220 f.) there was a solar eclipse in the month of Chaitra (*i.e.*, Vaiśākha according to the *Pūrṇimānta* calculation) on **19th March 573 A.D.** which may be taken to be **the date of the grant.**

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 ओं स्वस्ति [।*] वलभीतः प्रसभ-[7] . . . .

. . . . . .

15 पार्त्थिवश्रीः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीमहाराजधर्सेन[8]ह्कुशली सर्व्वानेवायुक्तक . . . .

. . . .

17 . . . . वासये सुराष्ट्रेषु

Second Plate.

18 कौण्डिन्य[पुर]उत्तरपट्टे भट्टकपत्र(द्र)ग्रामस्योद्रङ्गः . . . .

20 मैत्रायणिवाजसब्रह्मचारिमाण्डिव्यसगोत्रब्राह्मणदेवदत्ताय बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रा-
तिथिपंचमहायाज्ञिका-

21 नां क्रियाणां समुत्सर्प्पणार्थमाचन्द्रार्क्कार्णवसरिक्षिति(त्स्थिति)समकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रा-
न्वयभोग्यः पूर्व्व-

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[1] Above, Vol. XI, p. 80.

[2] See n. 3.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vols. XV, p. 187; VII, p. 68; VIII, p. 301; XIII, p. 160; *Skt. and Pkt. Inscrs. of Kathiawad*, p. 35; *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. IV, pp. 38 ff. and Above Vol. XI, p. 80.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 9.

[5] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. I (N. S.), p. 66; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 70.

[6] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. I (N. S.), pp. 24 and 21.

[7] As the text is practically identical with that of the Palitana grant of Saṁ. 252 (Above, Vol. XI, p. 80) only the most important portion is given here. It may be noted that the names of Bhaṭārka, Drōṇasiṁha, Dhruvasēna, Dharapaṭṭa and Guhasēna, are recorded in the lines 2, 3, 6, 7, 8 and 12 respectively.

[8] Read धरसेन.

22 भुज्यमान[इत्येव] सूर्योपरागे उदकसर्गेण ब्रह्मदेयो निसृष्टः . . . .
[1] . . . .

31 दिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति ।
लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतस्कन्दभटेन ॥

32 स्वहस्तो मम महाराजश्रीधरसेनस्य ॥ दू चिर्बिरः सं २०० ५० ४ ।
वैशख[2] व १० ५ ॥

B.—Bhavnagar plates of Dharasena III—[Valabhi-] Saṁvat 304.

Prof. B. K. Thakore, B.A., I.E.S. (retired), kindly gave me information of the plates edited here, which are lying with a grain merchant named Dipasang Kānāji in Bhāvnagar in Kāthiāwād. Through the good offices of Prof. Narasiṁhaprasād Bhaṭṭa of the Dakshiṇāmūrti Bhavan, Bhāvnagar and other friends I have been able to purchase them from the owner.

The **plates** are **two** in number each measuring 12½" × 8½". They contain 24 and 20 lines of writing respectively, which is in an excellent state of preservation. Each plate contains two holes as are commonly found with Valabhī plates and meant for the insertion of copper rings holding both the plates together. But both the rings, one of which must have contained the usual Valabhī seal, are missing. The **characters** are those usually found in Valabhī grants. They are neatly engraved though not in perfect straight lines. The writing is almost free from mistakes. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit.

At the beginning of the record is mentioned the military camp, Khēṭaka-*pradēśa* from which the grant was issued by Dharasēna III, the son of Kharagraha, who was the younger brother of Śīlāditya. The introductory portion containing the description of each ruler from Bhaṭārka, the founder of the family, to Dharasēna III, the donor of the grant, is practically identical with that in the grant of Dhruvasēna II of Saṁ. 310[3]. The grantor king bears only the epithet *parama-māhēśvara*. The donee is a Brāhmaṇa named Mitrayaśas, son of Brāhmaṇa Vishṇuyaśas, of Ātrēya-*gōtra* and a follower of Atharva-Vēda, resident of Hastavapra. The property granted to him recorded in the grant consists of the following :—

(1) 100 *pādāvartas* of land called Kōlikā, ploughed by Kuṭumbī Gōmiyaka and situated in the north-west quarter in the village Amākārakūpa in the Hastavapra-*āhāra* in the Surāshṭrā[4]-*vishaya*. The boundaries of the field are : to the south, the village cattle-track ; to the west, the junction of the boundary of the village Chūtikā (with that of the village **Amākārakūpa**) ; to the east,[5] the rising ground of a stone quarry (and) to the north, the field called Pālaśika (?) of the Kuṭumbins Chārabhaṭaka and Chandravaka, as well as the field belonging to Karīraka in the north of the Rōhiḍaka-*mūla* adjoining the Arishṭijjikā-*sthalī*.

(2) A ploughed field of Kuṭumbī Kapardiyaka in the north-west quarter in the village Dabhaka in the Kālāpaka-*pathaka*. It lies to the west of the field Avakṛishṭī (*i.e.*,

[1] The usual imprecatory verses and injunctions.

[2] Read वैशाख.

[3] It is well known that in grants beginning with and later than the year 286 the names of the rulers between Bhaṭārka and Guhasēna are dropped. See above, Vol. XI, p. 178 and *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (N. S.), Vol. 1, p. 24.

[4] The word is generally used in the masculine but in a few cases it is used in the feminine as in the present case. *Cf.* above Vol. XVII, p. 108.

[5] It may be seen that the boundaries are not given in the proper order.

unploughable land ?), to the north of the field of Khuṇṭāka, to the east of the field of Naṇṇuvaka, (and) to the south of the junction of the boundary of the village Bhadrāṇaka (with that of the village Ḍabhaka).

(3) In the same village in its south-east quarter an irrigation well with an area of eighteen *pādāvartas*, dug by Kuṭumbī Kapardiya of the same village. It lies to the west of the field irrigated by (*prakshīkā*) the Khajjāri well, to the north of the field of Sōmaka and a canal, to the east of the play-ground (and) to the south of the old way by the side of Ḍabhaka.

(4) Similarly in the village Hastihradaka in the Sirāvāṭākāka-*sthali* in its southern quarter seventy superfluous (*ubbara*) *pādāvartas* of the field of Kuṭumbī Nāgilaka, to the west of (the temple of ?) Saṅkarikā . . . . (*i.e.*, goddess Bhavānī) built by the villagers, to the north of the field of Khaḍaḍhabhaya, to the east of the junction of the boundary of Sanvīraka, to the south of the limit of the field irrigated by (*prakshīkā*) the well called Sirīdraha.

The Dūtaka, who executed the grant was the prince *Sāmanta* Śīlāditya and it was written by Vatsrabhaṭṭi, the chief secretary and the minister for peace and war.

The record concludes with the **date the seventh day of the bright half of Māgha of (Gupta-Valabhi) Saṁvat 304** and the sign-manual (of the king).

The historical importance of the inscription lies in the fact that no date was hitherto found between Saṁvat 292,[1] the latest date of Śīlāditya I and 310,[2] the earliest date of Dhruvasēna II Bālāditya. Although we know that two rulers (*viz.*, Kharagraha (I) and Dharasēna III) had ruled in the intervening period, no record was so far found of either of them. The present grant gives us a record and a date for one of these rulers[3] and partly fills up the gap existing between Saṁ. 292 and 310.

The Dūtaka of the present grant, *viz.*, *Sāmanta* Śīlāditya, is the same as is found in the earlier grants of Dhruvasēna II-Bālāditya. The writer Vatsrabhaṭṭi is mentioned in the grants of Śīlāditya-Dharmāditya beginning with the year 286 and also in the grants of Dhruvasēna II-Bālāditya at least up to the year 313. From Saṁ. 320 to 330 his son Skandabhaṭa succeeded him as the keeper of records and writer of grants and from 334 to 365 Anahila the son of Skandabhaṭa. We know that another Skandabhaṭa (probably the father of Vatsrabhaṭṭi) was the writer of the later grants of Guhasēna beginning with the year 240 and in all the grants of Dharasēna II from 252 to 270 just before Vatsrabhaṭṭi. The office was thus held by four generations in this family for at least 120 years.

The following **places** are mentioned in the record: **Surāshṭrā** mentioned as a *vishaya*, **Hastavapra** mentioned as an *āhāra*, **Kālāpaka** mentioned as a *pathaka*, Sirāvāṭākāka and Aṁbaṭṭhijjikā, mentioned as *sthalīs* and Amākārakūpa, Ḍabhaka, Bhadrāṇaka, Hastihradaka and Chūṭikā all these mentioned as villages. Of these **Surāshṭrā** is the old name of the Kāṭhiāwār peninsula. Though in later times and at the present day Soraṭha denotes only the southern part of Kāṭhiāwār, it appears that eastern Kāṭhiāwār was once included in Surāshṭra since **Hastavapra**, which is modern Hāthab[4] in Bhāvnagar State is said to be in Surāshṭrā. **Kālāpaka**

[1] Above, pp. 117 ff.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 12.

[3] Very recently Mr. Cadell, the present Curator of the Rajkot Museum has discovered a grant of Kharagraha dated Saṁ. 297 *cf. Ann. Rep. Watson Mus.* 1931-32, p. 7.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIV, App. p. 42.

which is mentioned in the grants of Saṁ. 310 and 326 and perhaps also of 286 is modern Kālāvāḍa, 60 miles north-west of Porbandar.[1] The other places cannot be identified.

The expression Khēṭaka-*pradvāra* seems to denote that the king had probably encamped just outside (*pradvāra*) the city of Khēṭaka. The use of the word *pradvāra* is also found used in connection with Valabhi itself, the capital of the dynasty, in the Dhānk[2] grant of the year 290 as विजयस्कन्धावाराद्वलभीप्रद्वारस्त्रोऽरवासकात्. It is also found used in a Gurjara grant[3] of Śaka 417 as भरुकच्छप्रद्वारवासकात्. In fact, the use of *pradvāra* in the ancient grants would appear to be analogous to that of the modern *parā* which is added to the names of several towns in Kāṭhiāwār to indicate the precincts or suburbs in the vicinity.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावाराद्खेटकप्रद्वारवासकात्प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुलब-
लसंपन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तप्रहार-[4]

Second Plate.

25 निखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्पोदयः स्वधनुःप्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमानः सकलनृपतिमण्डला-
भिनन्दितशासनः पर-

26 ममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेन×कुशली सर्व्वानेव यथासंबध्यमानकान्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वो
विदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोः

27 पुण्याप्यायनाय कम्बोयप्रवास्तव्यात्रेयसगोत्राथर्व्वणसब्रह्मचारिणे ब्राह्मणविष्णुयशःपुत्र-
ब्राह्मणमित्रयशसे सु-

28 राष्ट्रविषये हस्तवप्राहारे अक्षाकारकूपग्रामे पूर्व्वोत्तरसीम्नि गोभियककुटुम्बिकृष्ट-
कोलिकाचितपादावर्त्तसंगतं यस्याघाटनानि

29 दक्षिणेन ग्रामगोसरपथः अपरतवृटिकाग्रामसीमासन्धिः पूर्व्वतः पाषाणश्रलिकाम-
स्थक(के) उत्तरेण चारभटकचंद्रककुटुम्बिक्षेत्रं

30 प्रात्यविकं तथा अपरिस्थिज्जिकाग्रामसरोविडकमालादुत्तरतः कवीरकसत्कक्षेत्रं २
तथा कालापकपथके डभकग्रामे

31 उत्तरापरसीमायां कपदि(र्दि)यककुटुम्बिकृष्टसीमा अवलपिचिचादपरतः खुडुमक्षेत्रा-
दुत्तरतः गणपवक्षेत्रात्पूर्व्वतः भडामक-

32 सीमासन्धेर्दक्षिणतः तथात्रैव ग्रामे पूर्व्वदक्षिणसीम्नि कुटुम्बिकपर्दियकाल(कार्तु)कक्षत्रा
षष्टादशपादावर्त्तपरिसरा वापी-खर्ज्जूरि [वापी]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 237.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 82.

[4] For the portion ll. 2-24 omitted here as being common with other Valabhi plates *cf.* above, Vol. VIII, pp. 190 ff., 196 ff.

33 प्रतीच्यां[:*] अपरत: श्रीमत्कचेवयज्ञादुत्तरत: खिलपाल्या-पूर्व्वत: इभकाह्व पुराण-
कगामिमार्गाद्दक्षिणत: तथा मी[रावा]टाका[ब]

34 स्यस्यां हस्तिहृदकग्रामे दक्षिणसीम्नि नागिलककुटुम्बिचेत्रोत्लवणपादावर्त्ता सप्तति:
ग्रामीणनिर्म्मितगड्डिकायां[परत:]

35 खसखयखेत्रादुत्तरत: सौवीरकसीमासन्धे: पूर्व्वत: संरिद्रकवापीप्रतीचामर्य्यादाया
दक्षिणत: एवमेतद् सोद्रङ्ग[1]

42 नरके वसेत् ॥ दूतकोत्र राजपुत्र सामन्तगोलादित्य: ॥ लिखितं चेदं सन्धि-
विग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिवत्स ट्टिना ॥ सं १०० ४

43 माघ शु ७ खहस्तो मम ॥

No. 31.—THE PALLAVARAYANPETTAI INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA II.

BY V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The inscription[2] published below is engraved on the south wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Sundarēśvara temple at **Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai** near Mayavaram in the Tanjore district. It is in a fair state of preservation though the inscribed surface is broken in certain portions and especially in ll. 9 and 10, thereby slightly obscuring the sense of the record. Some of the words lost can, however, be restored from the context.

The record is written in the **Tamiḻ** language and script of the 12th century A.D. **Orthographical** peculiarities are very few. Some of the words used in the inscription, however, deserve to be noticed. The word *Kōyir-koṭṭu* (l. 6) may be rendered as 'the palace establishment,' *kōyil* meaning 'palace' and *koṭṭu* a 'division' or 'establishment.'[3] The word *agambaḍi-nyāyam* (l. 6) may be explained as 'the body of armed men and women employed in the inner apartments of the palace.' The first part of the compound implies 'those that are attached to the inner circle,' in which sense, the word is, however, now obsolete. The significance of the term *tuṟai* (l. 6) is not quite clear. From the context it seems to denote 'a division' or 'a department.' In this sense it lingers to the present day in masons' vocabulary. *Mun-ṉāl* (l. 7.) may be taken to denote the class of officers who first receive the royal commands and communicate them to others for execution. The word *virundaṅgal* (l. 21), not ordinarily found in inscriptions, means 'a married woman.' The term *uḷvari* (l. 28) may be explained as 'an extract from the tax-register issued by the State to a person for the actual enjoyment of a grant.' The *uḷvari*-documents are invariably issued over the signatures of the revenue officers of the State.

The inscription is dated in the **eighth year** of the reign of the **Chōḻa king Rājakēsari-varman Rājādhirājadēva** (II) and begins with the words '*kaḍal-śūḻnda*,' etc., which usually introduce this monarch in his inscriptions. The **object** of the record is the grant of an *uḷvari*

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[1] The portion ll. 36-41 contains the usual privileges accompanying the gift of a land and the imprecatory verses.

[2] Registered as No. 453 of 1924 in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1923-24. The inscription is noticed in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIX, p. 57, but the readings and the interpretation given there require great alteration.

[3] [The word means also 'a household' or 'family' see Winslow's Tamil-English Dictionary.—C. R. K.]

regarding the estate of **Tiruchchirrambalam-Udaiyān Perumānambi** *alias* **Pallavarāyar** of Kārigai-Kuḷattūr, which had been made tax-free on his death. In giving an account of this Pallavarāyar, who appears to have been a trusted officer of Rājarāja II, the inscription recounts his services to the crown in connection with the Chōḷa succession and the Singhalese invasion of South India in the latter half of the 12th century A.D.

The record, which is mainly historical in character, may be divided into three sections. In the first are stated the circumstances under which Pallavarāyar brought in Rājādhirāja II and placed him on the throne; in the second, the help rendered by the Chōḷa king to the Pāṇḍya refugee Kulaśēkhara, Pallavarāyar's victory over the Singhalese army and the restitution of Madura to Kulaśēkhara are detailed at length; and in the third section, are recorded the demise of Pallavarāyar, the grant of tax-free lands to his relatives and their distribution among them by **Vēdavanam-Udaiyān Ammaiyappan** *alias* **Pallavarāyan** and the final grant of an *ōlai* for this, signed by royal officers.

From the inscription, we are given to understand that the Chōḷa king Rājarāja II having had no male issue for a long time, the question as to who should succeed him came up for consideration and the king himself selected **Edirili-Perumāḷ**, the son of **Neriyuḍai-Perumāḷ** and the grandson of Vikramaśōḷadēvar, residing at Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷapuram, and appointed him as his successor by investing him with the crown. However, soon after making this selection, Rājarāja II had two sons born to himself, but before any arrangements could be made for their succession, the king passed away. At the time of the king's demise his sons (*piḷḷaigaḷ*)[1] were aged one and two years respectively and the minister Pallavarāyar escorted them to Rājarājapuram along with the harem[2] from the stronghold at Āyirattaḷi. Then in accordance with the original intention of the departed king this officer placed on the throne Edirili-Perumāḷ[3] under the title Rājādhirāja (II) with the consent of the *uḍan-kūṭṭam* and the *nāḍu* in the fourth year of installation.[4] Since the inscription is damaged at this portion, more information is not available about the prince selected.

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[1] The common term *piḷḷaigaḷ* is to be interpreted here as 'male children', because in this inscription daughters are clearly distinguished as *pen-makkaḷ* (l. 21).

[2] [If the daughter of Pallavarāyar, who is described as 'the wife of Rājarājadēva with her sons' (l. 26) and to whom by far the largest share of his property has been allotted in this inscription (as many as 8 out of 40 *vēli* of land), is the same as the queen who bore two sons to Rājarāja II in the last three years of his life, we can understand how Pallavarāyar could obtain the control of the harem and household of the late king. His tactful removal of the king's infant sons (probably his own grandchildren) to a place of safety and his helping the former king's successor-designate to the throne during their minority must have been prompted alike by his anxiety for the safety and good government of the realm as by personal considerations for his own daughter and grandchildren.—Ed.]

[3] There could have been no grounds for resentment since only a member of the elder branch of the royal family was chosen for the throne.

[4] No. 337 of 1914 from Maḍattukōyil in the Pudukkōṭṭai State belonging to Rājādhirāja II gives the date '2nd year, Makara 7, Monday, Svāti', corresponding to A.D. 1162, December 3, Monday. Prof. Kielhorn has fixed the date of accession of this king between 28th February and 30th March 1163 A.D. According to the present inscription, Rājādhirāja II was invested with the crown over three years earlier, *i.e.*, in 1160-61 A.D. His second year, therefore, would be 1161-62 and the Maḍattukōyil grant was probably issued while Rājādhirāja was a crown prince. A record from Punganūr in the Chittoor district (No. 200 of 1931-32) gives the date '14th year which was equal to the 12th year of Rājādhirājadēva', thus counting the date from the time of his nomination.

[There are, however, three other inscriptions (Nos. 571 of 1907, *above* Vol. X, p. 127, 428 of 1912 and 19 of 1913) the dates of which work regularly for the year 1166 A.D. as the first year of Rājādhirāja II's reign; on the other hand there is at least one record (No. 86 of 1920) according to which Rājarāja II was ruling till 25th December 1163 A.D., *i.e.*, about 8 months subsequent to the date of his successor's accession as fixed by Kielhorn. The resulting confusion can possibly be cleared up by future discoveries.—Ed.]

Though Rājarāja II had no sons at the time he selected Edirili-Perumāḷ to succeed him, it is clear from the inscription that he did not die without leaving an heir-apparent to the throne. Since it is said that the princes were one and two years old respectively at the time of Rājarāja's demise, when Edirili-Perumāḷ was crowned king as Rājādhirāja, they must have been 17 and 18 years old respectively and therefore fit to assume the reins of government in A.D. 1178, which was the last year of the reign of Rājādhirāja II and the year of accession of his successor Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III. It is, therefore, likely that Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III was one of the two sons of Rājarāja II and that during the former's minority,[1] Rājādhirāja II was brought in to rule the Chōḷa country. The fact that the inscriptions of Rājarāja II and those of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III commence with the identical eulogistical expressions '*Pū-maruviya*'[2] and '*Puyal-vāyttu*,'[3] etc., also lends support to this view.

After crowning Edirili-Perumāḷ under the title Rājādhirāja, the next service of Pallavarāyar to the Chōḷa kingdom was in connection with the war of the Pāṇḍya succession[4] waged by the two rival claimants Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya for the throne of Madura. The inscription states that the forces of Ceylon entered the Pāṇḍya country in large numbers and forced its king Kulaśēkhara to leave his territory, whereupon this king is said to have sought the shelter of the Chōḷa king, entreating him to get back his kingdom. Pallavarāyar undertook to lead the Chōḷa army into the Pāṇḍya country, to restore Kulaśēkhara to the throne, to decapitate the Singhalese commanders and nail their heads on the gates of Madura[5] so as to inspire terror in the enemy's camp. Kulaśēkhara[6] is stated to have stayed in the Chōḷa country for some time before he started with the necessary forces to win back his kingdom. Pallavarāyar carried out all his undertakings and as a result of his invasion the Singhalese forces were driven out of India and Kulaśēkhara was installed on the throne of his forefathers.

Only three other records of Rājādhirāja II refer to this war, *viz.*, one from Ārpākkam[7] in the Chingleput district, dated in the 5th year; another from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu[8] near Madras, dated in the 12th year; and the third from Tirumayāṇam[9] in the Tanjore district, dated also in the 12th year.

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[1] Copper-plate No. 23 of 1916-17 which belongs to Rājarāja II as the ruler of the Vēṅgi country couples the Śaka year 1091 (= A.D. 1169) with the 23rd regnal year. We know that Rājarāja II was not alive in A.D. 1169 and that the Chōḷa country was then ruled by Rājādhirāja II. The period of regency was probably denoted here as a continuation of Rājarāja's reign. Incidentally, however, we see from the record that the Chōḷa hold on the Vēṅgi country was not lost even after the death of Rājarāja II, whose very rule over this part of the country was doubted (*A. R.* for 1917, para. 26).

[2] *A. R.* No. 173 of 1908; also *A. R.* for 1909, para. 50.

[3] *A. R.* No. 154 of 1907. For similar commencement with the introduction of predecessors, see *A. R.* for 1913, para. 33, and *A. R.* for 1924, p. 102.

[4] This war is detailed at length in chapters 76 and 77 of the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvaṃsa* and its authenticity is borne out by inscriptional evidence. The chronicle is one-sided in its version, inasmuch as it assigns victory to the Singhalese general, but from Tamil lithic records we find that the Singhalese general was not only routed but that the heads of this general and of his subordinates were cut off and nailed to the gates of Madura by the Chōḷa general. The help that the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśēkhara received from Rājādhirāja II is mentioned at considerable length in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, which fact is also corroborated by the present record.

[5] Such gruesome acts are not uncommon in the warfare of the Tamils (see *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 37 and 68).

[6] In this connection it may be noted that Kulaśēkhara sought help from his uncle, the Koṅgu king Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa, who also seems to have taken an active part in the restitution of his nephew to the Pāṇḍya throne (*A. R.* No. 336 of 1928). The *Mahāvaṃsa* also corroborates the help received by Kulaśēkhara from the king of Koṅgu. The chronicle states that 'Kulaśēkhara gathered together the forces of Tirinavela and those also of his mother's brethren which were at Ten-Koṅgu and Vaḍa-Koṅgu' (Wijesinha's translation p. 245).

[7] No. 20 of 1899 of the Madras Epigraphical collection and *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VI, p. 188 ff.

[8] No. 465 of 1905 of the same collection.

[9] No. 281 of 1925 of the same collection.

These epigraphs confirm and supplement the information given in our record and are, therefore, valuable sources for the history of this war, our knowledge of which, in the absence of any reference to it in Tamiḻ literature, has been hitherto wholly based on the one-sided account of the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvaṃsa*. In this war the two Chōḻa generals that took prominent part were, Pallavarāyar mentioned in our present record, and after him, Vēdavanam-Uḍaiyāṉ Ammaiyappaṉ *alias* Aṇṇaṉ Pallavarāyaṉ, the officer who distributed the lands among the former's relatives. After detailing the events recorded in the present inscription, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu epigraph sets forth that Vēdavanam-Uḍaiyāṉ Ammaiyappaṉ *alias* Aṇṇaṉ Pallavarāyaṉ counteracted the subsequent machinations of the Singhalese king. Finding that his attempts to place Vīra-Pāṇḍya on the Pāṇḍya throne were frustrated by the intervention of the Chōḻa king and that his own generals were defeated and killed, the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu[1] mobilised his forces in his camps at **Ūrātturai**,[2] **Pulaichchēri**,[3] **Mātōṭṭam**,[4] **Vallikāmam**,[5] **Maṭṭivāḻ**[6] and other places and was busy preparing his ships for a naval attack. Hearing of this, the Chōḻa king summoned Śrīvallabha,[7] the nephew of the king of Ceylon and a previous claimant to the throne of Īḻam, supplied him with what was necessary and helped him to enter **Ūrātturai**, **Vallikāmam**, **Maṭṭivāḻ** and other places with large forces with the result that **Pulaichchēri**, **Mātōṭṭam** and other villages were destroyed, the elephants stationed therein were captured, more than 20 *kādam* of land in extent from east to west and 30 *kādam* of land from south to north in Īḻa-maṇḍalam was devastated, and among the Singhalese chiefs that were stationed in the region, some were killed and others taken captive. The general Vēdavanam-Uḍaiyāṉ Ammaiyappaṉ *alias* Aṇṇaṉ Pallavarājaṉ then sent for these captives, the booty and the captured elephants and presented them to the Chōḻa king.

At this stage, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu inscription states that the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśēkhara, ignoring the good done to him, proved a traitor, made an alliance with the king of Īḻam and conspired with him against the Chōḻas. In furtherance of this policy, he drove to the north of the river Veḷḷāṟu the Chōḻa generals Rājarāja-Karkuḍiyarāyaṉ, Rājagambhīra-Añjukōṭṭinādāḻvāṉ and others that were

[1] Parākramabāhu (A.D. 1153-1186), the greatest ruler of Ceylon, is remembered chiefly for his activities in building cities, constructing and restoring large tanks and for his imperialistic attempts to extend his authority over Southern India. There is a statue of this king, carved on a rock at Polonnaruwa.

[2] Ūrātturai is now known by the Dutch name Kayts and is situated on an island to the west of Jaffna. In Singhalese works the place is called Hūrā (or Ūrā)-toṭa and in the *Mahāvaṃsa* it is referred to by the name Sūkaratittha. It was an important port in the time of Parākramabāhu.

[3] Pulaichchēri is the same as Pulacceri of the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Ch. 83, V. 17).

[4] Mātōṭṭam is the Mahātittha of the Pāli chronicles. In Tamiḻ inscriptions it is called Rājarājapuram (*S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. IV, Nos. 1412 and 1414). It is now known as Māntai or Tirukkētīśvaram and is situated about 6 miles to the east of Mannar. There was a temple called Rājarāja-Īśvaramuḍaiya-Mahādēva in this village (*A. R.* for 1913, para. 21).

[5] Vallikāmam may be identified with Valikkāmam about 5 miles to the south-east of Mannar. The village is called Vālikagāma in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Ch. 83, V. 17).

[6] Maṭṭivāḻ may be identified with Maṭṭuvil, a village about 10 miles to the east of Jaffna. A sea-port of this name is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (Ch. 60, V. 34).

[7] The assistance rendered by Śrī-Vallabha to the Chōḻa king is not noticed in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. In the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu inscription it is clearly stated that Śrī-Vallabha was the nephew (*marumagaṉ*) of the Singhalese king. He was the son of princess Mittā, sister of Parākramabāhu (see genealogical table facing page 50, *Ep. Zeylanica*, Vol. II). His father Mānābharaṇa was a rival of Parākramabāhu for the overlordship of Ceylon, and before the latter ascended the throne, there was a protracted struggle between the two claimants for sovereignty. Mānābharaṇa was in the end worsted, but his son does not seem to have been reconciled to the conqueror. It may be said that the Jaffna kings had been the allies of the Chōḻa emperors and so, when help was needed, Śrī-Vallabha readily embraced the opportunity. It is not certain whether Śrī-Vallabha went to the assistance of the Chōḻa king with the connivance of Parākramabāhu. It cannot also be affirmed whether the treachery of Kulaśēkhara, which stands unexplained in the inscriptions, is in any way to be traced to Śrī-Vallabha.

stationed in the Pāṇḍya country, and also removed the heads of the Ceylonese generals that had
been previously nailed to the gates of Madura by Tiruchchiṟṟambalam-Uḍaiyāṉ Perumānambi
alias Pallavarāyar. Some letters and presents despatched to the officers of Kulaśēkhara,[1] hinting
that the Singhalese king was an ally of their master, were intercepted by the Chōḷa king. It was
therefore, decided to reinstate on the Pāṇḍya throne Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya,
the former protege of Ceylon and a claimant to the throne of Madura. Vēdavaṉam-Uḍaiyāṉ Am-
maiyappaṉ *alias* Pallavarājaṉ was directed by the Chōḷa king to proceed with the necessary forces.
When he had successfully accomplished his object, the general was granted 10 *vēli* of land in Rāja-
rājaṉ-Paḷaiyanūr, according to the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu record. All the above events are also recorded
in the Tirumayāṉam inscription which appears to be an almost exact copy of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu
inscription. Both of them are dated in the 12th year and 157th day; the Tirumayāṉam inscrip-
tion is, however, very fragmentary, but it has helped to fill in certain lacunæ in the text of the
Tiruvālaṅgāḍu record. The reason why the same inscription should be engraved in two distant
places as Tiruvālaṅgāḍu (Chingleput district) and Tirumayāṉam (Tanjore district) is not quite
clear.

Of the **persons** figuring in the present inscription, the most important is Tiruchchiṟṟambalam-
Uḍaiyāṉ Perumānambi *alias* Pallavarāyar who took an active part in the coronation of Rājādhirāja
II and in the war of the Pāṇḍya succession. From the Ārpākkam epigraph we learn that his father
was Edirilichōḷa-Sambuvarāyar. He seems to have died before 1171 A.D., the date of the present
record. Next in importance to Tiruchchiṟṟambalam-Uḍaiyāṉ Perumānambi *alias* Pallavarāyar
stands **Laṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka.** He was entrusted with the command of the Singhalese
army by the Ceylonese king Parākramabāhu, when Parākrama-Pāṇḍya sought his assistance
against Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya. Before Laṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka could start for India, Parākrama-
Pāṇḍya had been murdered, but the Ceylonese general succeeded in besieging Madura, the capital
of the Pāṇḍya country, and in forcing Kulaśēkhara to flee from his kingdom. Vēdavaṉam
Uḍaiyāṉ Ammaiyappaṉ *alias* Pallavarāyaṉ who effected the distribution of lands among the
relations of Tiruchchiṟṟambalam-Uḍaiyāṉ Perumānambi *alias* Pallavarāyar seems to have been an
important officer and general both under Rājarāja II and his successor Rājādhirāja II. The
several persons noticed in the record as the relatives of Pallavarāyar are obscure and are, there-
fore, not easily identifiable. The signatories to the *ōlai*, **Chēdirāśar, Vāṇādhirāśar, Śingaḷ-
arāyar, Nīlagaṅgaraiyar** and the royal secretary **Mīṉavaṉ-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ** appear to
have held office even in the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III, the successor of Rājādhirāja II.

Among the **places** mentioned in the inscription **Kārigai-Kuḷattūr**, the native place of Palla-
varāyar, deserves notice. The Tamil prosodist Amudasāgarar commenced and completed his
work *Kārigai* in this village, which, therefore, came to be known as Kārigaikuḷattūr.[2] It is stated
to have been in Āmūr-kōṭṭam which roughly comprises the eastern portion of the present
Chingleput taluk. There are two villages in this taluk bearing the name Kuḷattūr, one near
Tirukkachchiyūr in Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam and the other near Tiruppōrūr in Āmūr-kōṭṭam and the
village mentioned in our record may be identified with the latter. In the time of Kulōttuṅga-
Chōḷa I, Kaṇḍaṉ-Mādhavaṉ,[3] a descendant of the chief who patronised Amudasāgarar, was

[1] The chronicle describes Kulaśēkhara as 'a powerful king,' 'cunning in the art of war,' 'a terror to his
enemies' and as 'skilled in devising means such as reconciliation, etc., to prevail against the enemy.' We find that
Kulaśēkhara was driven out of Madura by A.D. 1168 (Ārpākkam inscription) and that he was reinstalled on the
throne by A.D. 1171 (Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai record). By A.D. 1175 (Tiruvālaṅgāḍu inscription) he had been
dethroned and Vīra-Pāṇḍya crowned in his stead. It is, therefore, clear that Kulaśēkhara could have occupied
the throne only from about 1171 to 1175 A.D.

[2] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 67.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

in charge of this village, but it is not certain if he was in any way related to the Pallavarāyar of our record. **Jayaṅkoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam** and **Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷa-puram** are well known to Tamiḻ epigraphy. **Āyirattaḷi** was a quarter of Niyamam, a village situated close to Paḻaiyāṟai in the Tanjore district. The village is also mentioned in the '*Vīraśōḻiyam*' of Buddhamitra and mentioned as 'a place of thousand temples.' **Rājādhirājaṉ-Kuḷattūr** probably formed a portion of the present village Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai which is known in inscriptions as Kuḷattūr and must have been called Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai later to perpetuate the name of the Chōḷa general. **Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanāḍu** was evidently named after the surname 'Virudarājabhayaṅkara' of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I.[1]

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kaḍal-śūḻnda Pār-mādarum Pū-mādaruñ-Kalai-mādarum=aḍal-śūḻnda Pōr-mādaruñ=Chīr-mādarum [amarndu-vāḻa][2]

2 nāṟ-kaḍal-śūḻ puvi-ēḻum pāṟ-kaḍal-pōl[3] pugaḻ parappa ādiyugamm=eṉ[ua][4] śōdimudi punaindaruḷi aṟu-śamaiyamum

3 aim-būdamum neṟiyil niṉṟu pārippat[5]-Te[n*]navaruñ=Chēralaruñ[6] [Śiṅgaḷa]ru-mudalāya maṉ[ṉavarga]ḷ ti[rai] śumandu vaṉ[d=iṟaiñji śe]vippa[7]-ūḻi śeṅgōl oḻu-p[ā]rum=innil-aḷippach-chem-po vi-

4 ra-śimhāsanattu Ulagudai-Mukkōkkiḻānaḍigaḷōḍum vīṟṟirundaruḷiya Kōv=Irājakēsari-panmar-āṉa[8] [Tribhu]vanachchakravarttiga[ḷ][9] **Śrī-Rājādhirājadēvarkku** yāṇḍu **e**[**ṭ**]**ṭāvadu** ≋||≡

5 Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalattu Āmūrk-kōṭṭattuch-Chiṟukuṉṟa-nāṭṭuk-Kārigaik-Kuḷattūrk-Ku[ḷa]ttuḷāṉ **Tiruchchiṟṟambalam-Uḍaiyāṉ** Perumāṉambiyār=āṉa **Pallava-**

6 **rāyar** Periyadēvar **Rājarājadēvar** pōttu kōyiṟ-kottum=āvark=kudirai-agambaḍi-niyāyam uḷḷiṭṭa tuṟaigaḷukkum mudaligaḷum=āy mudaligaḷ=ōpūḍi kāriyat-

7 tukkuṉ=kaḍavarum=āy e[l*]lā varisaigaḷum muṉ-ēval uḷḷiṭṭu mudaligaḷ peṟakkaḍava ēṟṟaṅgaḷum peṟṟu niṉṟu Periyadēvar[10] tūñji-aruḷip=piḷḷaiga[ḷu]kku oṉṟum iraṇḍum tirunakshatram=ā-

8 gaiyāl **Āyirattaḷip**-paḍaiviḍum viṭṭup=pōdavēṇḍip=pōdugira-iḍattut-tiruv=antapuramum ...[11] āraṅgaḷum uḷḷi[ṭ*]ṭaṉa ellām parigarittuk-[kūṭṭi]k=koḍu-pōndu Rāja-

9 [rā*]ja[pu]ra[t*]tilē irunda iḍa[ttukku] [śū]ṉ]da iḍañ....yaru migudi-p...... [ra]ttu uḍaṉ-kūṭṭatt[ā]........[rā]lum ellāk=[kalakka] ...... [Śō]arājyat[12] tukku.....yā iruppār] kāraṇavarud.....

10 vēṇḍip=puṟattu ellā aḍaivu kēḍugaḷum va[rāda] iḍattu la........[ḷum parigarittu iv......] Periyadēvar eḻundaru[ḷi]....[13] n[ā]ḷilē tiru-abhi[shēgattuk]ku uriya piḷḷaigaḷ iṉṟiyē ...[rukki]-

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III. p. 152.

[2] *Amaindaṇḍa* is another reading for *amarndu vāḻa* (No. 58 of 1900).

[3] For *pōl* some inscriptions read *vīl*.

[4] Other readings are *ādiyugam maṇḍalena* (No. 20 of 1899) and *ādiyugam āmena* (No. 474 of 1905).

[5] *Vanda pōrikku* is another reading (No. 20 of 1899).

[6] No. 20 of 1899 gives in addition *Koṅganarum Pallavarum*. [7] No. 465 of 1905 has *maṇḍaḍich-śēvippa*.

[8] No. 20 of 1899 has *parakēsarivarmaṉ*; *ṉma* in *panmarāṉa* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters.

[9] Some inscriptions have *Maduraiyum Īḻamum koṇḍaruḷiya* in addition (cf. No. 474 of; 1905) *chcha* in *chchakravartigaḷ* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters.

[10] The letter *ya* is inserted between *ri* and *dē*.

[11] The gap may be filled up with the letters *pariv*.

[12] *Jya* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters.

[13] The word *yiruṇḍa* may have been lost here.

11 ṟapaḍiyai pārttu [mu]ṉ-nāḷilē kāriyam irundapaḍi vi.....[1] śe[y]du Gaṅgaikoṇ[ḍa*]-śōḷapura.....[2] daruḷi iruḷ[k*]kiṟa piḷḷaigaḷai ..[3]yāṉam paṇṇu....[4]ḷaiyāṟ Vik[ki]ramaśōḷadēvar-pērāṉār

12 Neṟiuḍaipperumā[ḷ*]-tirumagaṉār Ediril[i]pperumāḷaip-peri......[ṭi]-aruḷiṉa nāḷilē maṇḍai kavi[p]pittu..[5] dār-āṉavāṟē ivarait-tiru-abhi[shē]gam paṇṇu[vi]kkak-kaḷ-ḷavarā[ga]...[7]tu nāḷāṉ-tirunakshatrattilē Rājādhirāja[8]dēvar e-

13 ṉṟu tiru-ā[ṭa]bhishēgam paṇṇuvittu uḍaṉ-kūṭṭamum nāḍu-k[9]oṟṟuppaṭṭuch-chellumpaḍi paṇṇi[vitt-aruḷi]ṉār [|*] migai śeyyādapaḍi[yum] pari[ga]rittu ivargaḷ vi....[10]ṉ-chērap-piḍittup-paṇi aḷagid-ā-

14 gach-cheyvad-ṟupaḍiyum paṇṇi [|*] Iḷattāṉ Pāṇḍi-nāṭṭilē paḍaigaḷuṅ-kāraṇavar-āṉārraiyu(m*) migudip...[11]vittu i-nnāḍu kaikoḷḷak-kaḍavan-āgap-paṇṇiṉa i...[12] [P]āṇḍiyaṉār Kulaśēkharadēvar

15 ta(ma)nuḍaiya rājyam[13] viṭṭuch-Chōḷarājya[[14]t*]tilē pugundu eṉnuḍaiya rājya[14]m nāṉ perumpa[di-ppaṉ]ṉavēṇum-eṉ[ṟu] ś[o]lla ivar Uḍaiyār.....[15] var perumpaḍi paṇṇa-kaḍa-

16 var-āṉavum inda rājya[14]tti[lē pugun]du [vandu] kaikkoṇḍa Ilaṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyakaṉ-uḷḷiṭṭāraik-koṇḍu Pāṇḍiya[r*][ga]ḷ-i-

17 ruppāṉa Madurai-vāśalilē ivar[gaḷ] talai taippikkak-kaḍavarāgavuñ-cholli ippaḍiellām-viṇṇappa(ñ*)-cheydu tiruvuḷḷam-āṉapaḍiyē Pāṇḍiyaṉār Kulaśēkharadēvar Śōḷarāj-ya[14]ttil irunda nāḷ[il] ivarkku vē-

18 ṇḍuvaṉavellāṅ-kuṟaiv-aṟa-cheydu parikarittu balattālum[16] arttattālum upāya[17][t*]tālum Pāṇḍi-nāḍu kaikkoṇḍu tāṅ-chonnapaḍiyē Ilaṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyakaṉ-uḷḷiṭṭāraik-ko ṇṟu ivargaḷ-talai

19 Madurai-vāśalilē taippittu Pāṇḍiyaṉār Kulaśēkharadēvar Madurai(yi)lē pugukaikkuch-che[y*]ya-vēṇḍuvaṉavum vaṉ....[iyat]tu śeyvittu ivarai Madurai(yi)lē pugaviṭṭup-Pāṇḍi-nāḍu Iḷa-nāḍ-āgād a-

20 paḍi parikarittuch-Chōḷa-rājya[14]m śeṟa-paḍi[kku] Iḷāgat-Toṇḍai-nāḍum Pāṇḍi-nā[14]ḍum śellumpaḍiyum paṇṇi rāja[8]-kāriyaṅ-koṇḍu nirvagikka-kkaḍava ma....ku-ttaṅ-kaṭṭ-aḷai-iṭṭu-k[kāri]yaṅ-koṇḍu-śeluttiṉapaḍiyē tamakku pi-

21 ṟbum i-kkaṭṭaḷaiyilē kāriyañ-chelvadeṉpaḍi kāriyaṅ-koṇḍu śel[va]ttā[l*] nirka [|*] ivar viyādi-paṭṭu iṉṟiyē oḻindamaiyil ivar-viruṉ[daṅga]ḷukkum makkaḷukkum ivargaḷ-virundaṅgaḷukku[m*] makkaḷukkum peṉ-makkaḷukkum tāvārkkum uḷa-

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[1] The letters *seyyaṉ* may be inserted here.

[2] The letters *tiḷi eḻun* may be inserted here.

[3] The letters *piru* may be inserted here.

[4] The letters *vitta U* may be inserted here.

[5] The letters *yadēma-ttiṟ* may be inserted here.

[6] The letters *ppōa* may be inserted here.

[7] The letters *michchyil* may be inserted here.

[8] Engraved in *Grantha* characters.

[9] The expression intended was probably *nāḍum-oṟṟuppaṭṭu*.

[10] The letters *ōrraiya* may be inserted here.

[11] The letters *pōda* may be inserted here.

[12] The letters *ḍolla* may be inserted here.

[13] *jya* is engraved as a conjunct letter in *Grantha* characters.

[14] The letters *Kulaśēkharadē* may be inserted here.

[15] The letter *ba* is written in *Grantha* characters.

[16] The letter *sā* is engraved in *Grantha* characters.

[17] There is an extra secondary length after the letter *ṇā*.

22 upiṟandāḷukkum ivaḷ-mak[kaḷukku]m ivargaḷ-vargattārkkum Virudarājabhayaṅkara-valanāṭṭuk-Kuṟukkai-nāṭṭu ivar-kāṇiy-āṉa Chō[ḻ]ēndrasiṅganallūril paḻam-peyar taviru[du] yāḻudu eṭṭāvadu-mudaṟ[l] antarāyam pāṭṭam-uṭpaḍa i-

23 raiyiliyāy vēṟu-piṟinda Rā[jādhi]rāja[1]-Kuḷattū[r] nilam nāṟpadiṟṟu-vēli [1*] in-nilam aṉu-bavikkumpaḍikku Jayaṅkoṇḍaśōḻa-maṇḍalattu Mēṟmalaip-Paḻaiyaṉūr-[nāṭṭu]p-Paḻaiyaṉūr-uḍaiyāṉ **Vēdavaṉam-uḍaiyāṉ Am-**

24 **maiāppaṉār-āṉa Pallavarā[yaṉ]** niḻchchayi(t)ttapaḍiyāy aṉubavikkum virundaṅgaḷil Siṟṟālattūruḍaiyāṉ-magaḷukku nilam mū-vēli[yu]m Āḷināḍuḍaiyāṉ-magaḷukku nila[m] mū-[vēliyum iva[ḷ]-makkaḷ v[āḻ]kaippa...ṉgaḷ[2] mūvarkku

25 pēṟāl nilam iru-vēliy-āga ...[3] aṟu-vēliyum Neṟkuṉṟaṅ-kiḻār Kaḷappāḷarāyar-magaḷukku nilam mū-vēliyum ivaḷ-makkaḷil Aḻagiyadēvaṉukku nilam mū-vēliyum peṇ-[makkaḷu]-kku pēṟāl nilam iru-vēliy-āga nilam aṟuvēli-

26 yum Ambar Aruvandai Kāliṅgarāyar-magaḷukku nilam mū-vēliyum makkaḷil Śētta[ṉ*][4] Tirunaṭṭamāḍi Virana[mbi] Dēvaṅ(k)gu[ḍaiyā]ṉ-magaḷukkum ivaḷ-magaḷukkum nilam iru-vēliyum **Rājarājadēva**[5][r]-virundaṅgaḷukkum makkaḷukkum nilam eṇ-vēliyum tāyār Vaippū-

27 ruḍaiyār-magaḷārkku nilam vēliyum u[ḍaṉ]-piṟanda peṇgaḷil Viḻiyūruḍaiyāṉukku pukka peṇṇukkum iva[ḷ]-magaḷukkum nilam iru-vēliyum āga ni[lam] nāṟpadiṟṟu-vēliyum antarāyam pāṭṭam-uṭpaḍa iṟaiili-

28 iṭṭamaikku ||—uḷvarikku eḻuttiṭṭār ||—Nandiyarāyar ||—Amarakōṉār ||—Kaṉakarāyar ||—Mūvēndarāyar ||—Jiṉattara[yar]||— Viśaiyarāyar||— Puravuvari-Śrīkaraṇa-nā[yakam]||— Śiṟukuḍaiyāṉ||— Kuṉṟaṅkiḻāṉ||— Kāṉūr-kiḻavaṉ||— Naṟiya[nū]r-Uḍaiy[ā]ṉ||—

29 Puravuvari-Śrīkaraṇattu Muṟave[ṭ*]ṭi Iṅgai-Uḍaiyāṉ ||—Ārūr-Uḍaiyāṉ ||—Tattainallūr-Uḍaiyāṉ||— Śiṟunallūr-Uḍaiyāṉ||— ippaḍikku pirasādañcheyd[*]-aru[ḷi]ṉa Śrī]-mugat-tukku eḻuttiṭṭār Chēdirāśar||— Vāṇādhurā[7] ......[va]rāsar

30 Rā[ja*] rā[ja*] Viḻupparayar ||—Śiṅgaḷarāyar ||—Nilagaṅgarayar||— Dīpattarayar ||—eḻudiṉāṉ tirumandira-ōlai Miṉavaṉ Mūvē[nda]vēḷāṉ ||—

TRANSLATION.

Ll. 1-8. Hail! Prosperity! In the **eighth year** (*of the reign*) of king **Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* the glorious **Rājādhirājadēva**, the emperor of the three worlds, when he was pleased to be seated along with (*his queen*) Ulagudai-Mukkōkki[ḻānadigaḷ] on the throne of heroes, made of pure gold, having been pleased to put on the lustrous crown (*so that*) the Goddess of the Earth surrounded by the sea, the goddess (*residing in*) the flower (*i.e.*, Lakshmī), the Goddess of Learning, the Goddess of War endowed with power and the Goddess of Prosperity all lived in amity as in the first *yuga*, (*his*) fame, white as the milky ocean, spread in the seven worlds surrounded by the four oceans, the six systems of philosophy (*flourished*), the five elements stood in their respective positions protecting the people, such kings as the Teṉṉavar (Pāṇḍyas), Śūralar (Chōḻas), Śiṅgaḷar (Singhalese) came carrying (*with them*) tribute and made their obeisance (*to him*), and his hoary sceptre well protected the seven worlds;

[1] The word *Rājādhirāja* is engraved in *Grantha*.

[2] The gap may be filled with the letters *ḷḷa pi*.

[3] The word intended was perhaps *Śēdan*.

[4] The letter *sa* is engraved in *Grantha* characters.

[5] The letters *dhi* and *rā* are engraved in *Grantha* characters.

[6] The word *nilam* may be lost here.

[7] The letters *Rājarāja* are engraved in *Grantha*.

When **Kuḷattuḷāṉ Tiruchchiṟṟambalamuḍaiyāṉ Perumāṉambi** *alias* **Pallavarāyar,**
(*a resident*) of Kārigai-Kuḷattūr in Śiṟukuṟa-nāḍu, which was a sub-division of Āmūr-kōṭṭam, a
district of Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam, who had received all honours (*varisai*) (*such as*) the position
of the Palace-Comptroller of the big household of Periyadēvar (*i.e.*, the senior king) **Rājarājadēva**
the headship of the several departments (*tuṟaigaḷ*) of the body of armed cavalry, retinue, etc., and
was managing such of the affairs as had been allotted to the chiefs, receiving all (*high*) dignities
attainable by the officers such as *muṉ-ēval*. Periyadēvar (*i.e.*, Rājarāja) passed away. His
(*Rājarāja's*) sons (*piḷḷaigaḷ*) (*being then*) aged one and two years, it became obligatory for them
to leave the citadel of **Āyirattaḷi.** And while they were moving, he (Pallavarāyar) safely
escorted the harem including all their retinue and conducted them to Rājarājapuram.

L. 9. Damaged.

Ll. 10-13. . . . . protected them warding off all possible danger from outside.
Even in earlier years, when the senior king was alive, it having been seen that there were no
sons fit for anointment, the (*exact*) state of affairs, as it (*then*) stood, (*was intimated to the king*)
. . . . and (*having brought*) the princes residing at Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷapuram, and at
the time of Periyadēvar's demise, he (Pallavarāyar) had Edirilipperumāḷ, son of Neriyuḍaipperumāḷ
and the grandson of Uḍaiyār Vikramaśōḷadēvar, who had already been invested with a crown and
was, therefore, bound to be installed on the throne, anointed (*king*) under the title of **Rājādhirāja-
dēva** in the fourth year (*of his installation*) and made the *uḍan-kūṭṭam* (*assembly*) and the *nāḍu*
(*chamber*) follow him without any dissensions. Thus, (*he*) brought all (*parties*) together so that
there might be no transgression. (*In this way he*) creditably discharged one of his commissions.

Ll. 14-21. While the king of Ceylon sent a large contingent of forces along with many chiefs
into the Pāṇḍya country so as to effect the capture of this kingdom, the Pāṇḍya (*king*) Kulaśēkhara
left his dominions and entering the Chōḷa country requested (*the king*) to get him (*back*) his terri-
tory: (*whereupon Pallavarāyar*) represented to (*the Chōḷa king*): that Uḍaiyār [Kulaśēkhara]dēva
should be made to get back the kingdom, that Laṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka and others who had
entered and taken possession of this (*Pāṇḍya*) kingdom should be killed and (*that*) their heads
should be nailed on to the gates of Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas. When the royal sanction
was obtained (*thereto*), he (Pallavarāyar) unsparingly did all that was necessary for (*the Pāṇḍya
king*) Kulaśēkhara and guarded (*him*) during his stay in the Chōḷa kingdom; captured the
Pāṇḍya country with (*the aid of*) his army, resources and zeal; and, as promised, killed Laṅkāpuri-
Daṇḍanāyaka and others and nailed their heads on to the gates of Madura; (*he*) made all
necessary arrangements for the entry of the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśēkhara into Madura; and by
making him (Kulaśēkhara) enter (*his capital*) Madura, prevented the Pāṇḍya kingdom from
becoming a Singhalese possession; and made the Toṇḍai-nāḍu and the Pāṇḍi-nāḍu subject to
him (*i.e.*, the Chōḷa), as was his own (Chōḷa) country.

When (*Pallavarāyar*) was thus in the height of power, having taken upon himself the manage-
ment of the country and having appointed persons capable of bearing the burden of the administra-
tion even after him (*i.e.*, *after his death*) in the same manner as it used to be done (*during his life-
time*) through his orders issued to capable officers administering the kingdom, he fell ill and died.
(*Thereupon*), his estate, 40 *vēli* in extent, in Rājādhirājaṉ-Kuḷattūr situated in Kuṟukkai-nāḍu, a
division of Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanāḍu, which was separated in the 8th year of the king,
from Chōḷēndrasiṁganallūr after discarding its old name, and being exempted from all taxes includ-
ing *antarāyam* and *pāṭṭam*, (*was distributed*[1] *among*) his wives, sons, their wives and children, (*his*)
daughters and mother, (*his*) uterine sister, her children and their relations, by Paḷaiyaṉūr-Uḍaiyāṉ

[1] It is noteworthy that in this distribution of lands, all the near relatives of the deceased are provided for.

Vēdavaṇam-Uḍaiyāṉ Ammaiyappaṉ *alias* **Pallavarāyaṉ** of Mōṉmalaip-Paḷaiyaṉūr in Jayaṅgoṇḍa-śōḷa-maṇḍalam for enjoyment (*as follows*) :—

Ll. 24-28 .	Among (*Pallavarāyar's*) wives (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) and (*d*).	(*a*) to the daughter of Śiṟṟālattūr-Uḍaiyāṉ.	three *veli* (*of*) land.
		(*b*) to the daughter of Āliṉāḍ-Uḍaiyāṉ.	three *veli* (*of*) land.
		(*c*) to the daughter of Norkuṉṟan-kiḻār Kaḷappāḷarāyar.	three *veli* (*of*) land.
	To the three married daughters of (*b*) above.	....	six *veli* (*of*) land at two *veli* per head.
	Among the sons of (*c*) above . .	to Aḻagiyadēvaṉ . . .	three *veli* (*of*) land.
	To the (*three*) daughters of (*c*) above	....	six *veli* (*of*) land at two *veli* per head.
	....	(*d*) to the daughter of Ambar Aruvandai Kāliṅgarāyar.	three *veli* (*of*) land.
	To the daughter of the son of (*d*) above, Śi[(*)la(ṉ*)] Tirunaṭṭamāḍi Virana[mbi] Dēvaṅguḍaiyāṉ and her daughter.	....	two *veli* (*of*) land.
	To the wife of Rājarājadēvar (who must have been another daughter of Pallavarāyar from (*d*) above) and her sons.	....	eight *veli* (*of*) land.
	To his mother	the daughter of Vaippūr-Uḍaiyār.	one *veli* (*of*) land.
	Among his sisters	to the wife of Valiyūr-Uḍaiyāṉ and her daughter.	two *veli* (*of*) land.

On the whole 40 *veli* of land was thus distributed, free of taxes, including *antarāyam* and *pāṭṭam*.

Ll. 28-30. The signatories to the *uḷvari* (*are*) :—

Nandiyarāyar||— Amarakōṉār||— Kaṉakarāyar||— Mūvēndarāyar||— Chiṉṉattara[yar]||— Viḻiyarāyar||— The *Puravu-vari Śrīkaraṇa-nāyakam* are :—Śiṟukuḍaiyāṉ||— Kuṉṟaṅkiḻāṉ||— Kāṉūr-kiḻavaṉ||— Nariyanūr-Uḍaiyāṉ||— The *puravuvari Śrīkaraṇattu Mugaveṭṭi* are :— Iṅgai-Uḍaiyāṉ||— Ārūr-Uḍaiyāṉ||— Tattainallūr-Uḍaiyāṉ||— Śiṟunallūr-Uḍaiyāṉ||— For the royal order that was issued, (*the attestors are*) :—Chēdirāśar||— Vāṇādhirā . . . . . [va]rāśar Rā[ja*]rā[ja*]viḻupparaiyar||— Śiṅgaḷarāyar||— Nīlagaṅgarayar||— Dīpattarayar||—

(*This royal order*) is the draft of the royal secretary Mīṉavaṉ Mūvē[nda]vēḷāṉ ||—

No. 32.—TWO BRICK INSCRIPTIONS FROM NALANDA.

BY N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., PH.D., OOTACAMUND.

The Buddhist *sūtra* forming the subject of this article is found in duplicate on **two incised bricks** which were discovered in 1924 by Mr. J. A. Page, the then Superintendent of the Central Circle, in small votive *stūpas* near the main *stūpa* at Nālandā.[1] The inscription on Brick A begins on the top surface and is continued on three sides, the right hand side and the bottom

[1] See *A. S. I. An. Rep.*, 1923-24, p. 74.

surface being left uninscribed. The writing on the top surface covers a space of 11¼" in length
and 8¾" in breadth while the breadth of the inscribed sides ranges from 1" to 1¼". The inscription
consists altogether of thirty-one lines of writing of which twenty-two lines are incised on the top
surface and three on each of the three other sides. Brick B, which contains twenty-three lines of
writing, is inscribed only on the top surface, the inscription covering a space which measures
14½" × 8". In A, the portions of writing coming in the middle of the top and the left hand side
are damaged while the inscription on B is in a fair state of preservation. The letters in both A
and B are not uniformly executed, their average size being from ¼ to ½ of an inch approximately.

Before proceeding with the discussion of palæography, I may point out that the two documents under discussion hold a peculiar position as epigraphs. It appears that the letters have
not been inscribed in the same way as inscriptions on stone or copper-plates. It is clear from
the shape of the letters that the scribe has engraved the text on the brick with a stylus or similar
sharp instrument. Thus we have to consider the documents more in the nature of manuscripts
than inscriptions and, as one would expect in such records, the writing is in a much more cursive
hand than one would ordinarily find in inscriptions. The **characters** found on these records
belong to the Gupta script of a comparatively later period, more strictly to the period of transition from the Gupta to the acute-angled stage and may be ascribed to the **sixth century of the
Christian era.** As to their **palæography** the following points may be noticed : of the initial
vowels the lower portion of *a* and *ā* shows a curve open to the left and the sign for the length of
ā is expressed by a hook attached to the foot of the right vertical. *I* is denoted by three dots and
in *e* the apex of the triangle is pointed downwards. Of the consonants, single *k* is written in
the same way as in the Gupta period and does not yet show a loop on the left but such loops are
noticed in places in ligatures (*cf. saṁskāra* in l. 3, *skandha* in l. 11, *etc.*). The triangle of *kh* stands
at the right of the vertical and not to its left as found in the acute-angled alphabet, but in common
with the latter the third as well as the central horizontal line of *j* are slanting downwards and *d*
has a serif in the lower end. In *n* the right stroke has not yet become vertical as we find from
the 7th century onwards, though a loop has been attached to its left. *Bh* is as in the Gupta
period[1] and has not yet formed the triangle on the left. Y is tripartite with a hook to the left
which led up to the later bipartite *y*. *Ṣ* is tonnled at the top of the middle vertical touching the
right and the left limbs. Lingual *ḷ* occurs twice in the document (*cf. khuḷa-khuḷa*, B l. 19), a
peculiarity not found in later documents. The *Virāma* is denoted by a stroke above the consonant (*cf. kotamat*, ll. 10, 14, 15) and the superscript *r* is denoted by an angular stroke on top
evidently owing to cursive forms of letters.

The **language** of both the documents is Sanskrit which is on the whole correct. Rules of
sandhi have not been strictly adhered to. As regards **orthography**, attention may be drawn
to the following points. Consonants with a superscript or subscript *r* have at times been doubled,
e.g., *vahirddhā* (B l. 6), *pūrvvatvam* (A l. 14), *anvikkrāntiro* (A l. 21). *Sk* is frequently written
as *ks* in A, *e.g.*, *saṁksāra* for *saṁskāra* (A l. 3, *etc.*). *V* and *b* have not been distinguished except
in *kubja* (B l. 19 ; A l. 23). Two different marks of punctuation have been used, one, the
ordinary mark represented by a small curve (⌒) like a comma written horizontally, and the other,
a rare one, denoted by two vertical lines (*cf.* B l. 15 after *chu* and A l. 30 after *iti*). The former
has been shown in the transcript below, with a *daṇḍa*.

The text of the *sūtra* as found in both the bricks is substantially the same. I have given
below only the text of B, which is the better preserved of the two documents, while the slight
differences in reading, occurring in A, have been noticed in the foot-notes. They contain the
text of the well-known *Pratītyasamutpāda* or *Nidāna-sūtra* as well as its *vibhaṅga* or division.

[1] *Cf.* the inscription of Tōramāṇa, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Pl. XXXIII.A.

The *sūtra*[1] portion is found in Buddhist literature both in Pāli and Sanskrit,[2] while the *vibhaṅga* portion is closely connected with the *vibhaṅga* found in the Nidāna Saṁyutta.[3] B does not give any colophon while at the end of A we find only *Pratītyasamutpādaḥ samāptaḥ.*

In addition to these records, several other bricks and terracotta slabs containing the Nidāna-sūtra have been found at Nālandā. But none of them is complete and they contain only a fragment of the *sūtra* and sometimes that of the *nirōdha*[4] portion as well, but none contains the *vibhaṅga* as found in the two records under discussion. All are written in a cursive hand (No. S. 8, Reg. 237 of the Central Circle, being the most cursive), just as the two documents dealt with here. Of these, No. S. 3, Reg. 237 contains seven fragmentary lines of the *sūtra* and Brick C seven such lines of the *nirōdha* only. No. S. 3, Reg. 242 is inscribed on both sides (of which portions of five lines only remain on each side) and contains fragments of the *sūtra* with its *nirōdha*. No. S. 3, Reg. 236 originally contained the *sūtra* with its *nirōdha* which was repeated thrice. Only at the end of the *nirōdha* portion we find an additional sentence which reads *iyaṁ samyak-prakritir-asaṁskritā niyam-āvakkrā[ntēr=iti]*.

Inscriptions containing the text of the Nidāna Sūtra have also been found in places other than Nālandā. Bricks with this *sūtra* inscribed on them have been discovered at Gopalpur in the Gorakhpur District of the United Provinces.[5] Besides these we find the text inscribed on the Kasiā copper-plate[6] and the Kurram casket.[7] Of these the first two are written in the Gupta script and Sanskrit language while the third is written in the Kharōshṭhī script and a Prākṛit dialect. Palæographically all the three appear to belong to a period earlier than that of the two Nālandā bricks under discussion, the Kurram casket being the earliest in date. The text in Pāli is not also unknown. A manuscript with leaves of gold but resembling in every way a palm-leaf manuscript, has been discovered within a relic chamber unearthed at Hmawza[8] in Prome District of Lower Burma. The writing is in the South Indian Script of the 6th or 7th century A.D. then in common use in Burma and the language is Pāli. The manuscript contains, among other extracts from the Piṭakas, the text of the Paṭichcha Samuppāda Sutta.

The text of the *sūtra* on the Gopalpur bricks and the Kasiā copper-plate is on the whole identical. Both contain the positive and the negative arrangements of the 'Propositions of the Theory of Causes', here technically termed as the *āchaya* (*i.e.*, collection) and the *apachaya* (the loss) of Dharma, the latter corresponding to the *nirōdha* portion of the *sūtra* as found in Pāli and Sanskrit texts. The text of the Kurram Casket contains only the positive arrangements of the *sūtra* and is termed *Pañichasamupade* (Skt. *Pratītyasamutpāda*). The interest of the present

[1] This has been shown in the text in italics for facility of reference while the rest is the *vibhaṅga*.

[2] See *Vinaya Piṭaka* (ed. Oldenburg), I, pp. 1 ff.; *Saṁyutta-Nikāya*, II, pp. 1 ff., etc.; *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I, pp. 190, 257; *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 300, 547; *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 1; *Lalita Vistara* (ed. Lefmann), p. 347. In most of these texts we find the positive as well as the negative (*nirōdha*) arrangement of the Pratītyasamutpāda.

[3] *Saṁyutta-Nikāya*, Vol. II, pp. 2 ff.

[4] The twelve-fold *Pratītyasamutpāda* or the propositions of the Buddhist Theory of Causation are often found in their 'positive and negative' arrangement. It is essential for a Buddhist to study and learn the respective links in this chain of causation and to understand it in its positive and negative arrangements, both forward and backward (Pāli, *anuloma* and *paṭiloma*). For an explanation of this theory *cf.* Oldenburg, *Buddha* (English translation), pp. 223 ff.; Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, pp. 155 ff.; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 47 ff.; Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Doctrine of the Buddha*, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 876 ff.; etc.

[5] *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1896, p. 99.

[6] *A. S. I. Annual Report*, 1910-11, pp. 78 ff.

[7] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 17, and *C. I. I.*, Vol. I, Pt. i, p. 155.

[8] *A. S. I. Annual Report*, 1926-27, p. 200.

records, however, lies in the fact that they contain the positive arrangement of the *sūtra* and also a *vibhaṅga* or division which is not met with in other records so far discovered. Besides this the present text has an interest of its own. As has been pointed out by Dr. Bagchi in his notes appended below, it was the same text which was translated by Yuan Chwang in 661 A.D., *i.e.*, three years before his death. Recently Prof. G. Tucci has published the fragments of the *Pratītya-samutpāda-vyākhyā*, a commentary on the *Pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra* by Vasubandhu[1] (*circa* 4th or 5th century), a work which was already known through its Tibetan translation. But it will be of great interest to observe that the text on which Vasubandhu, himself a teacher at Nālandā for some time, wrote a commentary, must have been the same as that now published. Thus the Nālandā text of the *Pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra* reveals to us the original Sanskrit text of a *sūtra* of great importance which was so far known only through translations.

It is to be noted that all these documents containing the text of the *Pratītya-samutpāda* were found imbedded in *stūpas*. Of these the Kasiā copper-plate and the Kurram Casket contain the names of donors. The former was the gift of one Haribala who deposited it in the (*Pari*)-*nirvāṇa-chaitya* while the inscription on the latter informs us that the casket contained the corporeal relics of the Buddha and the *Pratītya-samutpāda* was written 'for the honouring of all beings'. The present records and the Gopalpur brick inscriptions contain no names of the donors. Now the question that naturally arises is this: what was the object of writing down the Nidāna Sūtra and depositing it in the *stūpas*? It was done obviously for the sake of gaining merit, but why was the Nidāna Sūtra selected above all others? We know that among the Buddhists there are four classes of objects of worship—(i) the corporeal remains of the Buddha, (ii) objects used by the Buddha himself such as staffs, bowls, pieces of articles forming his robes, *etc.*, (iii) objects indirectly connected with the Buddha and thus regarded as holy such as the *bōdhi-tree*, *chaitya*, *etc.*, and (iv) *Dhamma* as preached by the Buddha. I-tsing also gives us some interesting information on this point. "The priests and laymen in India," says the Chinese pilgrim, "make Chaityas or images with earth, or impress the Buddha's image on silk or paper, and worship it with offerings wherever they go. Sometimes they build Stūpas of the Buddha by making a pile surrounding it with bricks. They sometimes form these Stūpas in lonely fields, and leave them to fall in ruins. Anyone may thus employ himself in making the objects for worship. Again when the people make images and Chaityas which consist of gold, silver, copper, iron, earth, lacquer, bricks and stone, or when they heap up the snowy sand (lit. sand-snow), they put in the images or Chaityas two kinds of Śarīras. 1. The relics of the Great Teacher. 2. The Gāthā of the Chain of Causation."[2] The *gāthā* referred to by I-tsing is the well-known Buddhist formula *ye dhammā etc.* supposed to have been spoken by Aśvajit to Śāriputra.[3] Prof. Oldenburg and Rhys Davids pointed out long ago[4] that this stanza alludes, undoubtedly, to the Nidānasūtra, 'which explains the origination and cessation of what are called here *dhammā hetu-ppabhavā*'. The Sanskrit version of this stanza is extensively found on Buddhist votive gifts such as images,

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, pp. 613 ff. Prof. Tucci in the text published by him has underlined the portion quoted from the *sūtra*, but on comparison with the Nālandā text it will be observed that his division of the original text and the commentary is not everywhere correct. Moreover, I do not agree with him that in Vasubandhu's work *vibhaṅga* was 'the name of the various chapters each corresponding to a particular *nidāna*' (*ibid.*, p. 612, n. 1). The text commented on by Vasubandhu is identical with that obtained at Nālandā and contained at the beginning the Nidāna Sūtra followed by the *vibhaṅga* in connection with each *nidāna*. Thus he is not right in giving the title *Avidyā-vibhaṅga* to the first section of the work which deals only with the *sūtra* portion.

[2] I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion* (translated by J. Takakusu), p. 150.

[3] See *The Vinaya Piṭaka* (ed. Oldenburg), I. p. 40.

[4] See *S. B. E.*, Vol. XIII.

tablets, plaques, etc., throughout the Buddhist world.[1] The blessings derived from putting in the images or *chaityas* the *śarīras* mentioned above are abundant.[2] The authentic relics of the Buddha were always scarce and must have been more so after the early centuries of the Christian era. That is why we find in the *stūpas* at Nālandā and other places only tablets containing the Nidānasūtra, which was part of the *Dhamma* preached by the Buddha himself. To a Buddhist this *sūtra* is next in sacredness only to the four venerable truths (*ārya-satyāni*) and is very important since a proper understanding of this leads to the way of Nirvāṇa. Nāgārjuna said in his *Suhṛillēkha*, "Even though fire should be burning above our head,.... ......we ought to waste no time in putting it out, but should keep in view perpetually our Final Liberation (*Mōksha*), reflecting on the truths of the 'Chain of Causality'."[3] It is no wonder, therefore, that this *sūtra* is considered as of paramount importance and has so frequently been found deposited in the votive *stūpas* raised by the Buddhist monks as well as laymen.

The following text is transcribed from impressions and photographs kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Central Circle. As the Chinese translation, an English rendering of which has been appended below by Dr. Bagchi, followed the Sanskrit original quite closely, I have not given a separate translation of the Sanskrit text but have noticed the slight differences found in places in the foot-notes to Dr. Bagchi's translation.

TEXT.

1 Siddham[4] [।*] Ēvaṁ mayā śrutam=ēkasmin=samayē Bhagavāñ=chChrāvastyāṁ viharati sma Jētavanē Anāthapiṇḍadasy=ārāmē[5] mahatā bhikshu-saṅghēna sārdham=ardha[6]-trayōdaśa[7]bhir=bhikshu-śataiḥ [।*] Tatra Bhagavān bhikshū-ṇām=ā[ma*]ntra-

2 yatē[8] sma Pratītya-samutpādasya vō bhikshavaḥ ādi[m*] vō dēśayishyāmi vibhaṅgaṁ cha[9] tach=chhṛi[ṇu*]ta[10] sādhu cha sushṭhu cha manasi kuruta bhāshishyē Pratītya-samutpādasy=ādiḥ katamaḥ [।*] *yad=ut=āsmin=sat=[i]daṁ bhavaty=asy=ōtpāda(dā)[11]d=ida-*

3 *m=utpadyatē yad=ut=āvidyā-pratyayāḥ saṁskārāḥ[12] saṁskāra-pratyayaṁ vijñānaṁ vijñāna-pratyayaṁ nāmarūpa[ṁ] nāmarūpa-pratyayaṁ shaḍ-āyatanaṁ shaḍ-āyatana-pratyayaḥ sparśaḥ (rśaḥ)[13] sparśa-pratyayā vēdanā vēdanā-*

4 *pratyayā tṛishṇā tṛishṇā-pratyayā(ya)m-[14]upādānaṁ upādāna-pratyayō bhavaḥ bhava-pratyayā jātiḥ jāti-pratyayā jarā-maraṇa-śōka-paridēva-duḥkha-daurmanasy-ōpāyāsāḥ saṁbhava(mbha)vanty[15]=ēvam=asya kēvala-*

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[1] [The latest finds of this kind are from Nālandā and Pāhārpur excavations, where thousands of tiny clay votive stūpas have been discovered in the relic chamber of small stūpas, each encasing little clay seals inscribed with the Buddhist creed.—Ed.]

[2] I-tsing, *A Record etc.*, p. 151.

[3] Translated by I-tsing in his *Record*, p. 161.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] The record A has a mark of punctuation here.

[6] A reads *ardha*.

[7] There is a small stroke above *tra* in both which may be accidental.

[8] A reads correctly *śasaira'*.

[9] A has 'śṛuṇu=cha.

[10] A reads *chhṛiṇuta* correctly.

[11] A reads *dā* correctly.

[12] Here and in several other places A reads *saṁkā'*.

[13] A has correctly *sparśaḥ*.

[14] A has *pratyayam*.

[15] A reads *sambhavanty*.

5 *eya mahatô duḥkha-skandhasya samudayô [bha]vati*[1] [|*] Ayam-uchyatê Pratyaya-samutpâdasy=âdiḥ [|*] Vibhaṅgaḥ katamaḥ [|*] *Avidyâ-pratyayâḥ saṁskârâḥ* [|*] Avidyâ[2] katamâ | Yat-pûrvvântê[3] ajñânam aparântê[3] ajñâ-

6 naṁ pûrvânt-âparântê ajñânaṁ adhyâtmam=ajñânam va(ba)hirddhâ ajñânaṁ adhyâtma-va(ba)hi[rddhâ] ajñânaṁ karmaṇy=ajñânaṁ vipâkê ajñânaṁ karma-vipâkê ajñânaṁ Va(Bu)ddhê ajñânam Dharmê ajñânaṁ Saṅghê ajñânaṁ[1] duḥkhê

7 ajñânaṁ[4] samudayê ajñânam nirôdhê ajñânam[1] mârgê ajñânaṁ[1] hêtâv=ajñânaṁ[1] hêtu-samutpannêshu dharmêshv=ajñânaṁ[1] kuśal-âkuśalêshu sâvady-ânavadyêshu[1] sêvitavy-âsêvi-

8 tavyêshu hîna-praṇita-kṛishṇa-śukla-sapratibhâga-Pratîtya-samutpannêshu dharmêshv=ajñânaṁ[1] shaṭsu vâ punaḥ sparś-âyatanêshu yathâbhûta-saṁprativê-(bê)dha iti | Yat-tatra tatra yathâbhû-

9 tasy=âjñânam=adarśanam=anabhisamayaḥ tamaḥ saṁmôhaḥ avidy-ândhakâram=iyam=uchyatê avidyâ | Avidyâ-pratyayâḥ saṁskârâ iti [|*] Saṁskârâḥ katamê [|*] Trayaḥ saṁskârâḥ [|*]

10 Kâya-saṁskârâḥ vâk-saṁskârâḥ manaḥ-saṁskârâ iti | *Saṁskâra-pratyayaṁ vijñânam=iti* | Vijñânaṁ katamat [|*] Shaḍ=vijñâna-kâyâḥ [|*] Chakshu[r]-vi[j]ñânaṁ śrôtra-ghrâṇa-jihvâ-kâya-manô-vijñânaṁ [|*]

11 *Vijñâna-pratyayaṁ nâma-rûpam=iti*[4] | Nâma katamat [|*] Chatvâraḥ arûpiṇaḥ skandhâḥ [|*] Katamê chatvâraḥ [|*] Vêdanâ-skandhaḥ saṁjñâ-s[k]andhaḥ saṁskâra-skandhaḥ vijñâna-skandhaḥ [|*] Rûpaṁ katamat [|*]

12 Yat-kiṁchid-rûpaṁ sarvvaṁ tach-chatvâri mahâbhûtâni | Chatvâri cha mahâbhûtâny=upâdâya it=idaṁ cha rûpaṁ pûrvakaṁ cha nâma tad=aikadhyam=abhisaṁkshipya nâma-rûpam=ity=uchyatê [|*][1] *Nâma-rûpa-pratyayaṁ shaḍ-â-*

13 *yatanam=iti* | Shaḍ-âyatanaṁ katamat [|*] Shaḍ=adhyâtmikâny=âyatanâni [|*] Chakshur=âdhyâtmikam=âyatanaṁ[5] śrôtra-ghrâ(ṇa-jihvâ-kâya-mana[ḥ*])[5]-adhyâtmikam=âyatanaṁ | *Shaḍ-âyatana-pratyayaḥ*

14 *sparśaḥ* iti [|*] Sparśaḥ katamaḥ [|*] Shaṭ=sparśakâyâḥ [|*] Chakshuḥ-saṁsparśaḥ śrôtra-ghrâṇa-jihvâ-kâya-manaḥ-saṁsparśaḥ [|*] *Sparśa*[7]*-pratyayâ vêdan=êti* | Vêdanâ katamâ | Tisrô vêdanâḥ [|*] Sukhâ

15 duḥkhâ aduḥkh=âsukhâ cha || *Vêdanâ-pratyayâ tṛishṇ=êti* | Tṛishṇâ katamâ [|*] Tisra[ḥ*][8]=tṛishṇâḥ [|*] Kâma-tṛishṇâ[1] rûpa-tṛishṇâ[1] arûpya-tṛishṇâ cha | *Tṛishṇâ-pratyayam=upâdânam=iti* | Upâdânaṁ katamat [|*]

[1] A has a mark of punctuation here.
[2] A reads *pûrvvântê* and *aparântê* here and in the next line.
[3] A reads wrongly *avati*.
[4] A reads *înamâ*.
[5] A has the correct reading *Tisrava*.
[6] A reads *âyatanâya*.
[7] A has a punctuation mark here.
[8] A reads wrongly *sparśâ*.

B

HIRANANDA SASTRI.

Reg. No. 2916 E. 32. – 850.

SCALE: FULL SIZE.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

16 Chatvāry=upādānāni [।*] Kām-ōpādānaṁ[1] drishty[2]-upādānaṁ[1] śīla-vrat-ōpādānaṁ ātma-vād-ōpādānaṁ[3] । *Upādāna-pratyay(ō) bhava* iti [।*] Bhavaḥ katamaḥ [।*] Trayō bhavāḥ [।*] Kāma-bhavaḥ rūpa-bhavaḥ arū[4]-

17 pya-bhavaḥ [।*] *Bhava-pratyayā jātir=iti* । Jātiḥ katamā । Yā tēshāṁ tēshāṁ satvānāṁ tasmiṁs[5]-tasmiṁn(smin)-satva-nikāyē jātiḥ saṁjātir-avakrāṁtir[6]-abhinirvrittiḥ prādurbhāvaḥ skandha-pratilambhō dhātu-prati-

18 lambhaḥ āyatana-pratilambhaḥ skandhānām=abhinirvrittiḥ jīvit-ēndriyasya [prādu]rbhāvaḥ [।*] *Jāti-pratyayaṁ jarā-maraṇam* iti [।*] Jarā katamā । Yat=tat-[kh]ālatyaṁ pālityaṁ vali-prachuratā

19 jīrṇatā bhugnatā kubja[7]-gōpānasī-vaṅkatā tila-kālakā-chita-gātratā ।[8] khuḍa-khuḍa-praśvāsa-kāyatā purataḥ prāg-bhāra-kāyatā ।[8] daṇḍa-vishkambhaṇatā ।[8] dhandhatvaṁ mandatvaṁ hāniḥ pari[hā*]ṇiḥ[8]

20 indriyāṇāṁ paripākaḥ paribhēdaḥ saṁskārāṇāṁ purāṇībhāvaḥ jarjarībhāvaḥ iyam=uchyatē jarā । Maraṇaṁ katamat [।*] Yā tēshāṁ tēshāṁ satvānāṁ tasmāt-tasmāt-sa[tva]-nikā-

21 yāt chyutiś=chyavanataḥ bhēdō=ntara-hāniḥ āyushō hāniḥ ūshmaṇō hāniḥ jīvit-ēndriyasya nirōdhaḥ skandhānāṁ nikshēpō maraṇaṁ kāla-kriyā idam=uchyatē maraṇam=iti [।*]

22 Idaṁ cha maraṇaṁ pū[r]vikā cha jarā tad-ubhayam=aikadhyam=abhisaṁkshipya jarā-maraṇam=ity=uchyatē । Ayam=uchyatē Pratītya-samutpādasya vibhaṅgaḥ [।*] Pratītya-samutpādasya ādi[m*] vō

23 dēśayishyāmi vibhaṅgaṁ=cha iti vō yad-uktam=idam=ētat-pratyuktaṁ [।*] Idam=avōchad=Bhagavān=[ātta]manasaḥ[10] tē bhikshavō Bhagavatō bhāshitam=abhyanandam iti (danu-iti)||[11]

No. 33.—A NOTE ON THE PRATITYA SAMUTPADA SUTRA.

By P. C. Bagchi, M.A., D. ès-lettres; Calcutta.

The small Sanskrit Buddhist text here published by Dr. Chakravarti is of considerable interest for the student of Buddhism. The colophon of the text contained in one of the bricks runs thus—*Pratītyasamutpādaḥ samāptaḥ*. The text contains an enumeration of the causes of "dependent production," their definition and division (*vibhaṅga*). The complete title of the text was apparently, either *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra* or *Pratītya-samutpāda-sūtra-vibhaṅga*.

Though the original text was unknown till now we were acquainted with it through the fragment of a commentary of Vasubandhu discovered from Nepal and published by Prof Tucci.[12] Only six leaves of the complete manuscript were found in the admirable collection of His Holiness the Rajaguru Hēmarāja Śarmā. They contain fragments of Vasubandhu's commentary on the five *vibhaṅgas* : *avidyā, vēdanā, trishṇā, upādāna* and *bhava*. This commentary is preserved

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[1] A has a punctuation mark here.
[2] A reads wrongly *drishṭi-upā°*.
[3] A reads *cha* after this.
[4] A reads *ārūpya*.
[5] A reads *pariśishṭ*.
[6] A has *tasmin tasmimn*.
[7] A gives *°kkrāntir*.
[8] A also gives *kubja*.
[9] Mark of punctuation unnecessary.
[10] Read *manasaḥ*.
[11] A reads at the end *=abhyanandann=iti* | *Pratītyasamu[tpādaḥ] samāptaḥ*.
[12] *A fragment from the Pratītya-samutpāda-vyākhyā of Vasubandhu*, J. R. A. S., 1930, pp. 611-623.

in its entirety in the Tibetan collection (Cordier, *Catalogue* p. 365). A gloss on the commentary of Vasubandhu made by Guṇamati is also preserved in Tibetan in the same volume of the *Bstan Agyur*. The title of Vasubandhu's work as preserved in Tibetan is *Pratītya-samutpāda-vibhaṅga-nirdēśa* but it was also commonly known as *Pratītya-samutpāda-vyākhyā* (see the fragment published by Tucci).

The Nālandā text is also preserved in a Chinese translation. It is No. 628 *Yuan ki king* of Nanjio's Catalogue in which Nanjio has inaccurately restored the title as *Nidāna-sūtra*. The translation has been published in Taishō Edition of the Tripiṭaka, Vol. II (Āgama), pp. 547-548 (No. 124). The translation was prepared by Hiuan Tsang on the 9th day of the 7th month of the year 661 A.D. The *K'ai yuan she kiao lu* (Tokio Ed. p. 706 11) mentions this translation on the authority of an unknown source called *Fan king tu* and says that it is a different translation of the 46th chapter of the Ēkōttarāgama. The text is found in the Taishō Tripiṭaka Vol. II, p. 794 *Fang niu king*. The Ēkōttarāgama was translated into Chinese by Gautama Saṅghadēva in 383 A.D. A separate translation of the same text was made by Kumārajīva a few years later —viz. the *Fang niu king*.[1] The same text is also found in another translation in the Chinese Saṁyukta-Āgama (Taishō II, p. 342, Ch. 47, Nos. 1248-1249). An examination of the texts shows that Saṁyukta 1248 is identical with the Chullagopālaka-suttanta and Saṁyukta 1249 with the Mahāgopālaka-suttanta of the Pāli Majjhima (Nos. 34 and 33). To this latter correspond also the text translated by Kumārajīva and that of the Ēkōttara. But I fail to understand why the Chinese sources, and after them the Japanese editors, think that the Chinese version of the Gopālaka-sutta is a different translation of the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra*. Even a superficial examination of this text will show that it has no fundamental relation with the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra*.

Dr. Chakravarti has suggested a relation of the Nālandā text with the Desanā and Vibhaṅga of the Pāli Saṁyutta, II, pp. 1 ff. The Desanā consists of two parts, *Pratītya-samutpāda* and its *nirōdha*. The first part of the Desanā which deals with the *Pratītya-samutpāda* is almost identical with the corresponding part of the Nālandā text but the portion dealing with the *nirōdha* is not found in the Nālandā text. Besides, though the Vibhaṅga portion is fundamentally the same in both the texts, in the Saṁyutta text it is given in an inverse order beginning with the *jarā-maraṇa*. Moreover the Vibhaṅga portion in the Saṁyutta is much more amplified than that in the Nālandā text. The Saṁyutta text (including the *Pratītya-samutpāda*, its *nirōdha* and its *vibhaṅga*) really corresponds with section 298 of the Chinese Saṁyukta (Taishō Ed. II, pp. 85 ff.) which was translated by Guṇabhadra in the beginning of the 5th century A.D. The original text of the Saṁyukta had been brought to China from India by Fa Hien in 414 A.D.[2] The Sanskrit original of the Desanā (the *Pratītya-samutpāda* and *Nirōdha* portions only) was discovered by Dr. Hirananda Sastri in a copper plate inscription found at Kasiā (ancient Kuśinagara). It was published by Mr. F. E. Pargiter in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey* 1910-1911, pp. 71 ff. A comparison of the Pāli, Sanskrit and Chinese versions of the Desanā shows that the Sanskrit text was the original on which the Chinese translation was based. The formula, *yad=ut=āsmin=sat=idaṁ bhavaty=asy=ōtpādād=idam=utpadyatē*, which occurs in the Kasiā and Nālandā text is not found in the Pāli Desanā but occurs in the Chinese translation. The Chinese text of the Saṁyukta has on the whole greater affinities with the Nālandā and Kasiā texts of the Pratītya-samutpāda and its Vibhaṅga than with the Saṁyutta text of Desanā and Vibhaṅga.

[1] Nanjio 627, Taishō Ed. II, p. 546; Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique* I, p. 190 "Sūtra on a pastor".
[2] See Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique*, pp. 347 and 382.

It is however clear that the Nālandā text did not exactly belong either to the Saṁyukta or to any other Āgama. Though the translation of Hiuan Tsang is included in the Āgama volume of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, it does not precisely form part of any of the Āgamas there. It is printed there at the end of the Saṁyuktāgama. It probably shows that Hiuan Tsang himself as well as the later Chinese writers on the Tripiṭaka had some doubts about the canonical character of the text. As Vasubandhu in all probability flourished towards the beginning of the 5th Century A.D. and commented on the text, it must have been in existence before that time.

The *Pratītyasamutpāda* formula is mentioned in very ancient texts. The *Sūtrālaṅkāra* of Aśvaghōsha, now preserved only in a Chinese translation made by Kumārajīva, narrates the story of the conversion of the Brahman Kauśika of Pāṭaliputra. This Brahman while searching sacred texts in the house of his relative came upon a Buddhist text called the "Sūtra of the twelve Nidānas," a study of which impressed him so much that he adopted the Buddhist faith.[1]

The chronology of the texts therefore stands thus :—

Kurram text (*Pratītya-samutpāda*)[2]	*Circa* 100 A.D.
Sūtrālaṁkāra Text (*Pratītyasamutpāda* and *Nirōdha*) . .	*Circa* 100 A.D.
Chinese Saṁyukta text (*Prati*° and *Vibhaṅga*) translated by Guṇabhadra in	414 A.D.
Kasiā text (*Pratītyasamutpāda* and *Nirōdha*). . . .	*Circa* 450-475 A.D.
Nālandā text (*Prati*° and *Vibhaṅga*)	*Circa* 500 A.D.

This analysis, it seems to me, throws some light on the formation of the Canon. It shows that the Āgamas were still in the process of formation, even shortly before the time of Vasubandhu (fifth century A. D.). In that case we must assume that the formation of the Pāli Nikāyas had not then been completed, as the Saṁyutta text of Desanā and Vibhaṅga not only embodies all the elements of the texts just analysed (viz. *Pratītya*°, *Nirōdha* and *Vibhaṅga*) but its *Vibhaṅga* is much more developed than in the Sanskrit text. The late date of at least parts of the Pāli canon, as established in this case, has also been hinted by other scholars.

I give below an English rendering of the Chinese text (No. 628 *Yuan ki king* of Nanjio's catalogue) which closely corresponds to the Sanskrit text recovered from Nālandā.

The discourse on the chain of Dependent Production.

Thus have I heard. Once upon a time the Lord was staying at Śrāvastī and residing in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada in the Jēta forest with innumerable[3] Śrāvakas, Bōdhisattvas, gods and men. At that time the Lord said to the assembly of monks,—I will (Oh monks) promulgate to

[1] The text ran thus—"The ignorance produces the *saṁskāras*, the *saṁskāras* produce the knowledge, the knowledge produces *nāmarūpa*, the latter produce the six senses, the six senses contact, contact thirst, thirst attachment, attachment existence, existence birth, birth old age, death, suffering and sorrow. If ignorance is suppressed, the *saṁskāras* are suppressed, the *saṁskāras* suppressed the knowledge is suppressed, the knowledge suppressed the *nāmarūpa* is suppressed, the *nāmarūpa* suppressed the six senses are suppressed, the six senses suppressed contact is suppressed, contact suppressed thirst is suppressed, thirst suppressed attachment is suppressed, the attachment suppressed the existence is suppressed, the existence suppressed the birth is suppressed, birth, death, suffering and sorrow, all are suppressed" (E. Huber, *Sūtrālaṁkāra*, Paris, 1908).

[2] For a Prākrit text inscribed on the Kurram Casket, see Sten Konow, *Kharōshṭhī Inscriptions*, *C. I. I.*, Vol. I, pt. i, No. LXXX.

[3] [The Skt. text refers to 650 monks, but not to 'Śrāvakas, Bōdhisattvas, gods and men.'—Ed.]

you the meaning of the fundamentals[1] of the Pratītya-samutpāda and its different derivatives. You ought to listen to it and bear it in mind perfectly well.[2] I will explain[3] it to you to-day.

The assembly[4] of the monks expressed its willingness saying—' We shall all be happy to hear it '.

Buddha said—How many are the fundamentals of the *Pratītya-samutpāda* ? This being, it becomes ; this producing, it is produced.[5] Nescience is the cause of constituents (*saṁskāra*), constituents are the cause of consciousness (*vijñāna*), consciousness is the cause of individuality (*nāmarūpa*), individuality is the cause of six sense-organs (*shaḍāyatana*), the six sense-organs are the cause of contact (*sparśa*), the contact is the cause of sensation (*vēdanā*), sensation is the cause of thirst (*trishṇā*), thirst is the cause of attachment (*upādāna*), attachment is the cause of existence (*bhava*), existence is the cause of birth (*jāti*), birth is the cause of old age and death (*jarā-maraṇa*). They produce sorrow, lamentation, pain, troubles and anxieties.[6] This is called the origin (*samudaya*) of all that is suffering (*duḥkha-skandha*)[7]. Such is the import of the fundamentals of the chain of dependent production.

How many are the derivatives[8] of the chain of dependent production ? We have said that nescience is the cause of constituents. How manifold is the nescience ? It is nescience in the past, nescience in the future and nescience in both the past and the future ; it is nescience inside, nescience outside and nescience both in and out ; it is nescience in action, nescience in its maturation (*vipāka*) and nescience both in action and its maturation ; it is nescience in the Buddha, nescience in Dharma and nescience in Saṅgha. It is nescience in pain, nescience in its origin, nescience in its annihilation, and nescience in the path (*mārga*). It is nescience in cause and nescience in its fruit (*phala*).[9] It is nescience in all *dharmas* that are produced from causes. It is nescience in what is good and what is not good. It is nescience in what is offensive and what is not offensive. It is nescience in what ought to be practised and what ought not to be practised. It is nescience in what is low and bad and what is noble[10] and good. It is nescience in what is black and what is white. It is nescience in different parts. It is nescience either in

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[1] In Chinese we have a word which literally means "origin", "commencement", *etc.*, which is regularly used for *ādi*. *Ādi* is here used in the sense of "primaries" and *vibhaṅga* in the sense of "secondaries". *Vibhaṅga* is translated in Chinese by "division", "classification", *etc.* It is here used in the sense of "secondaries". So I have translated the two words as "fundamentals" and "derivatives" respectively. Vasubandhu in his commentary already referred to explains *ādi* as *uddēśa* and *vibhaṅga* as *nirdēśa*. The Kasiā text has *upachaya* instead of *vibhaṅga* as in that text the *nirōdha* is described instead of *vibhaṅga*.

[2] Chinese *hi shen*. 'hi' means "to the highest point", "with perfection", etc., and *shen* means "well", "good". The expression evidently translates Skt. *sādhu cha sushṭhu cha*. Before *sādhu* the Kasiā text has *upachayaṁ cha* instead of *vibhaṅgaṁ*.

[3] Chinese has literally—" To-day by making distinction I will tell you ".

[4] [This does not occur in the Skt. text from Nālandā.—Ed.]

[5] This formula does not occur in the Pāli text of *Saṁyutta*. The Chinese literally means : " (It) relies on the becoming, therefore it becomes. It produces, therefore it is produced ". The Kasiā text has got the formula in the same form as it is found in the Nālandā text. Tucci (*J. R. A. S.*, 1930, p. 614) has collected a number of references to this passage. *Śālistamba* ap. de la Vallée Poussin, *Théorie des douze causes*, p. 71 ; *Pratītyasamutpāda*, p. 9 (and note 7 by the editor) ; *Mahāvastu*, Vol. II, p. 285.

[6] The Nālandā text : *śōka-paridēva-duḥkha-daurmanasy-ōpāyāsāḥ*.

[7] *Skandha* is used here in a collective sense, meaning " all that is comprised under *dukkha*, *i.e.*, suffering ". The phrase *kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa samudayo* with reference to the *Paṭichcha-samuppāda* is very common in Pāli. See *Pāli Dictionary* (Stede and Rhys Davids), *sub. verb.* The compilers translate the phrase as " origin of all that is suffering ".

[8] The Kasiā text has naturally *dharmāṇāṁ upachayaḥ* instead of *vibhaṅga* as what follows in that text is not the derivatives of the chain but means of their destruction (*nirōdha*).

[9] [This is not found in the present *Sūtra*.—N. P. C.]

[10] [This pair of words stand for *hīna* and *praṇīta* respectively.—N. P. C.]

what is produced from causes (*pratītyasamutpanna*) or in the six sense-organs. It is nescience in the insight into real nature of things. Similarly wherever there is nescience in the real nature of things, wherever there is no[1] observation and no introspection and wherever there is doubt, nescience and obscurity it is called *avidyā*.

How many are the constituents? The constituents are of three kinds—of body (*kāya-saṁskāra*), speech (*vāk*) and mind (*manaḥ*). These are called the constituents.

How many are the elements of consciousness (*vijñāna*)? The collection of consciousness consists of six:—(i) eye consciousness (*chakshur-vijñāna*), (ii) ear consciousness (*śrōtra°*), (iii) nose consciousness (*ghrāṇa°*), (iv) tongue consciousness (*jihvā°*), (v) body consciousness (*kāya°*), (vi) mind consciousness (*manō°*). Such are the consciousnesses.

The consciousness is the cause of individuality (lit. name and form). How many are the names? They are four, having no aggregate of form (*rūpa-skandha*):—(i) aggregate of sensation (*vēdanā-skandha*), (ii) aggregate of perception (*saṁjñā-skandha*), (iii) aggregate of constituents (*saṁskāra-skandha*), (iv) aggregate of consciousness (*vijñāna-skandha*). How many are the forms (*rūpa*)? All that has form is so called—all the four great elements (*mahā-bhūta*) and all that is created by the four elements. The latter are the forms and, the former, the names which are put together, abridged into one and called *nāma-rūpa*. Such is the individuality or *nāma-rūpa*.

Nāma-rūpa is the cause of the six sense organs (*shaḍ-āyatanas*). What are the six sense organs? The six internal (*adhyātma*) sense organs are:—(i) the internal organ of the eye, (ii) the internal organ of the ear, (iii) the internal organ of the smell, (iv) the internal organ of the tongue, (v) the internal organ of the body, (vi) the internal organ of the mind. Such are the six sense organs.

The six sense organs are the cause of contact (*sparśa*). How many are the contacts? The collection of contacts (*sparśa-kāya*) consists of six:—(i) the contact through the eye, (ii) the contact through the ear, (iii) the contact through the nose, (iv) the contact through the tongue, (v) the contact through the body, (vi) the contact through the mind. Such are the contacts.

Contact is the cause of sensation (*vēdanā*). How many are the sensations? They are of three kinds:—Pleasant sensation, painful sensation and indifferent sensation (lit. not-painful and not-pleasant).

Sensation is the cause of thirst (*trishṇā*). How many are the thirsts? They are of three kinds:—sensual thirst (*kāma-trishṇā*), thirst relating to form (*rūpa*) and thirst not relating to form (*arūpa*). Such are the thirsts.

Thirst is the cause of attachment (*upādāna*). How many are the attachments? There are four attachments:—(i) attachment arising from the sense desires, (ii) attachment arising from the visual sense, (iii) attachments arising from 'belief in rites',[2] (iv) attachment arising from "belief in soul-theory".

Attachment is the cause of existence (*bhava*). How many are the existences? They are of three kinds: sensual existence (*kāma-bhava*), corporal existence (*rūpa*) and incorporal existence (*arūpa*). Such are the existences.

Existence is the cause of birth (*jāti*). How many are the births? When in particular classes of beings there is birth of particular beings, there is becoming and production,[3] there is becoming of the *skandhas*, there is acquisition of *dhātu*, *āyatana* and *skandha* and there is becoming of the faculty of life it is birth (*jāti*).

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[1] [This is more or less a free translation of the Sanskrit text.—N. P. C.]

[2] Literally all arising from righteous conduct and religious observances.

[3] [Note the four words *saṁjāti*, *avakrānti*, *abhinirvṛtti*, and *prādurbhāva* in the Sanskrit text, *cf.* with this the inscription '*Bhagavato okrānti*,' the descent of Bhagavat, on the 'Bharhut pillar, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 225, No. 93—N. P. C.]

Birth is the cause of old age and death (*jarā-maraṇa*). Of what nature is the old age? It is the baldheadedness and decay, shrinking of the skin, gradual (*physical*) diminution and ruin, hunchbackedness, crookedness, spread of black spots on the body, quick respiration, body stooping on the front, leaning on sticks, mental trouble, mental debility, loss and diminution, decay of the *sense* of organs and their dissolution, rotting of the *saṁskāras*, and demolition of the body organs. Such is old age. What is death? It is the falling off of particular beings in their respective groups. Death is complete dissolution and cessation from existence, it is the abandonment of life and (*vital*) fire, complete extinction of the faculty of life, dissolution of the *skandhas*. Death is the arresting of the product of time. The latter is death and the former is old age both abridged together is called *jarā-maraṇa*.

Such is the meaning of the derivatives of the chain of dependent production.[1]

No. 34.—ANNIGERI INSCRIPTION OF KIRTTIVARMAN (II.); THE SIXTH YEAR.

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

The stone inscription forming the subject of this paper was copied by me during the field season of the year 1928-29 at **Aṇṇigeri** (or more correctly Aṇṇigeṛe) a village in the Navalgund Taluka of Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency and a Railway station on the Hubli-Guntakal section of the M. & S. M. Railway. Though at present a small village, Aṇṇigeri appears to have been an important town from early Chālukya times down to the Muhammadan period. In the 9th century it was the chief town of the Beḷvola three-hundred district administered by Dēvaṇṇayya, an officer of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I.[2] Under the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi and the Hoysaḷas it continued to be known as the *rājadhāni-paṭṭaṇa* or the capital town.[3] Several other inscriptions of successive periods prove the importance of the place down to the time of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh of Bijāpur in Śaka 1567.[4] In Sanskrit records the place is called Anyataṭāka, obviously a Sanskritised form of the Kanarese name Aṇṇigere. The present inscription which is the earliest record at the place is engraved on three faces of a small pillar set up in front of the Banaśaṅkarī temple. As it refers to the construction of a *chēdiya* (Skt. *chaitya*) it may be surmised that this pillar does not belong to the Banaśaṅkarī temple.

The record is fairly well preserved except for the first two lines on its first face. But the king's name can be read in l. 1 as Kirttivarmma and the rest, being the usual preamble can be supplied from other inscriptions. The **alphabet** is Kanarese of the 8th century A.D. written in a neat upright hand. Among initial vowels, the record contains *ā* in *āraneyā* (l. 5), *i* in *iḍapa* (l. 10) and *o* in *ond-* (l. 4). Medial *ī* is distinguished from *i* by a small loop in the circle denoting the *i* sign (*cf.* *geyd-ī* in line 8 with *chēdiya* in line 9). Medial *u* is a hook on the right in *ku* (*cf.* *Kuppa* in line 11) while it is a U-shaped stroke at the bottom in other letters (*cf.* *Jēbuḷagēri* in l. 7). The length in *ū* is marked by the addition of a downward curve to the *u* sign as in *ṇḍū* of *gāmuṇḍā* (l. 8). The *e* sign is marked as in older inscriptions by a stroke to the left added to the *talekaṭṭu* as in *ne* of *āraneyā* (l. 5). Among consonants the inscription has four of the test letters *kh*, *j*, *b* and *ḷ*, (*ṅ* alone being absent) all of which present early forms. *D*

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[1] [The concluding portion of the Sanskrit text is not evidently found in the Chinese translation.—N. P. C.]

[2] Above, Vol. VI, p. 100 and Vol. VII, p. 204.

[3] See, for instance, Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1928-29, Nos. 187 and 189.

[4] Same collection No. 202.

is distinguished from *d* both when it occurs singly and when it forms a ligature with *ṇ* (*cf.* *ḍi* of *-māḍisidon*, l. 9 and *ṇḍū* of *gāmuṇḍū*, l. 8.) The Dravidian *ṟ* is found thrice, in *ṟa* of *āṟaneyā* (l. 5) and *iḍaṟa* (l. 10) and in *ṟi* of *niṟisidā* (l. 12); and final *n* is found in *°nāman* (l. 14). The **language** of the record is archaic Kanarese. Attention may be drawn to the accusative suffix *ān* (*e.g.*, *chēdiyamān-*, l. 9) and the genitive suffix *ā* (*āṟaneyā*, l. 5) and the form of the verb *māḍisidon* (l. 9). The **orthography** is free from any faults except for the use of long *ū* for the short in *gāmuṇḍū*. There is no distinction between short and long *e* and *o*.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a *chēdiya*, *i.e.*, (*chaitya* or Jaina temple) by **Kaliyamma** who was holding the office of the headman of **Jēbulagēri** and the erection in front of it of a sculpture by a certain Koṇḍiśulara-Kuppa whose other name was Kirttivarmma-Gōśāsi. The latter is clearly the name of his master (*prabhunāman*) as stated in the last line. The writer was one Diśāpāla.

The record is dated in the **sixth year** of king **Kirttivarmma-Satyāśraya.** The title Satyāśraya affords enough proof to show that the king belonged to the early Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmi and as the epigraph is on palæographic grounds assigned to the 8th century A.D. Kirttivarmma of our record must be the second king of that name. Since his initial year has been fixed by the late Dr. Fleet as 746-47 the **date** of our record would be **751-52 A.D.** Only two stone inscriptions and two copper-plates of this king have so far been published. Of them the Paṭṭadakal pillar inscription[1] and the copper plates are throughout in Sanskrit and the damaged Āḍūr inscription[2] is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Kanarese. The present inscription is thus the first complete Kanarese record of this king.

Attention may be drawn to the rare Kanarese expression **ond-uttaram** (increasing by one) occurring in this inscription. So far as I know this word is found only in two other Rāshṭrakūṭa records, *viz.*, the Nidagundi inscription[3] of Amōghavarsha I and the Veṅkaṭāpur[4] inscription of Kṛishṇa II. Fleet, while editing the former inscription has remarked that this expression denoted an elliptical system of reckoning the regnal year of a king in which there was 'an omission of some kind or the other whether intentional or accidental'. This supposed omission was in his opinion the word *aṟuvattaneya* (*i.e.*, sixtieth); for "with a cycle of sixty years actually in use an elliptical method of designating years in excess of the number of sixty in such a case as this one is perfectly intelligible and admissible," but it was difficult to recognise anything rational in an elliptical expression being used for the years eleven, twenty-first, thirty-first, etc. According to Fleet, the full expression as it ought to be was, therefore, *ond-uttaraṁ aṟuvattaneya varshaṁ* meaning 'the sixtieth year increased by one' or the sixty-first year of the reign of the king to whom it belonged. The learned scholar's conclusion was apparently influenced by the fact that the only record containing the expression known to him was an undated record of a king who reigned for over 60 years. But the present inscription and the Veṅkaṭāpur record referred to above belong to kings whose reigns did not last so long and can be referred respectively to the 6th year of Kirttivarman (II) and to Śaka 828 (which was the 29th regnal year of Kṛishṇa II). The explanation offered by Fleet is thus entirely out of place and *ond-uttaraṁ* must therefore be interpreted in some other way. The context in which it occurs in the three records would show that it is an exact counterpart of the widely used expression *uttar-ōttaram*, *viz.*, in

[1] Above, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI, p. 69.

[3] Above, Vol. VII, p. 212.

[4] No. 82 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1926-27. The name of the king is wrongly given as Amōghavarsha for Akālavarsha (Kṛishṇa II).

conjunction with the word *rājyam* or *rājyābhivṛiddhi*.[1] *Ond-uttaram* can therefore be understood as an idiomatic expression synonymous of *uttar-ōttaram*, denoting 'progressively'.

Jēbulagēri mentioned in the inscription appears to be a part of the town of Aṇṇigere.

TEXT.

First Face.

1 Svasti [|| *] **Kīrtti[va]rmma-[Satyā]śraya**
2 śrī-pṛithu[vī-vallabha] mahārājā-
3 dhirāja paramēśvara bhaṭāraṛa
4 rājyaṁ **ond-uttaram**-abhivṛiddhi sa-
5 le āraneyā varshaṁ prava-

Second Face.

6 rddamānam-āge **Jē-**
7 **buḷagērige Kali-**
8 **yamma** gāmuṇḍu(u)- geyd-i
9 chediyamān-māḍisidon
10 idara munde Koṇḍi-

Third Face.

11 śulara-Kuppa Kīrttivarmma-
12 gōśāsya nirisidā
13 kirttana Diśāpālasya li-
14 khitaṁ Prabhunāman

No. 35.—TWO STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF KRISHNA II; SAKA 805.

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

These two inscriptions[2] were copied by me in the year 1926-27 in the villages of **Soraṭūr** and **Sirumja** both in the Gadag Taluka of the Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency. Soraṭūr (ancient Saraṭavura), where a battle was fought between the Hoysala king Ballāḷa II and the Yādava king Bhillama has already been fully described by the late Dr. Fleet on p. 176, Vol. XIII of this journal. Sirumja which is three miles north of Soraṭūr does not seem to have enjoyed any importance. The inscription at Soraṭūr, which I shall call **A**, is incised on a slab set up in front of the Veṅkaṭēśa temple and is in an excellent state of preservation. The Sirumja record, which is called **B** in the sequel, is on a hero-stone near the village school and is damaged to some extent, particularly in lines 3 and 4.

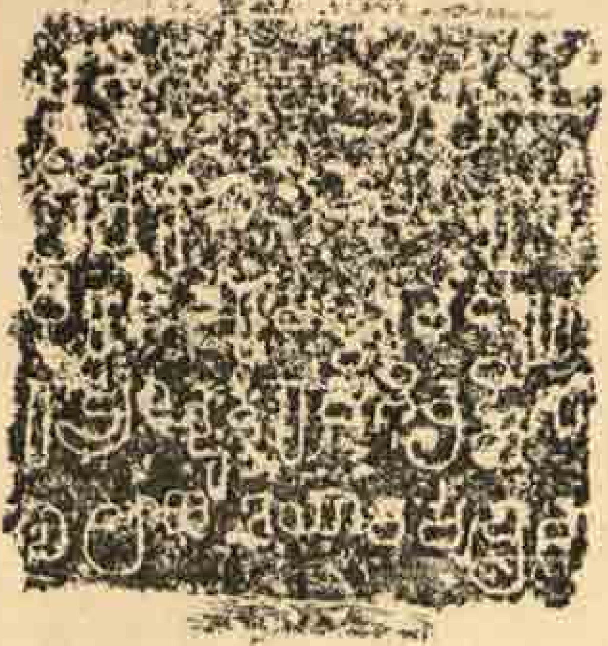
The alphabet is **Kanarese** quite regular for the period to which the records refer themselves. Attention may be drawn to the following features which present themselves in this transitional period when the script underwent some radical changes :—the earlier form of initial *i* consisting

[1] This will become clear by a comparison of the three records using *ond-uttaram* with some inscriptions where *uttar-ōttaram* occurs :—(1) Aṇṇigere Inscription : (rājyaṁ *ond-uttaram*-abhivṛiddhi sale) ; (2) Niḍagundi Inscription ; (*ond-uttaram* rājyam-geyyutt-ire) ; (3) Veṅkaṭāpur Inscription : (rājyābhivṛiddhiy-*ond-uttaram* sale) ; (1) Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 18) : (*uttar-ōttara*-pravarddhamāna-rājya-pañchama-śrī-varshē) ; (2) Sirūr Inscription of Amōghavarsha I (*above*, Vol. VII, p. 206) : (pravarddhamāna-saṁvatsaraṅgaḷ-ayvatt-ondum-*uttar-ōttaram* rājy-ābhivṛiddhi saluttire) ; (3) Rōṇ Inscription of the same king (*ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 185) : (rājyad-*uttar-ōttaram*-abhivṛiddhiyol).

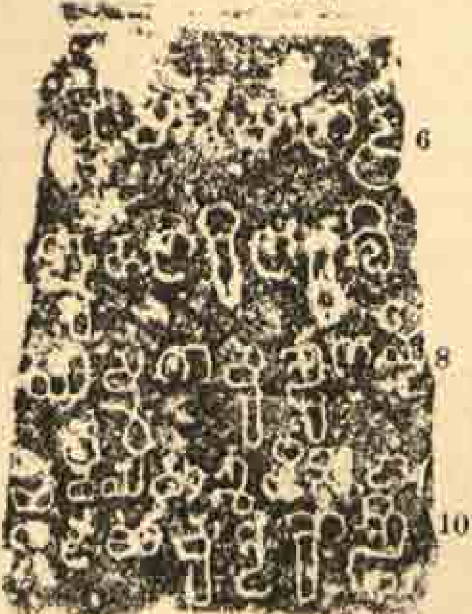
[2] Nos. 73 and 59 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1926-27.

ANNIGERI INSCRIPTION OF KIRTTIVARMMAN II—6th YEAR.

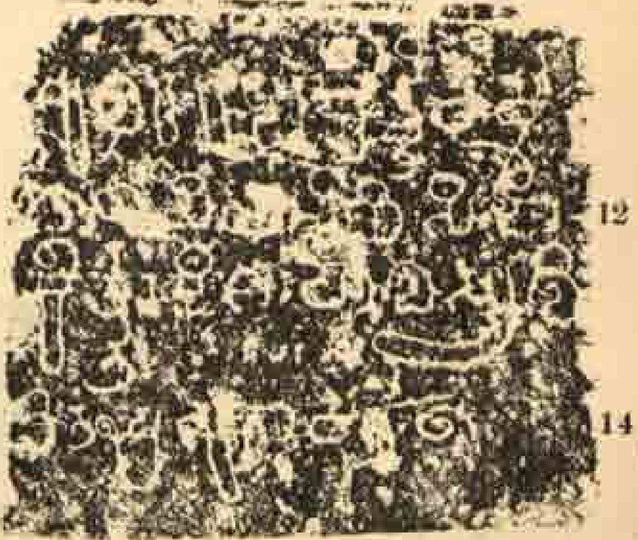
FIRST FACE.



SECOND FACE.



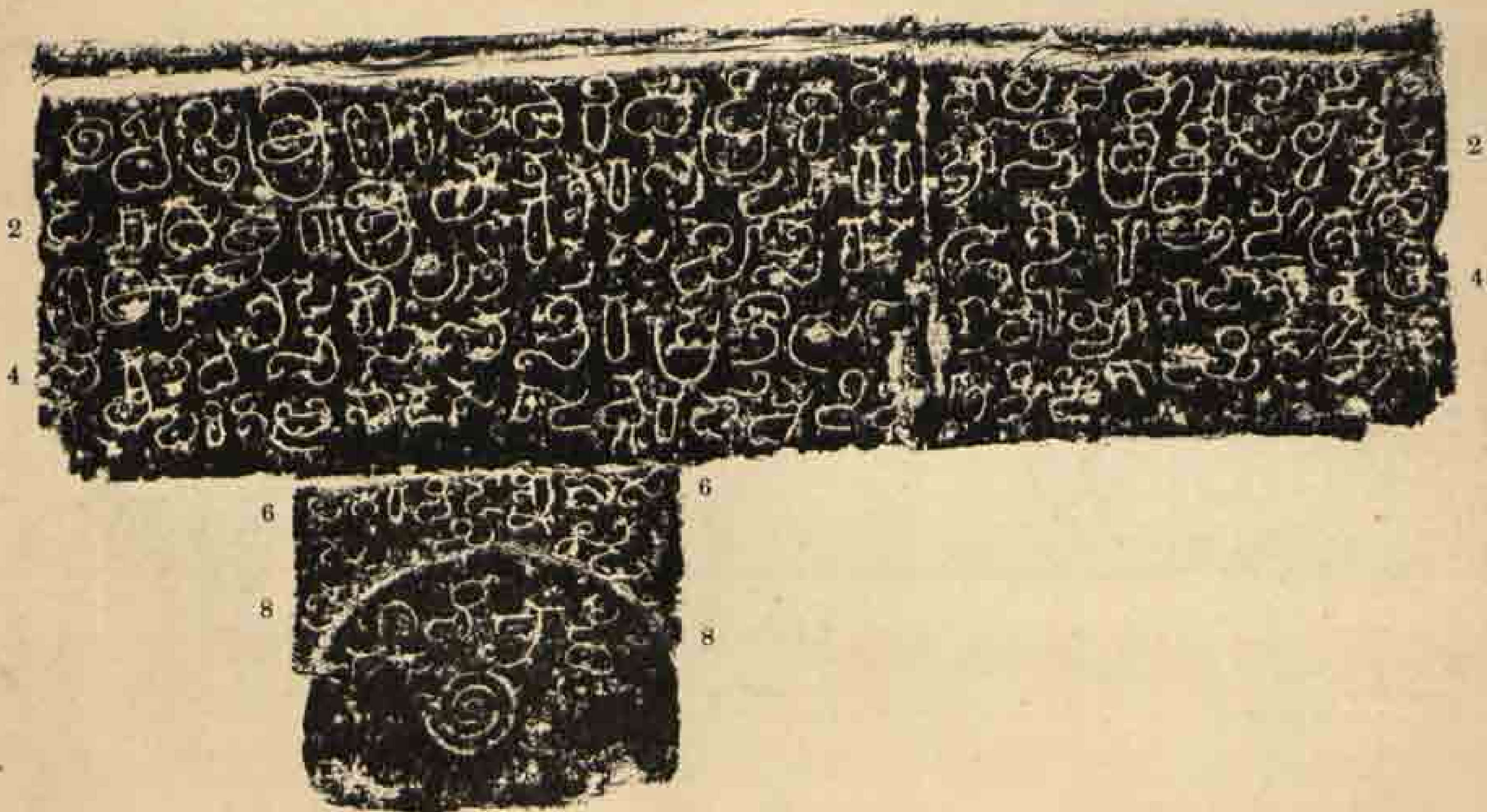
THIRD FACE.



Reg. No. 2923. E. 32.

SCALE: ONE-FOURTH.

SORATUR INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNA II—SAKA 805.



K. N. DIKSHIT.
Reg. No. 2923. E. 32.

SCALE : ONE-THIRD.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

of two curves with two dots below still persists (see *Indapayya* l. 4 of A); medial *e* is expressed in two different ways (i) by the addition of a downward stroke at the left of the *talekaṭṭu* as in earlier records (*cf. mē* of *paramēśvara* in l. 2 of A) and (ii) by a superscript mark as in *ge* of *Purigere* (l. 5 of A) and *ḍe* of *Puḷiḍe* (l. 4 of B). As in older records no distinction is made between medial *e* and *ē* and *o* and *ō*. While in A, the later cursive form of *j* is used throughout, only the earlier form is found in B (*cf. ja* in *raja* l. 1 of A with *rāja* l. 1 of B). The letter *l* is of the later cursive type with the miniature of the earlier type in the centre. Both the special Dravidian consonants *ṟ* and *ḷ* are much more developed than in records of the eighth century (*e.g.*, *Purigeṟe* and *āḷu* in l. 5 of A and *niṟindo* and *Puḷiḍe* in l. 4 of B). The lingual *ḍ* cannot be distinguished from the dental *d* in both the records.

The language of the inscriptions is **Kanarese prose.** Attention may be drawn to the nominal verb *nāḍayisu* (assemble) from the noun *nāḍu* which is a rare formation. Another interesting and still unexplained word is *gōsāsa* occurring in l. 7 of A. Dr. Fleet has suggested[1] that it might be a corruption of the Sanskrit word *gōshṭha*. That the word is connected with Sanskrit *gō* (cow) has already been pointed out by him. In the Sorаṭūr record (A) the occurrence of the expression *stan-ābhivṛiddhi* (prosperity of the udders) immediately after the mention of the gift of *gōsāsa* confirms this view. But Fleet's suggestion that the word may mean a cow-shed is not correct for, it is not possible to derive *gōsāsa* from *gōshṭha*; it is more probable that the word is an abbreviation or Kanarese rendering of *gō-sahasra*. This is strengthened by the fact that a certain Kāsigara Kōṭeyamma who is described as a *gōsāsi* in one of the inscriptions of Beḷagi[2] in the Mysore State is described in another record[3] of the same place as *gōsahasram-āḷdam* (*i.e.*, who was the manager or the keeper of *gōsahasra*). The mention first of a gift of *gō-sahasra* and then of a *gō-sāsa* is not found in the Chinchli inscription[4] as supposed by Fleet. In other epigraphs from the Bombay-Karnatak we have similar references to the gifts of *gō-sahasra*.[5]

As regards **orthography**, B is free from any errors except the use of *s* for *ś* in *saka* (l. 2), but A is full of mistakes. Unnecessary lengthening of letters such as *Paramēśvarā* for *Paramēśvara* (l. 2) and *Indāpāyyā* for *Indapayya* (l. 4) is very common in the record. *R* is used for the vowel *ṛi*, in *prithuvi*, (l. 1) and *vriddhi* (l. 2).

The inscription **A** records the gift of a *gōsāsa* by a certain Chidanna made in the presence of the Fifty (*mahā-janas*) of **Saraṭavura** who had assembled together when **Indapayya** was governing the *nāḍu* (district). As we are told that Saraṭavura was situated in the **Purigere-nāḍu** the district which Indapayya was administering was evidently Purigere. From other inscriptions we know that this was a three-hundred district or a district comprising 300 villages. Indapayya who was in charge of this district is introduced to us here for the first time. B is a hero-stone recording the death of a certain Ereyamma in a cattle-raid at **Nivudi** and the setting up of the stone by Gureyamma, the younger brother of Puḷiḍe-gāvuṇḍa.

Both the epigraphs refer themselves to the reign of **Akālavarsha** and are dated in the **Śaka year 805** and A gives, in addition, Śōbhakṛit as the corresponding cyclic year. Thus the English equivalent of the date is A.D. 883-84. Akālavarsha of the records whose proper name **Kannara-bhaṭāra** is also given in A is no other than the Rāshṭrakūṭa king **Krishṇa II**, the successor of Amōghavarsha I for whom the latest date known so far is A.D. 877-78. The earliest

[1] Above, Vol. VI, p. 255.
[2] *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1929, p. 132, No. 79.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 131, No. 78.
[4] Above, Vol. VI, p. 255, f. n. 2.
[5] See, for instance, No. 148 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1926-27 and No. 11 of the same collection for 1928-29.

date hitherto available for Krishṇa II was A.D. 888.[1] The present records thus furnish the earliest date for this monarch leaving only a gap of six years after the last known year of Amōghavarsha.

Of the **places** mentioned **Saraṭavura** is the modern Soraṭūr where inscription A was found. **Nivudi** has probably to be identified with Nigadi, a village about 8 miles south-west of Dharwar.

TEXT.

A

1 Svasti Śrī[|| *] **Akālavarishā(varsha)** prithuvī(prithvī)-vāllava(vallabha) mārajādi(mahārājādhi)rā[ja]
2 paramēśvarā(a) śrīmat-**Kannara-bhaṭ[ā]rara** rājy-ābhivri(vṛi)ddhi saluttum-i-
3 re **Śaka-nṛipa-kāl-ātita-saṁbā(va)tsaraṁgal-eṇṭu-nūṛ-āydā(ayda)ne[ya*]** 8ū(Śō)-
4 bhakṛit eṁbha(ba) saṁbha(va)tsaraṁ pra[va*]rttise **Indāpāyyāṁ**(Indapayyaṁ)nāḍān-āḷutt-i-
5 re **Purigeṛe-nāḍa Saraṭavurad**=ā(a)yvadimbarum=iḷdu nāḍayise Māna-
6 sigara-Chidā(da)ṇṇa[ṁ*] gōsā-
7 sam=iḷdo[m]
8 stan-ābhivṛiddhi[||*]
9 nama[ḥ]

B

1 Svasty=**Akālavarsha** śrī-pṛithuvī(pṛithvī)-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara bhaṭārar[ā]
2 [sa]kala-rājy-ābhivṛiddhige saluttum-ire **Sa(Śa)ka-varsham=eṇṭu-nūṛa**
3 **aydaneya** varshaṁ pravartisutt-ire [Kadalekadhi]pāṇṇā Ereyammaṁ Nivudi-turugoḷo[=kā-
4 di sattom|| Ī kalla Puḷide-gāvuṇḍa[na*] tamma Gureyamma nirisido ||

No. 36.—THE JESAR PLATES OF SILADITYA III—THE YEAR 347.

By the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, M.A.

These plates were discovered, along with the plates of Śīlāditya IV of the year 387, at Jesar, a village in the Bhāvnagar State of Kāṭhiāwār. They were sent for inspection to Mr. (now Dr.) D. R. Bhandarkar, then Superintendent of the Western Circle of the Archæological Survey in 1915 and his summary of the inscription will be found in his Annual Report for the year.[3]

The record is incised on **two plates**, of copper of equal size, the rims of which are slightly raised. There are two holes in each plate, through one of which is passed a long thick wire of copper. The ends of the wire are joined together by the **seal** of the Maitrakas of Valabhi bearing the bull *couchant* and the ancient legend *Śrī-Bhaṭakkaḥ*. The second ring is missing. The plates measure 15" × 11½" and are now preserved in the Barton Museum, Bhāvnagar. As the impressions taken in Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's time were not legible, these plates were obtained on loan

[1] Above, Vol. XIII, p. 189.
[2] This letter *su* which is much smaller than the rest was omitted first and inserted later on.
[3] *P. R. A. S. W. C.*, 1915-16, p. 55, para. 10.

from the Bhâvnagar State through the Honourable Agent to the Governor of Bombay in Kâthiâwâr.

There are altogether sixty-two lines of writing on these plates which are evenly distributed. The average height of letters is ¼". The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit prose, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate. The **characters** of the inscription show unmistakable influence of the south, especially in the forms of *h* and *l*. Two forms of *l* have been used side by side: (1) the northern angular form with the base line and (2) the round southern form in which the base line is no longer existent. The base line of *h* also has disappeared. The text is almost an exact copy of the usual text used in other later Valabhî grants such as the Alina Plates of Śîlâditya VII[1], without any variation and does not contain any additional historical information.

Like other later Valabhî grants this record also mentions Bhaṭârka but passes over his sons. The next descendant of Bhaṭârka, mentioned in the text, is Guhasêna, the son of Bhaṭârka's fourth son Dharapaṭṭa. Then comes Guhasêna's son Dharasêna II, his sons Śîlâditya I and Kharagraha I. The latter was succeeded by his son Dharasêna IV. The succession then devolved upon Dhruvasêna III, the son of Dêrabhaṭa who was one of the younger sons of Śîlâditya I. Dhruvasêna III was succeeded by his elder brother Kharagraha II. This prince was succeeded by his elder brother's (Śîlâditya II's) son **Śîlâditya III**, the donor of the present grant. The genealogical portion occupies the first forty-six lines. Unlike the text of the Jesar plates of Śîlâditya IV, the text of this inscription is almost free from mistakes.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant by the king himself, of one hundred *pâdâvartas* of land in the village of Kukkapadra in the *pathaka* of Kalâpaka in (the country) of Surâshṭra to a Brâhmaṇa, with two names Śaggaḷa and Prakâśa, who was a Dîkshita, an inhabitant of Valabhî and an imigrant from Pushyaśâmbapura. He was the son of Śâmbadatta, belonged to the Kauśika-*gôtra* and was a follower of the *Yajurvêda*. The land granted consisted of three pieces of which the first was the largest measuring seventy-three *pâdâvartas*. The piece lay towards the western boundary of the village and its boundaries were:—On the east the *Brahmadêya* field of the Upâdhyâya or preceptor, on the south the three royal wells, on the west a field named or belonging to Bhâsiyaka and on the north the Vaṅśaṭikâ river. A new word *prachchikâ* which is also met with in other Valabhî plates[2] occurs in connection with the above mentioned three wells, and apparently denoted 'a field irrigated by a well'.

The boundaries of the second piece, known as Bappula which consisted of twelve *pâdâvartas* of land and which was situated on the south western (boundary of the village), were:—On the east the field of the Brâhmaṇa ghaṅchaka, on the south the field of the Brâhmaṇa Tatta, on the west the field of the Brâhmaṇa chaṭṭa, and on the north the rivulet (*Sâriṇî*). The third piece was called Lusaṇikâ. It was situated on the eastern boundary (of the village) and consisted of fifteen *pâdâvarta* measures of land. Its boundaries were:—On the east the boundary of the village of Kaṇṇasômaka, to the south the *prachchikâ* of the well called Sirâdaṇḍaka, on the west the *prachchikâ* of the well called Dhôraka, and on the north the river Vaṅśaṭikâ. The grant also contained the well called Dhôraka extending over twenty-five *pâdâvartas*. The boundaries of this well were:—To the east the piece of land called *Lûsaṇikâ*, to the south the *prachchikâ* of the well called Śirâdaṇḍaka, to the west the *prachchikâ* of the well called the *Pippala* and on the east the crest (*śikhara*) of the village (*i.e.*, the mound on which the village was situated). The *Dûtaka* of the grant was the prince (*Râjaputra*) Dhruvasêna. It was written by the chief scribe (*Divirapati*) Anahila son of the chief scribe, the *Sandhi-*

[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 173 ff.

[2] *Cf.* the unpublished Jesar plates of Śîlâditya IV and *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (N.S.), Vol. I, p. 74, l. 49, and above, p. 184.

vigrahādhikṛita the illustrious Skandabhaṭa. The date of the grant is the **(Gupta) year 347, the fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha** corresponding to 666-67 A.D. The donor Śīlāditya III is the brother's son of his predecessor Kharagraha II. With the exception of Valabhi and Surāshṭra, which are represented by modern Waḷā and Soraṭh in Kāṭhiāwār, I am unable to identify any other locality mentioned in the inscription. The inscription is edited from the original plates.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ōṁ[1] Svasti[||*] Vijaya-skandhāvāra[t*] Pundhikaṇaka-vāsakā[t*] prasabha-praṇat-āmitrāṇāṁ Maitrakāṇām[2]. . . . .

Second Plate.

mukhpann-abhimukhānām-āyuṁshi dvishatāṁ Paramamāhē-

47 . . . . varaḥ śrī-**Śīlādityaḥ**-kuśalī sarvvān-ēva samājñāpayaty-astu vas-saṁviditaṁ

yathā mayā mātā-pitrōḥ puṇy-āpyāyanāya Pushyaśāmbapura-vinirggata-tach-

48 chāturvvidya-sāmānya-śrī-Valabhi-vāstavya-Kauśika-sagōtra-Adhvaryyu-sabrahmachāri-

Brāhmaṇa-Sāmbadatta-putra-Brāhmaṇa-Saggaḷa-Prakāśa-dvināma-Dīkshitāya Surāshṭrēshu

49 Ka(ā)lāpaka-pathakē Kukkapadra-grāmē bhū-pādāvartta-śata-parimāṇaṁ

tri-khaṇḍ-āvasthitaṁ kshētraṁ yatra prathama-khaṇḍaṁ apara-sīmni tri-saptati-

50 bhū-pādāvartta-parimāṇaṁ yasy-āghāṭanāni pūrvvataḥ upādhyāya-brahma-

dēya-kshētraṁ dakshiṇataḥ [Bhāṭiyaka]-kshētraṁ uttarataḥ Vaṭṭa-

51 rājakīya-vāpī-traya-prachchhā aparataḥ Bappula-saṁjñitaṁ

ṭikā nadī tathā dvitīya-khaṇḍaṁ apara-dakshiṇa-sīmni

dvādaśa-bhū-pādāvartta-parimāṇaṁ

52 yasya pūrvvataḥ Brāhmaṇa-Ghañchuka-satka-kshētraṁ dakshiṇataḥ Brāhmaṇa-

Tatta-kshētraṁ aparataḥ Brāhmaṇa-Chaṭṭa-satka-kshētram uttarataḥ sāriṇī

tathā pūrvva-sīmni

53 tri(tṛi)tīya-khaṇḍaṁ Lūsaṇika-saṁjñitaṁ pañchadaśa-bhū-pādāvartta-parimāṇaṁ yasya

pūrvvataḥ Kaṇṇasōmaka-grāma-sīmā dakshiṇataḥ Śirādaṇḍaka-saṁjñita-vāpīnā

prachchhā

54 aparataḥ Dhōrika-saṁjñita-vāpī-prachchhā uttarataḥ Vaṭṭaṭikā nadī tathā

aparataḥ Dhōrika-saṁjñitā pañcha-viṁśati-bhū-pādāvartta-pariśarā vāpī

55 yasyāḥ pūrvvataḥ Lūsaṇikā-saṁjñita-kshētra-khaṇḍaṁ dakshiṇataḥ Śirādaṇḍaka-

saṁjñita-vāpīnā[3] prachchhā aparataḥ Pippala-vāpī prachchhā uttarataḥ

56 grāma-śikhara ēvam-idam-āghāṭana-viśuddham vāpī-kshētraṁ sōdraṅgaṁ sōparikaraṁ

sa-bhūta-vāta-pratyāyaṁ sa-dhānya-hiraṇy-ādēyaṁ sa-daśāparādhaṁ sōtpadya-

mānu-vi-

57 shṭikaṁ sarvva-rājakīyānām-ahasta-prakshēpa(pa)ṇīyaṁ pūrvva-pratta-dēva-brahma-

dēya-rahitaṁ bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēn-āchandr-ārkk-ārṇṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvvata-

sama-kālīnaṁ pu-

[1] Expressed by a symbol.

[2] The portion of the text (lines 1 to 47) omitted here is in common with other grants of Śīlāditya III; cf. for example, Lunsadi plates, above, Vol. IV, pp. 76 ff.

[3] [The termination nā after vāpī may either be taken as a corruption of Sanskrit sthā, in which case Śirā and Daṇḍaka may be two separate wells; or more likely a precursor of the modern Gujarati genitive termination.—Ed.]

58 ira-pautr-ānvaya-bhōgyam=udak-ātisaggēṇa[1] dharmma-dāyō nisṛishṭaḥ yatō=sy-ōchitayā brahmadēya-sthityā bhuñjataḥ kṛishataḥ karshayataḥ pratidiśatō vā na kaiśchid=vyasādha

59 varttitavyam=āgāmi-bhadra-nṛipatibhir=apy=asmad-vaṁśajair=anyair=vvā anityāny=aiśvaryāṇy=asthiraṁ mānushyaṁ sāmānyañ=cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avagachchhadbhir=ayam=asmad-dāyō=numantavyaḥ paripālayitavya-

60 ś=ch=ēty=uktañ=cha[|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhi[s]=Sagar-ādibhi-[h|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ|| Yān=iha dāridrya-bhayān=narēndrair=ddhanāni dharmm-āyatanī-kṛitāni [|*] nirbbhukta-mālya-pratimāni tāni kō nā-

61 ma sādhuḥ=punar=ādadīta || Shashṭi[ṁ] varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmidaḥ [|*] āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt[2] [||*] Dūtakō=tra Rājaputra-Dhruvasēnaḥ||

62 Likhitam=idaṁ Sandhivigrah-ādhikṛita-Divirapati-śrī-Skandabhaṭa-putra-Divirapati-Śrīmad-Anahilēn=ēti || Saṁ 100 40 7 Vaiśākha-va 15 Sva-hastō mama ||

No. 37.—SAKTIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

By Dhirendra Chandra Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D., Benares.

The subjoined inscription belongs to the reign of Lakshmaṇasēna, the fourth king of the Sēna dynasty, who held sway over Bengal during the latter part of the 12th and the early part of the 13th century A.D. The other grants of this king, already known to us, are the Anulia copper-plate, the Govindapur copper-plate, the Tarpandighi copper-plate, and the Madhainagar copper-plate, all of which have been included by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, in his book entitled "Inscriptions of Bengal", Vol. III. The same book also refers to a short inscription of Lakshmaṇasēna's reign, engraved on the pedestal of an image of Chaṇḍī, in the city of Dacca.

The new copper-plate was lying in the house of late Mr. Siva Chandra Chatterjee, in the village of Saktipur, in the Sadar-Subdivision of the Murshidābād District, Bengal, where it is said to have been worshipped for a long time by a widow, now dead. It is now lying in the Museum of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya-Parishat who obtained it through Mr. Satkari Chatterjee. The inscription was first edited by Mr. Ramesh Basu in the Bengali magazine conducted by the Sāhitya-parishat (Vol. XXXVII, pp. 216 ff.). Mr. Basu's paper embodies the transcript of the inscription with some introductory notes. As there are some gross errors in his reading, I re-edit this inscription with the kind permission of the authorities of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya-Parishat.[3]

This is a **single plate** inscribed on both sides, and measures 1′ 6½″ long and 1′ 2″ broad. A **seal** representing an effigy of Sadāśiva is attached on the top of it with nails. The plate contains altogether 58 lines, 29 on each side. The letters are quite distinct and hardly offer any difficulty in reading. There is some vacant space in line 26 after *yathā*, and in line 55 after *niḥ-jhōyāvā*, each of which can provide a letter. There is also some vacant space in line 54 after *vrajēt*, which can accommodate two letters. The first three letters of the word *vinimayēna* in line 46 are indistinct.

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[1] Read *Atisarggēṇa*.

[2] Read *vasēt*.

[3] I acknowledge my gratitude to Mr. N. K. Bhattasali, M.A., and Mr. R. G. Basak, M.A., for the help they have rendered me in writing this article.

The **characters** are proto-Bengali of the type found in Lakshmaṇasēna's grants. *Kh, t, n, m, y, r* and *sh* have already assumed the forms of the modern Bengali characters. The forms of some individual letters call for special remarks. *V* is not always uniformly written (*cf.* ll. 7 and 9). Sometimes *p* and *y* (ll. 5 and 7), *v* and *r* (ll. 7 and 9), and *r* and *c* (ll. 4 and 11) are indistinguishable. The forms of the letters in this inscription and that on the Anulia plate are not always identical. Special attention is drawn to the conjunct letters *nd*, and *tth*.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The inscription is written both in verse and in prose. Lines from 1 to 17 and from 50 to 58 are in verse, with the exception of *Ōṁ namō*, *etc.*, at the commencement, the date at the end and the lines 17 to 50 which are in prose. As regards **orthography**, the letter *v* denotes both *v* and *b*. The word *duḥkha* is written as *dukha* (l. 3) as in the Anulia plate. *Tripurārinātha* is written as *Tripurārinādha* (ll. 57-58). The consonant following the superscript *r* is doubled, as for example, *svargga*, °*r-vvasudhā* (ll. 51, 52, 54), *etc.* The words *buddhvā* and *dattvā* are respectively written as *buddhā* (l. 56) and *dattā* (l. 12).

The inscription records a grant of **Lakshmaṇasēna**, the son of **Vallālasēna**, grand-son of **Vijayasēna**, and the great-grand-son of **Hēmantasēna**. The Deopara inscription[1] of Vijayasēna tells us that Sāmantasēna was the father of Hēmantasēna. Hēmantasēna was the first king of the family. The same inscription[2] mentions Hēmantasēna's wife as Mahārājñī (the great queen). The Barrackpur inscription[3] of the same king designates Hēmanta as Mahārājādhirāja. Nothing is known from our inscription regarding the military achievements of Lakshmaṇasēna. But the Madhainagar copper-plate[4] of the king records that when he was a crown-prince, he seized the fortune of the King of Gauḍa, defeated the Kings of Kaliṅga, and Kāśī and subdued Kāmarūpa.

The **object** of the inscription is to record that King Lakshmaṇasēna, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, granted to a Brāhman named Kuvēra 89 *drōṇas* of land, comprising a part of Nimāpāṭaka, and the whole of the five *pāṭakas* of Rāghavahaṭṭa, Vārahakōṇā, Vāllihitā, Vijahārapura, and Ḍāmaravaḍā, all situated in the Kumārapura-chaturaka, in the Madhugirimaṇḍala, attached to Kuṇḍhīnagara, in the Dakshiṇavīthī of Uttara-Rāḍha, in the **Kaṅkagrāmabhukti**. The lands comprising Vārahakōṇa, Vāllihitā, Rāghavahaṭṭa, and part of Nimāpāṭaka were contiguous, and were bounded in the east by the extensive lands of Mālikuṇḍā along with Aparājōlī; in the south by Bhāgaḍikhaṇḍakshētra, in the west by the cow-track of Achchhamā and in the north by the Mōra river. The two *pāṭakas* of Vijahārapura and Ḍāmaravaḍā which were off from the above lands, were again contiguous. They were bounded on the east by Chākuliyājōlī; on the south by Vipravaḍḍhājōlī, on the west by Lāṅgalajōlī, and on the north by the cow-track of Parajāṇa. The income of all the lands granted was five hundred (*Kapardaka-purāṇas*).[5] The inscription tells us that the above grant was made in exchange of Kshētrapāṭaka, which yielded five hundred (*Kapardaka-purāṇas*), and which had been given by King Vallālasēna to the Gayālī[6] Brāhman Haridāsa on a previous occasion. It appears from this that on the aforesaid day of the solar eclipse the king, through mistake, gave Kuvēra the Kshētrapāṭaka. But shortly after, when it was brought to his notice that the latter had already been given by his father to Haridāsa, he annexed to Government (*khāsikritya*) the above-mentioned six *pāṭakas*, which were of equal value with the previous grant and made them over to Kuvēra in exchange of the Kshētrapāṭaka.

[1] Above, Vol. I, pp. 305 ff. and *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 50.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 62, l. 23.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

[5] Though not specified, this unit of money may be supplied from other inscriptions of the period.

[6] [The priests at Gayā are still known by the name of Gayālī or Gayāwal Brāhmans.—Ed.]

The inscription furnishes us with the names of some hitherto unknown territorial divisions in Bengal. In the early times, modern Bengal was divided under four geographical units, *viz.*, Varēndri, Rāḍha, Vaṅga, and Samataṭa. Varēndri represented North Bengal or the modern Rājshāhi Division and Rāḍha comprised South-west Bengal. Rāḍha or Rāḍhā was further divided into Northern and Southern Rāḍha. The former was bounded by the Ajaya in the south, the Bhāgīrathī in the east and the north, and the Santal Parganas in the west. This comprised the whole of the present Birbhum District, and part of the Murshidābād District.

The highest administrative unit was a *bhukti*, which was divided between *maṇḍalas* and *vishayas*. The exact relation between a *maṇḍala* and a *vishaya* cannot be fixed, the evidence on the subject being of a conflicting nature; most of the inscriptions from Bengal, however, refer to *maṇḍala* as a subdivision of *vishaya*. The divisions of a *maṇḍala* were *khaṇḍalas*[1] and *vīthis*.[2] The Nālandā[3] plate of Dēvapāla states that Kumudasūtra-*vīthi* was within the Gayā-*vishaya*. The Naihati plate[4] of Vallālasēna refers to a *vīthi* which was within the jurisdiction of a *maṇḍala*. This suggests that *vīthi* was a division of a *maṇḍala* and a subdivision of a *vishaya*. The relation between *khaṇḍala* and *vīthi* is not known. The division of *vīthi* seems to have been a *khāṭikā*. The Khalimpur plate[5] of Dharmapāla mentions a *khāṭikā* named Vēsanika. The Govindapur plate[6] of Lakshmaṇasēna refers to a *khāṭikā*. Between *khāṭikā* and *chaturaka* was a unit called *vritta*. *Vritta* was divided into *chaturaka*,[7] *chaturaka* into *grāma*[8] and *grāma* into *pāṭaka*.[9]

From the records of the early Sēna kings, we know of only two *bhuktis* in Bengal, *viz.*, Pauṇḍravardhana and Vardhamāna. During the period of the Guptas and the Pālas the Pauṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* comprised only the Rājshāhi Division,[10] but during the Sēna period it included a number of other territories within its jurisdiction such as Vaṅga (approximately the Dacca Division), and the Presidency Division[11] east of the Bhāgīrathī. The Vardhamāna-*bhukti* originally comprised parts of the District of Murshidābād west of the Bhāgīrathī and the whole of the Districts of Birbhum, Burdwan, Bankura, Hughli, and Howrah.[12] The Naihati plate of Vallālasēna,[13] issued in the 11th year of the king's reign (*circa* 1171 A.D.), states that Uttara-Rāḍha formed a *maṇḍala* within the Vardhamāna-*bhukti*. But the present grant of Lakshmaṇasēna, issued in the 6th year (*circa* 1183 A.D.) of his reign, refers to Uttara-Rāḍhā as situated within the Kaṅkagrāma-*bhukti*. This suggests that some territorial re-arrangements must have been effected during the intervening period, probably early during Lakshmaṇasēna's reign. The Kaṅkagrāma-*bhukti* which is known for the first time from this inscription, must have been of recent formation and it is probable that the conquests of Lakshmaṇasēna in the direction of Bihār must have made this an administrative necessity. It seems to have taken over the Northern Rāḍha tract from Vardhamāna-*bhukti*, although we know from the Govindapur grant, that the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[2] The *Dēvīpurāṇa* describes Mathurā as a *vīthi* (Chapt. LXVI, V. 72).
[3] Above, Vol. XVII, p. 321.
[4] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 74, l. 38.
[5] Above, Vol. IV, p. 253.
[6] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 90, l. 34.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 112, l. 40; p. 146, ll. 48-49.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 170-171.
[9] *Gauda Lēkhamālā*, p. 135, V. [illegible]
[10] Above, Vol. XV, p. 140; *Ibid.* [illegible] p. 253.
[11] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. [illegible], 137.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 97.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 71 ff.

latter *bhukti* was in existence in the 2nd year of Lakshmaṇasêna. The Ajay[illegible] the boundary between northern and southern Rāḍha must then have been the boundary between the two *bhuktis*. The Kaṅkagrāma-*bhukti* appears to have extended into the Santal parganas and Bhāgalpur on the north-west of Uttara-Rāḍha. On the north-east it could have extended very little beyond the river Ganges.

[The place Kaṅkagrāma from which the *bhukti* took its name can be identified with Kāṅkjol (24° 48′ N. Lat. 87° 48′ E. Long.) just beyond the northern limits of the Murshidābād and Birbhum Districts of Bengal. Cunningham[1] calls it 'an old town, which was once the headquarters of an extensive province, including the whole of the present district of Rājmahal and a large tract of country which is now on the east of the Ganges, but which in former days was on its west bank.' Its situation 'on a jutting point of the old high bank of the Ganges' must have given it a strategic importance. According to Cunningham, 'the province in which it is situated was called Rāḍha by the Hindus'. But as northern Rāḍha formed part of the southern subdivision (*vīthi*) of the Kaṅkagrāma territory (*bhukti*), the latter appears to have overlapped Rāḍha. Besides the antiquities noticed by Cunningham, there are other important antiquities at Kendua in the neighbourhood of Kāṅkjol, which indicate that the place was of considerable importance in the pre-Muhammadan period. There can therefore be little doubt about the proposed identification.

The name of the ancient Madhugiri-*maṇḍala* may be recognised in the present Mahnāgadhi, an isolated hill, in Santal Parganas rising to a height of 1,657 feet above sea level and situated about 22 miles to the south-west of Kāṅkjol and 20 miles north-west of Kumhira.—Ed.]

Of the other **localities** mentioned in the inscription, **Kumbhīnagara** may be identified with the modern Kumhira, in the Rāmpurhāt P. S. of the Birbhum District. The river **Mōra** is the modern Mor (also known as Mayūrākshi) which flows through the Birbhum District. **Kumārapura** still retains its ancient name and is situated in P. S. Maureswar about 3¼ miles north of the Mor. **Vārahakōṇā** is the modern Barkunda in P. S. Suri, about ½ a mile north of the Mor and 1½ mile from the Sainthia railway station of the E. I. R. Loop line. The words *kōṇā* and *kuṇḍā* are changeable according to the usage in the Birbhum District. The modern village of Baharpur in the Labpur P. S. of Birbhum District probably represents the ancient **Vijahārapura**. Mr. N. K. Bhattasali identifies **Nimā** and **Vāllihitā** with the modern villages of Nima and Baluti in P. S. Maureswar, on the north bank of the Mor, 4 miles north-east from Sainthia and 5¼ miles west of Kumārapur. He also identifies **Achchhamā** with the modern village of Ammo in P. S. Suri, ½ a mile north of Sainthia and **Parajāṇa** with that of Palijana' a village on both sides of the Mor, in P. S. Labpur and P. S. Maureswar, about 5 miles north-west of Baharpur. The villages of Barkunda, Nima and Baluti are now on the north bank of the Mor when the inscription tells us that they were to the south of this river. This shows that the Mor, which is a restless river constantly shifting its sandy bed, has since changed its course. The dried-up bed of the modern Kāṇā river, passing north of Nima and Baluti, was most probably the ancient course of the Mor during the Sêna period. [Bārkōṇā would be a better equivalent of Vārahakōṇā and a well-known ancient locality exists under this name close to Panchthupi in the Kandi Subdivision of Murshidābād. In the vicinity are also to be found Nima and Baluti, and the river Mor drags [illegible] at some distance to the south.—Ed.]

[1] *A. S. R.*, Vol. XV, pp. 37-39.

The Saktipur inscription refers to the land measurement of *drōṇa*.[1] From the other records of the Sēna kings we know that several *drōṇas* made one *pāṭaka*. *Drōṇa* was again divided into *āḍhaka* or *āḍhavāpa*, *āḍhaka* into *unmāna*, and *unmāna* into *kāka* or *kākinikā*.[2] *Drōṇa* is still used as a land measure in Bengal. All these measurements were governed by a linear standard known as "*nala*". The standard of the measurement of *nala* was not uniform all over Bengal, and differed according to the custom and practice of a particular locality. The present grant makes mention of Vṛishabhaśaṅkara-*nala*. Vṛishabhaśaṅkara being an appellation of Vijayasēna,[3] the *nala* used in this inscription might have been introduced by and named after him. The Barrackpur grant of Vijayasēna refers to Samatatīya-*nala*.[4] The Govindapur copper-plate[5] of Lakshmaṇasēna which records the grant of a village in the Vardhamāna-*bhukti*, refers to a standard of *nala* consisting of 56 cubits, prevalent in that region.

The donee Kubēra was the son of Ananta, grand-son of Prithvīdhara and great-grand-son of Aniruddha. From an early dynastic calendar used by the *ghaṭakas* (match-makers),[6] we gather that there were in the time of Lakshmaṇasēna three brothers[7] named Dēvala, Vāmana and Kuvēra, sons of Dharmāṁśu, grand-sons of Pithō and great-grand-sons of Aniruddha. If Pithō is a contraction of Prithvīdhara[8] (as is very likely) and Ananta is taken to be another name of Dharmāṁśu, the Kubēra of the present record may be identical with the youngest of the three brothers. The other two, Dēvala and Vāmana are said to have received honor as "Kulin" (High class Brāhmaṇs) from Lakshmaṇasēna but Kuvēra is said to have forfeited this privilege, owing to his marriage with the daughter of Hāsya Gāṅguli, a degraded "Kulin" who had accepted the gift of a golden cow from Vallālasēna.[9] The loss of 'Kulinism' does not however seem to have prevented the Brāhman from receiving gifts at the hands of the king.

The date of the inscription was read by Mr. Basu as Saṁ 3, the 2nd day of Śrāvaṇa. Mr. Bhattasali (with whom I concur) corrects it as **Saṁ 6, the 7th day of Śrāvaṇa.**[10]

[The supposition that the king first granted by mistake some land already in the enjoyment of another donee, on the occasion of the solar eclipse, and subsequently exchanged it for another seems to be corroborated by the fact that except in 1163 A.D. (which is too early for Lakshmaṇasēna) there was no solar eclipse on the 7th day of (*solar*) Śrāvaṇa, throughout the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. In 1183 A.D. the seventh day of Śrāvaṇa fell on Sunday the 3rd July, while a solar eclipse occurred on Monday the 23rd May. The intervening period of about six weeks can be explained by the supposition that the mistake took some time to be detected, reported to the authorities concerned and rectified. In 1185 A.D. a solar eclipse occurred about two months before the 7th day of Śrāvaṇa and in 1180 A.D. over three weeks after the date. **The year 1183 is thus the most plausible equivalent** of the present date, which corroborates the conclusion

[1] [*Drōṇa* is the same as *drōṇavāpa* of the Gupta period plates in Bengal, *cf.* above, Vol. XX, p. 61. The *pāṭaka* of the Sēna period was however a larger unit than the *kulyavāpa* of earlier plates, as the former equalled at least 10 *drōṇas*, while the latter was made up of 8 *drōṇavāpas*.—Ed.]

[2] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 78, 90, 104.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 136, l. 22.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 97; *tad-dēśīya-saṁvyavahāra-shaṭpañchāśaddhasta-hasta-parimita-nalēna*.

[6] *Baṅgēr Jātīya Itihāsa*, by N. N. Basu, *Brāhmaṇakhaṇḍa*, p. 140.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 185.

[8] [*Cf.* Pithaurā for Prithvīrāja.—Ed.]

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 162. I am indebted to Mr. Subodh Chandra Banerjee, M.A., of the Manuscript department, Dacca University, for drawing my attention to this passage, contained in an early match-maker's calendar.

[10] *Cf.* the numeral "3" in the Amila plate, l. 56, and in Sāhitya-parishat copper-plate of Viśvarūpasēna, l. 55, and the numeral '6' in the latter l. 50.

that the date of Lakshmaṇasēna's accession was 1178 A.D. arrived at from the date of Śrīdhara's *Sadukti-Karṇāmṛita*, which is stated to be Śaka 1127 and the 27th year of Lakshmaṇasēna's reign.—Ed.]

The *dūta* of the grant was the *Sāndhivigrahika* Tripurārinātha. The Govindapur plate,[1] dated Saṁ 2, the 28th day of Bhādra, the Anulia plate,[2] dated Saṁ 3, the 9th day of Bhādra, all belonging to Lakshmaṇasēna state that the *Sāndhivigrahika* Nārāyaṇadatta was the executor of these grants. Apparently he was succeeded in that office by Tripurārinātha between the 3rd and 6th years of Lakshmaṇasēna's reign.

TEXT.

Obverse.

1 सिद्धम् [।*][3] ॐ नमो नारायणाय ॥ विद्यु[द्य]त्र मणिद्युतिः फणिपतेर्व्वा(र्बा)-
लेन्दुरिन्द्रायुधं वारि स्वर्गतरङ्गिणी सि-

2 तशिरोमाला व(ब)लाकावलिः [।*] ध्यानाभ्यास[स*]मीरणोपनिहित(तः) श्रेयोङ्कुरोद्भूतये
भूयाद्‌ स भवार्त्तितापभिदु-

3 रः शम्भोः कपर्द्दाम्वु(म्बु)दः[4] ॥[१॥*] पानन्दाम्वु(म्बु)निधौ चकोरनिकरे दुर्द्ध-
च्छिदात्वन्त(न्ति)को कह्लारे हतमो-

4 हता रतिपतावेकोऽमेवेति धीः [।*] यस्यामी पश्यतात्मनः समुदयन्त्याशु प्रकाशा-
न्नगत्व-

5 त्रिध्यानपरम्परापरिणतं ज्योतिस्तदाम्नायुदे[5] ॥[२॥*] सेवावनम्रनृपकोटिकिरीट-
रोचिर-

6 म्बु(म्बू)जस्तपदनखद्युतिवल्लरीभि[।*] तेजोविपक्ष्यरमुयो दियतामभूवन् भूमीभुज(जः)
स्फुटमवोध-

7 चिन्ताश्चर्य्ये[6] ॥[३॥*] आकौमारविकस्वरैर्द्दिशि दिशि प्रस्यन्दिभिर्य्यशः-
प्रालेयैररिराज[7]वल्लनलि-

8 न्यानी[8] समुन्मीलयन् [।*] हेमन्तः स्फुटमेव सेनजननचोदस्य[9] पुण्यावलीशालि-
स्राध्यविपाकपीव-

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[1] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 103.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 172 and 91.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[5] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[6] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[7] *Riparāja* in Anulia and Govindapur plates.

[8] Read *nalina-mīlanī*.

[9] *Kalāir-ogha-* in Anulia and Tarpandighi plates.

9 रणुषस्तेषामभूद्वंशजः[1] ॥[४॥*] यदीयैरद्यापि प्रचितभुजः स्फुटं[2] सहचरैर्यशोभिः
शोभन्ते परिधि-

10 परिणद्धा इव दिशः [।*] ततः काञ्चीलीलाचतुरचतुराम्भोधिलहरीपरीतोर्व्वीभर्त्ता-[3]
जनि विज-

11 यसेन[:*] स विजयी[4] ॥[५॥*] प्रत्यूहः कलिसम्पदामनलसो वेदायनैकाध्वगः
संग्रामः श्रितजङ्गमा-

12 कृतिरभूद्बल्लालसेनस्ततः [।*] यश्चेतोमयमेव शौर्य्यविजयी दत्तौपधं[5] तत्क्षणा-
दक्षीणा रचयाञ्च-

13 कार वगगाः स्वस्मिन् परेषां श्रियः[6] [६॥*] संभुक्तान्यदिगङ्गनागणगुणाभोगप्रलोभाद्दि-
शामीशैरंश-

14 समर्पणेन घटितस्तत्तत्प्रभावस्फुटैः [।*] दोर्द्दण्डार्पितारिसङ्गररसो[7] राजन्यधर्म्माश्रयः
श्रीम-

15 ल्लक्ष्मणसेनभूपतिरतः सौजन्यसीमाजनि[8] ॥[७॥*] शश्वद(द्व)श्चभयाद्विसुक्तविषयास्त-
स्मावनिष्ठीकृत-

16 स्थाना यान्तु कथं न नाम रिपवस्तस्य प्रयोगाज्जयम् [।*] येनात्मप्रतिबिम्बि-
(बिम्बि)तेपि निपतत्यन्तेपि[9] चक्षुष्-

17 विप्यद्वैतेन यतस्ततोपि सपरो देवः परं वीक्ष्यते[10] ॥[८॥*] स खलु श्रीविक्रमपुर-
समावासितश्रीम-

18 ज्जयस्कन्धावारात् । महाराजाधिराजश्रीबल्लालसेनदेवपादानुध्यात[11] । परमेश्वरपर-

19 मभट्टारकपरमवैष्णवमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेवः कुशली । समुप-

20 गताशेषराजराजन्यकराज्ञीराणकराजपुत्रराजामात्यमहापुरोहितम-

21 हाधर्म्माध्यक्षमहासान्धिविग्रहिकमहासेनापतिमहामुद्राधिकृतच[12]न्तरङ्ग-

22 बृ(बृ)हदुपरिकमहाक्षपटलिकमहाप्रतीहारमहाभोगिकमहापीलुपतिमहा-

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[1] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[2] Read *bhuja-tējaḥ-* as in other inscriptions.

[3] Read *chatur-ambhōdhi.*

[4] Metre : *Śikhariṇī.*

[5] Read *datt-aushadham.*

[6] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[7] *Kshapitāri* in the Govindapur plate.

[8] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[9] Mr. Basu remarks that the word [illegible] is missing. But the word is clearly engraved.

[10] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[11] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary ; read *-dhyāta Para-.*

[12] Read *kṛit-ānta.*

23 गणस्थदोःसाधिकचौरोद्धरणिकनौबलहस्त्यश्वगोमहिष्यजाविकादिव्यापृतकगौल्मि-

24 कदण्डपाशिकदण्डनायकविष[य*]पत्यादीन् अन्यांश्च सकलराजपादोपजीविनोऽध्यक्ष-
प्रचारो-

25 क्तानिहाकीर्त्तितान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान् क्षेत्रकरांश्च ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान् ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणोत्तमान्
यथार्हं मान-

26 यति बोधयति समादिशति च मतमस्तु भवताम् यथा श्रीमद्विग्गिरिमण्डला-
वच्छिन्नकुम्भीनगर

27 प्रतिवद्धः कङ्कग्रामभुक्त्यन्तःपातिदक्षिणवीथ्यामुत्तरराढ़ायां[1] कुम्भप्रचतुरके पूर्व्वे
अप-

28 राजौलीसमेतमालिकुण्डापरिसरभूः सीमा दक्षिणे ब(ब्र)ह्मस्थलीयभागड़ीखण्डक्षेत्रं
सीमा

29 पश्चिमे चाच्छमागोपथः सीमा उत्तरे सोम्मदीसीमा इत्थं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नः
षट्त्रिंश[द्]द्रोणात्मक[:*]

Reverse.

30 सम्वत्सरेण सार्द्धशतद्वयोत्पत्तिकः वारहकोणावाञ्छिडितानिमापाटकसम्ब(म्ब)न्धिभूद्रो-

31 णचतुष्टयोपेतपाटकत्रयसमेतरावखड्डपाटकस्तथाचतुरके पूर्व्वे चाकलियाजो-

32 लीसीमा दक्षिणे विप्रवडाजोल्लीसीमा । पश्चिमे काहलजोलीसीमा । उत्तरे
परजाण-

33 गोपथः सीमा इत्थं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नत्रिपञ्चाशद्भूद्रोणात्मकः सम्वत्सरेण सार्द्धश-

34 तद्वयोत्पत्तिको दामरवडासमेतविजहारपुरपाटक एवमेतद्(द्)यथविलिखित-

35 नामसीमं स्वसीमावच्छिन्नं द्रेवप्रा(ना)द्रोणादिभूव(ब)चि[:*]गोपथाद्यभू[2] वास्तुभ-
क्षितं तृणभग-

36 [illegible]लन उ(ऊ)ननवतिभूद्रोणात्मकं सम्वत्सरेण पञ्चशतोत्पत्तिकं गावरह-
वारह-

37 कोणानिमावच्छिन्नखण्डक्षेत्रभूद्रोणचतुष्टयात्मकवाञ्छिडितापाटकदामरवडा-

38 पाटकसमेतविजहारपुरपाटकमेतत् षट्पाटकं सझाटविटपं सजलस्थलं सग-

39 र्त्तोषरं सगुवाकनारिकेलं सदशापराधं परिहृतसर्व्वपीड़ं अचट्टभट्टप्रवेश-

40 मकिञ्चित्प्रग्राह्यं तृणपूतिगोचरपर्य्यन्तं । पतिकदेवशर्म्मणः प्रपौत्राय

41 पृथ्वीधरदेवशर्म्मणः पौत्राय अनन्तदेवशर्म्मणः पुत्राय शाण्डिल्यसगोत्राय शा-

[1] [Cf. Dakshiṇa-rāḍhā-vīthya- in the Paharpur plate, above Vol. XX, p. 61.—Ed.]

[2] Probably we have to read gopath-ādy-asāra-bhū-bahiṣkṛta." [Cf. l. 36 of Tarpandighi copper-plate, Inscriptions of Bengal III, p. 102.—Ed.]

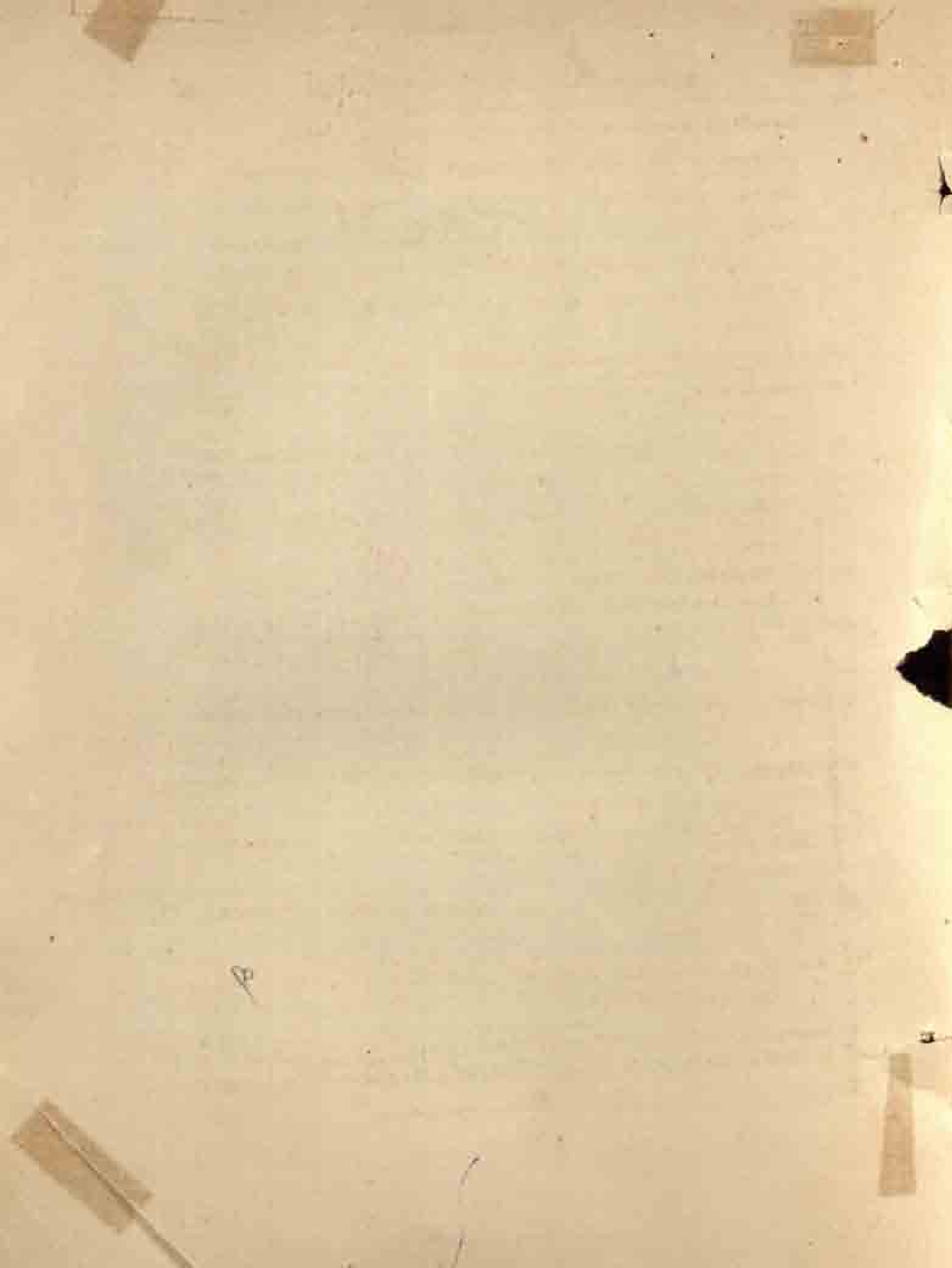
SAKTIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF LAKSHMANASENA.

REVERSE.

K. N. DIKSHIT.
Sin. No. 2024 E. 32

SCALE: TWO-FIFTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.



42 ण्डिल्यासितदेवलप्रवराय सामवेदकौथुमशाखाचरणानुष्ठायिने आचार्य्यश्री-

43 कुवेरदेवशर्म्मणे पुण्ये ऽहनि विधिवदुदकपूर्व्वकं भगवन्तं श्रीमन्नारायणभट्टा-

44 रकमुद्दिश्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये । श्रीवल्लालसेनदेवप्रदत्त-

45 नयालम्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणवरदासेन प्रतिगृहीतपञ्चशतोत्पत्तिकच(चे)चपाटकाभिधानग्राम-

46 नो(न)[विनिम]येन एतद्रावणहट्टादिषट्पाटकमल्लकमुपरिलिखितप्रमाणं पञ्चशतो-

47 त्पत्तियोग्यं छे(चे)चपाटकं कोडीकृत्य यस्मै पुनर्व्रा(र्ब्रा)ह्मणाय श्रीकुवेराभिधानाय सूर्य्यपर्व्वे

48 एतत्समुत्सृष्ट्याचन्द्रार्कं क्षितिसमकालं यावद्भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन ताम्रशासनीकृत्य दत्त-

49 मस्माभिस्तद्भवद्भिः सर्व्वैरेवानुमन्तव्यम् [।*] भाविभिरपि नृपतिभिरपहरणे नरकपात-

50 भयात् पालने धर्म्मगौरवात् पालनीयं [।*] भवन्ति चात्र धर्म्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः । भूमिं

51 यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति [।*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ ॥[2][८॥*]

52 व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य [तस्य] तदा फलं(लम्)[3] ॥[१०॥*] आस्फोट-

53 यन्ति पितरो वल्गयन्ति पितामहा[ः।*] भूमिदाता कुले जातः स नस्त्राता भविष्यति ॥[4][११॥*] षष्टिं वर्ष-

54 सहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [।*] आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं व्रजेत् ॥[5][१२॥*] स्वदत्तां

55 परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [।*] स विष्ठायां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥[6][१३॥*] इति कमल-

56 दलाम्बु(म्बु)विन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च [।*] सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्धा[7] न हि

57 पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[8][१४॥*] श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनक्षोणीन्द्रः सान्धिविग्रहिकम् [।*] पिपुरा-

58 रिनाश(य)मकरोत् कुवेरकस्य शासने दूतम् ॥[9][१५॥*] सं ६[10] श्रावणदिने ७[11] श्रीनिमहासांनि [॥*]

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[1] This ৩ is redundant.
[2] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*
[3] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*
[4] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*
[5] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*
[6] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*
[7] Read *buddhvā*.
[8] Metre: *Pushpitāgrā.*
[9] Metre: *Upagīti.*
[10] Basu reads 3.
[11] Basu reads 2.

No. 38.—THE TIRUMUKKUDAL INSCRIPTION OF VIRARAJENDRA.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B.A., COIMBATORE.

Of the collection of over twenty thousand inscriptions made by the Epigraphical Department in the Madras Presidency, the inscription edited here is unique in several respects. It is one of the biggest inscriptions known so far; it registers certain historical facts not known or noticed till now; it gives an insight into the details of the working of the official machinery and shows how the king's birth-day, the days of the natal star of persons of note, and festivals of public rejoicing were celebrated; it records provisions made for the maintenance of an educational institution and a hostel; above all, it furnishes detailed information, such as is available from no other source, regarding the upkeep of a hospital, the medicines stocked therein, the number of beds provided for in-patients, the endowment for a staff of nurses, physician, surgeon and compounder, and the provision for inferior servants such as the washerman, the potter and others that attended to the needs of the patients. In presenting the record, I have strictly confined myself to offering such remarks and suggestions as are required to elucidate the text.

The inscription is engraved on the east wall of the first *prākāra* of the Vishṇu temple of Veṅkaṭēśa-Perumāḷ at **Tirumukkūḍal** in the Madhurantakam taluk of the Chingleput district. It was discovered and copied by me during the field season of 1915-16.[1] There is a notice of it in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for that year.[2] The village of Tirumukkūḍal derives its name from its situation at the confluence of the Pālār with two of its tributaries, the Vēgavatī and the Cheyyār. The word 'tirumukkūḍal' means 'the confluence of three sacred (*streams*)'. The temple of Veṅkaṭēśa-Perumāḷ is picturesquely situated on a prominence on the bank of the combined river which at this place is naturally very broad. The spot is an ideal one for the erection of a temple, college, hostel and hospital. At the time of the record, all these were actually combined in one building with separate apartments for each section and located here as the inscription gives us to understand. Tirumukkūḍal is about two miles from Paḻaiya-Śivaram, a small station next to Walajabad in the Conjeeveram-Chingleput section of the South Indian Railway, and has to be reached by crossing the river. On the opposite side of the river is a small hillock on which stands another Vishṇu temple which is sometimes frequented by pilgrims visiting Conjeeveram and about which there is a reference in our inscription under the name Tiruvēṅkaṭamalai.

The temple of Veṅkaṭēśa-Perumāḷ is an ancient one. It has been in existence from the time of the Pallava king Vijaya-Nṛipatuṅga-vikramavarman of the ninth century A.D. as evidenced by a record of the 24th year of his reign found on a slab supporting a beam in the inner enclosure.[3] According to this inscription, the god is called **Vishṇu-Bhaṭāra.** It was known by the name of Tirumukkūḍal-Āḻvār and Mahā-Vishṇu during Chōḻa times,[4] while a later epigraph calls it by the name Veṅkaṭēśvara-svāmin.[5]

The inscription under publication consists of 55 lines of writing and is engraved in two sections. In the first section the lines are very long and run to a distance of 55 feet. The entire space covered by the inscription is 540 square feet. The record is written in the **Tamil language** and alphabet, and the **characters** belong to the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. A few Grantha letters are used mostly in words of Sanskrit origin. The inscription is fairly well preserved, though in some places a few letters are badly damaged. One or two small inscribed slabs have fallen off

[1] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1916, para. 4 on page 4.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 118f.

[3] No. 179 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1915.

[4] Nos. 180 and 182 of the same collection.

[5] No. 187 of the same collection.

and their places are filled up by plain ones. In the second section, a few pillars have been inserted in later times close to the inscribed wall and these obstruct a part of the inscription. Though the letters so obstructed have not come out in the impression, yet they have been read from the stone.

Regarding the **orthography** of the record the following peculiarities deserve to be noted. The letters *n* and *ṉ* have been quite indifferently used. The wrong employment of the former not only before *ṉ* and *ṟ* but also at the end of words is noticeable in many places, *e.g.*, *yaṉṉanṟannai* (l. 4), *Vimayanṟannai* (l. 4), *magan* and *maṟṟavan* (l. 1). Similarly we find the incorrect use of *s* before *t* and at the commencement of words, *e.g.*, *sāmanta* (l. 2), *maṇḍalam* (l. 2) and *Nuḷamba* (l. 4). There are several instances where the *sandhi* rules have not been observed, *e.g.*, *Irugaiyan-dēvi* (l. 1), *pāriṉ-Daṇḍa°* (l. 4), *tammiṟ-ṭi°* (l. 4), *Kēśavaṉ-Dē°* (l. 2) and *Śūṉukkalliṟ-jaya* (l. 9). In the first three cases here cited, the *t* and *d* should have been changed into *ṟ*, in the fourth, *ṉ* should have been omitted and in the fifth *ṟ* should have been replaced by *l*. A few mistakes of spelling also occur, *e.g.*, *nintum* for *niṉṟum* (l. 1), *nāṭṭinai* for *nāṭṭuḷai* (l. 1) and *pūṉar* for *puṉar* (l. 1). The use of certain words and phrases deserves notice, *e.g.*, *Puṭpagappiḍi* 'the name of a royal elephant' (l. 3), *kōṭṭimi*, (l. 9), *kachchāṇa* (*i.e.*, gadyāṇa) (l. 11), *chelliya pōkki*, (l. 6), *mudal tavirndu*, *mudal eduttu*, (l. 11), *virasēṉai* and *daśabandam* (l. 11).

The inscription opens with the historical introduction commencing with the words *tiru-vaḷar*, etc., in which are chronicled, in greater detail than hitherto known, the political events that took place in the reign of the **Chōḷa** king **Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* **Vīrarājēndradēva** up to the sixth year, the **date** of the record. It states that the king, while he was seated on the throne called Rājēndrasōḷa-Māvalivāṇarājaṉ in his palace named Sōḷakēraḷaṉ-tirumāḷigai at **Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷapuram**, was pleased to order that the amount of 75 *kaḷañju* of gold which the residents of the *dēvadāna* village of Vayalaikkāvūr had been paying towards the maintenance of a feeding house (*śālā*)—together with certain customary dues raised from the same village which had been assigned as a *śālābhōga* to the temple of Mahā-Vishṇu at Tirumukkūḍal in the second year of the king's predecessor **Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva** 'who took Raṭṭapāḍi 7½ lakhs, and defeated **Āhavamalla** twice on the battle field'—should be entered in the accounts from the current year as a tax-free *dēvadāna* to be utilised for the expenses (*nimandu*) of the god. This royal order (*ōlai*) of the king was committed to writing by an official whose designation was *tirumandiravōlai* (Royal Secretary) and attested to by three others designated *tirumandiravōlai-nāyagam* (Chief Royal Secretary). When this royal mandate was received, certain officials who may be called the authorising officers (*ēval*) gave the command and this was seconded by thirty-eight persons belonging to three sections or departments of the state, *viz.*, six of *uḍaṉkūṭṭam* (Royal attendants or aide-de camps), twenty-eight of *viḍaiyil*, *i.e.*, those who issue permits, and four of the *naḍuvirukkai* (arbitrators). Thereafter thirty-two officers of the Accounts Department belonging to ten[1] different sections assembled together, of whom four persons authorised the entry, one read the order, another made the entry and still another issued the revised account. The entry made by the officers was to the following effect :—

The gift to the temple of Mahā-Vishṇu at Tirumukkūḍal consisted of (1) 75 *kaḷañju* of gold which the residents of Vayalaikkāvūr were paying for the *śālā*, (2) certain specified dues on the said *dēvadāna* village, and (3) 72 *kaḷañju*[2] and 9 *mañjāḍi* of gold which formed a prior *dēvadāna*

[1] These ten sections are :—(1) *puravuvari-tiṇaikkaḷam*, (2) *variyppottagam*, (3) *puravuvari-tiṇaikkaḷa-kaṇkāṇi*, (4) *mugaveṭṭi*, (5) *varippu*, (6) *karaṇ-kīṭṭu*, (7) *paḷaniyāyam*, (8) *variyilīḍu*, (9) *variyppottaga-kaṇakku* and (10) *paṭṭōlai*. Of these, the first may be taken to mean 'General Accounts,' the second 'Tax-Register,' the third 'Examiner of General Revenues,' the fourth 'Index Keeper,' the fifth 'Receipts,' the sixth 'Opening and Closing Accounts,' the seventh 'Old Arrears,' the eighth 'Entry in Tax-Register,' the ninth 'Accountant of Tax Register,' and the tenth 'Keeper of the Royal Orders'.

[2] 1 *kaḷañju* = 20 *mañjāḍi* ; 1 *mañjāḍi* = 2 *kuṉṟi* = 10 *mā*.

gift. Of these, items (1) and (3) amounted to 147 *kaḻañju* and 9 *mañjāḍi*. The income on this, at the rate of 16 *kalam* of paddy by the *rājakēsari* measure, per *kaḻañju*, amounted to 2359 *kalam*, 1 *padakku*, 3 *nāḻi*, 1 *āḻākku* and 3 *sevidu*[1]. This when converted into *arumoḻidēvan* measure gave an excess of 884 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, 3 *nāḻi* and 1 *āḻākku* after providing for *kālvāśi*, *kīḻaḍaru-kūli* and *koṟṟoḻavu-vāśi*, calculated at the rate of 1 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi* and 4 *nāḻi* of *arumoḻidēvan* for each *rājakēsari* *kalam*. Thus, the paddy income in favour of the temple on these two items alone came to 3243 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, 1 *padakku*, 6 *nāḻi*, 1 *uḻakku* and 3 *sevidu*. The third item (No. 2) amounted to 216¼ *kāśu* and 2 *mā*. It was made up of 36¼ *kāśu* obtained by converting 11 *kaḻañju* of gold derived from the taxes or fees *ūr-kaḻañju* (=1 *kaḻañju*), *kumara-kachchāṇam* (=1 *kaḻañju*), *miṉ-pāṭṭam* (=3¼ *kaḻañju*) and *kīḻirai-pāṭṭam* (=5¾ *kaḻañju*) together with the incomes of 28½ *kāśu* and 4 *mā* from *daṇḍam*, 25¼ *kāśu* and 3 *mā* from *maṉaikkūli*, 3 *kāśu* from *muḍal iḍavu*, 1½ *kāśu* from *saṇṇakkalkūli*, ½ *kāśu* from *tarippuḍavai*, 1½ *kāśu* from *tiṅgaḷmērā* and 118 *kāśu* from *vālikkāśu*.

Then are detailed the items of expenditure to be defrayed from this income of 3243 and odd *kalam* of paddy and 216¼ *kāśu* and 2 *mā* of money. The table appended hereto[2] will indicate how the incomes of paddy and money were expended annually in the temple and the institutions attached thereto. It may be stated here that the provision made in this inscription is (1) for meeting the various expenses connected with the temple, (2) for the maintenance of a Vēdic school with a hostel and (3) for the upkeep of a hospital. As regards the first, the record provides for offerings to be made to the god Āḻvār, three times daily—morning, noon and night,—for offerings to be made to the deity Śrī-Rāghavachakravartin, *i.e.*, Rāma at noon (*nearly* 601 *kalams*); for sandal-paste and its ingredients *karpūra* and *kuṅkuma* and for lamps (68¾ *kāśu*); for special offerings to be made on the occasion of the festivals in the months of Aippaśi, Māśi, Kārtigai as well as for the hunting festival and Jayantyashṭamī (the birth-day of Kṛishṇa) (28 *kalam*, 1 *kuṟuṇi* and 5¼ *nāḻi*); for a grand offering to be made on the occasion of the king's birth-day anniversary falling on the asterism Āślēsha in the month Āvaṇi (6 *kalam*, 5 *kuṟuṇi* and 2 *nāḻi*); for purchasing cloth to cover the images of gods and for offerings to be made on the birth-day asterism (*Pūrāḍam* in the month of Kārttigai) of the **Vaiśya Mādavaṉ Dāmayaṉ**, who built the Jananātha-*maṇḍapa* in the temple (6 *kalam*, 5 *kuṟuṇi* and 2 *nāḻi*); for the expenses to be met on the occasion of taking the deity Veṇṇaikkūttāḻvāṉ, *i.e.*, Kṛishṇa in procession on the day of *Tiruvōṇam* in the month of Puraṭṭāśi of every year (5 *kalam*); for meeting the expenses of feeding Śrī-Vaishṇavas on various festive occasions (88 *kalam*, 11 *kuṟuṇi* and 4 *nāḻi*); for payments to be made to an astrologer for announcing festivals, the songster for reciting the *tiruvāymoḻi* hymns, the cultivators that looked after the flower-garden of Vīraśōḻaṉ, the Vaikhānasa-dēvakaṉmis (priests worshipping the deity according to the Vaikhānasa mode), accountant, potter and washerman attached to the temple (382 *kalam* and 6 *kuṟuṇi*); for repairs to be executed annually in the *tiruchchuṟṟumāḷigai*, *i.e.*, the inner enclosure (40 *kalam*) and for purchasing cloth for various servants (13½ *kāśu*).

Then follow provisions made for the maintenance of a **Vēdic college** in this temple. One teacher taught the Ṛig-Vēda and received annually 60 *kalam* of paddy and 4 *kāśu*; another taught the Yajur-Vēda and was paid a similar fee. A Bhaṭṭa expounded Vyākaraṇa and Rūpāvatāra:[3] he got annually 120 *kalam* of paddy and 10 *kāśu*, *i.e.*, a little more than the combined honorarium paid to the two Vēdic teachers. The hostel attached to the college fed daily 60 persons consisting of 10 Brahmans who studied the Ṛig-Vēda, 10 Brahmans who studied the Yajur-Vēda; 20 Brahmans and students who studied the Vyākaraṇa and the Rūpāvatāra and 10 Mahā-pāñcharātras, 3

[1] The following are the relative capacities of the measures mentioned here:—1 *kalam* = 12 *kuṟuṇi* or 3 *tūṇi* or 6 *padakku*; 1 *kuṟuṇi* = 8 *nāḻi*; 1 *nāḻi* = 2 *uri*; 1 *uri* = 2 *uḻakku*; 1 *uḻakku* = 2 *āḻākku* and 1 *āḻākku* = 5 *sevidu*.

[2] *See* p. 229 f. below.

[3] On *Rūpāvatāra*, see my remarks, above Vol. XVIII, p. 66.

Śiva-Brāhmaṇas, 5 Vaikhānasas and 2 of another class the name of which is lost in the inscription. The feeding expenses, inclusive of the cost of mats and oil for lamps and for bathing on 51 Saturdays of the year, and wages of cooks and maid-servants who served the students and the teachers, came to 1642 *kalam* and 6 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy and 37½ *kāśu*. From the fact that the hostel fed not only the students studying the Ṛig-Vēda, the Yajur-Vēda, the Vyākaraṇa and the Rūpāvatāra but also a certain number of Mahā-Pāñchrātras,[1] Śiva-Brāhmaṇas and Vaikhānasas, it may be inferred that the *āgamas* and *tantras*—such as the Pāñcharātra, Śaiva and Vaikhānasa—were also taught.

The word *Śiva-Brāhmaṇa*[2] occurs very frequently in South Indian inscriptions and it has been generally taken to mean those belonging to the Śaiva religion; but our inscription seems to indicate that it has the special significance of one studying the 'Saiv-Āgama' referring as it does to a class of students of the school. It is interesting to find that the students in the hostel were provided with mats to lie on and lights for night study and were given oil for bath once a week throughout the year. The appointment of the maid-servants was meant for keeping the premises clean. As the education imparted was mostly religious in character, it is but natural that the temple was the principal centre of education, as we know from this and other inscriptions. One of the epigraphs of Uttaramallūr belonging to the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājēndra-Chōḷa I (A.D. 1013 to 1045) registers a gift of land as *Pavḻiya-kiḍaippuram* and stipulates that the men who enjoyed the income from it should live in the village and teach the Vēda.[3] Another inscription of the same time[4] registers a similar gift of land as *Taittiriya-kiḍaippuram*, *i.e.*, for teaching the students of the *Taittiriya-Śākhā*. In the temple at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr near Madras, there was built a pavilion known as the *Vyākaraṇa-dāna-maṇḍapa* wherein was expounded Pāṇini's Grammar. Besides the provision made for the study of the Vēdas, Grammar and the Āgamas (*Vēda-vritti*, *adhyayana-vritti* and *Bhaṭṭa-vritti*), there are numerous inscriptions in the Madras Epigraphical collection which refer to gifts made for the maintenance of persons expounding the Mahābhārata, Sōmasiddhānta, Prabhākara and the Mīmāṁsa (Apūrvas). By far the biggest college established for the study of the Vēdas and grammar and known to us from inscriptions existed in the 11th century A.D. at a place called Eṇṇāyiram in the South Arcot District, which contained as many as 370 students studying the various subjects.

The last item of expenditure was for the **maintenance of a hospital** wherein were treated students living in the hostel, and temple servants that were sick. This hospital was provided with 15 beds, and was in charge of a physician who was paid annually 90 *kalam* of paddy and 8 *kāśu* in addition to a grant of land, for prescribing medicines to the patients lying in the hospital of Vīrasōḻan, the servants attached to the institutions and the teachers and students of the Vēdic college. Besides the physician, there was one surgeon who received 30 *kalam* of paddy, two persons for fetching medicinal herbs who were paid 60 *kalam* of paddy and 2 *kāśu*—these persons also supplied fire-wood and attended to the preparation of medicines,—two nurses who received 30 *kalam* of paddy and 1 *kāśu*, and attended on the patients and administered medicines, and a

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[1] The Pāñchrātra was so called because it had five Saṁhitās, *viz.*, Pāramēśvara, Sāttvata, Vishvaksēna, Khagēśvara and Śrī-Paushkara. According to the *Varāha-Purāṇa* the persons eligible to study *Pāñcharātra* are the first three classes and it was one of the four means of realising God, the other three being *Vēda*, *bhakti* and *yajña*.

[2] *Śivadvija* and *gurukkaḷ* are terms employed even now to denote persons conducting worship in Śiva temples.

[3] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. VI, No. 312. *Kiḍai* in Tamil means a teacher and *paviḻiya*, a term that is not explained in dictionaries, is connected phonetically with *Bahvṛicha*. As such, the provision made must be for teaching the Ṛig-Vēda.

[4] *Ibid.*, No. 316.

barber who received 15 *kalam* of paddy probably for performing minor operations in addition to his professional duties. The sick ration consisted of 1 *nāḻi* of rice per head per day. Besides the above, a provision of 2¼ *kāśu* for a lamp to be kept burning in the hospital during nights, 15 *kalam* of paddy for the water-man and 10 *kāśu* for stocking medicines was also made. The medicines stored in the hospital were :—

(1) Brāhmyam-kaḍumbūri, (2) Vāśā-haritakī, (3) Gō-mūtra-haritakī, (4) Daśa-mūla-haritakī, (5) Bhallātaka-haritakī, (6) Gaṇḍīra, (7) Balākēraṇḍa-taila, (8) Pañchaka-taila, (9) Laśunādy-ēraṇḍa-taila, (10) Uttama-karṇādi-taila, (11) Śukla . . . sa-ghṛita, (12) Bilvādi-ghṛita, (13) Maṇḍūkara-vaṭika, (14) Dravatti, (15) Vimala, (16) Sunēri, (17) Tāmrādi, (18) Vajrakalpa, (19) Kalyāṇaka-lavaṇa and (20) Purāṇa-ghṛita.

Of these medicines[1], No. (1), if it refers to *Brāhmya-rasāyana*, is described in verses 38 to 54 of *Charaka-Saṁhitā*, chapter I, and *Ashṭāṅgahṛidaya*, chapter XXXIX, verses 15 to 23. The ingredients that enter into the composition of this medicine are 44 in number. The preparation is as follows :—1,000 *chebulic myrobalans* and 3,000 fresh *emblic myrobalans* together with 250 *palas* of the five *pañchamūlas* (*i.e.*, of 25 roots) are boiled in 10 times the quantity of water till the whole is reduced to one-tenth. The liquid is then strained and the decoction taken. In it the powder of myrobalans without the nuts is thrown. To the mixture is added the pulve of 4 *palas* each of *maṇḍūka-parṇa*, *pippali*, *śaṅkhapushpi*, etc., and 1,000 *palas* of sugar-candy together with 2 *āḍhakas* of oil and 3 *āḍhakas* of ghee and the whole boiled in slow fire until it reaches the consistency of an electuary. 320 *palas* of honey are then added and the whole well churned. This medicine, says the author, sharpens the intellect, removes fatigue, improves memory and gives longevity and strength. As these are the essential requirements of a student, it naturally heads the list of medicines intended mostly for them.

No. (3) of the medicines is noticed in the 67th verse of chapter IX of *Charaka*- and in chapter VI of *Suśruta-Saṁhitā*. From the text we gather that *Gō-mūtra-harītakī* is simply *chebulic myrobalans* soaked in cow's urine for one night. Suśruta states that if it is taken with honey in the morning, it will cure internal piles. It may also be noted that in the treatment of *Pāṇḍu-rōga*, Vāgbhaṭa (chapter XVI) says that *harītakī* taken with cow's urine removes jaundice. The text giving this information is adopted from Charaka.

No. (4) is described in the *Ashṭāṅgahṛidaya*, chapter XVII, verses 14 to 16, which state that the medicine is prepared by taking the decoction of the *daśamūla* (ten roots), putting in it 100 *chebulic myrobalans* and one *tulā* of jaggery and boiling the whole into a *lēhya* and mixing with it the powder of *trijāta*, *trikaṭu*, and a little of *yava-kshāraja* and when cooled adding half a *prastha* of honey. This medicine is said to be capable of curing dropsy, fever, diseases of urinary organs, tubercules, rheumatism, hæmorrhages, colour in the urine, wind, sperm disease, lung disease, distaste for food and enlargement of the spleen.

If by No. (6) is meant *Gaṇḍīrādyarishṭa*, it is described in verses 27 to 29 of *Charaka-Saṁhitā*, chapter XVII. The ingredients that enter into the preparation of this medicine are (1) *gaṇḍīra* (*solanum verbascifolium*), (2) *bhallātaka* (*semicarpus anacardium*), (3) *chitraka* (*plumbago zeylanica*), (4) *vyōsha* (pepper, *piper longum* and dry ginger), (5) *bṛihatī-dvaya* (*solanum indicum* and *solanum xanthocarpum*), and (6) *viḍaṅga*. Two measures of each of these are taken and cooked with 8 measures of *kūrchika-mastu*, *i.e.*, water taken by straining curdled milk in the fire of cakes of cow-dung. When reduced to a third and cooled, the liquid has to be strained and mixed with 8 measures of *prāṇita-mastu* and 100 *palas* of sugar-candy, *plumbago zeylanica* and *piper longum*

[1] For some of the references to chapter and verses relating to Indian medicine, which are incorporated in this note, I am indebted to Mr. P. S. Ramaswami Aiyer of Gopichettipalaiyam.

and then to be used after keeping it for ten days. This medicine is said to cure dropsy, fistula, hæmorrhoids, *krimi* (worms), skin disease, disease of urinary organs, different forms of leanness, wind and hiccough.

Pañchāka-taila (No. 8) may be identical with *Taila-pañchaka* described in Charaka under *gulmas*. The five ingredients of this medicine are gingely oil, liquor, cow's urine, viniger and *yavāgraja*. By the last is perhaps meant the liquid strained from green barley shoots reduced to ashes mixed with four times the quantity of water. This medicine is said to be capable of curing tubercules.

Bilvādi-ghrita (No. 12) is dealt with in the chapter on *Grahaṇī-chikitsā-prakaraṇa* of *Yōgaratnākara*. The drugs that enter into the medicine are (1) *bilva* (*aegle marmelos*), (2) *agni* (*plumbago zeylanica*), (3) *chavya* (*piper chaba*), (4) *ārdraka* (ginger), (5) *śriṅga-bēra* (a variety of double ginger), (6) ghee and (7) *chhāga-dugdha* (goat's milk). The first five are subject to the process of *kvātha* and *kalka* and mixed with (6) and (7) and cooked. This medicine cures dropsy, distaste and *grahaṇī*.

Verses 70 to 75 of chapter XX of Charaka and verses 15 to 20 of chapter XVI of *Ashṭāṅga-hridaya* deal with *Maṇḍūkara-vaṭika* (No. 13). The drugs that compose the medicine are *triphala*, *triyūshaṇa musta*, *vēḍaṅga*, *charya*, *chitraka*, *dārvi*, *tvaṅg*, *mākshika*, *granthika* and *dēva-dāru*. Two *palas* each of these substances are powdered and cooked in eight times the quantity of cow's urine and then the fine powder of *maṇḍūra* equal to double the quantity of the other *chūrṇas* are added and pills made of the size of *udumbara* (*ficus glomerata*) and taken with butter-milk. This medicine cures anæmia, skin disease, dropsy, phlegm, piles or hæmorrhoids, jaundice, spleen and diseases connected with urinary organs and spleen.

According to one authority, the ingredients that compose *Vimala* (No. 15) are *śaṅkha*, *priyaṅgu*, *nēpāli*, the *trikaṭu* and the *triphalas*. Another gives the ingredients as *madhuka*, *maricha*, *pippali*, *lōdhra*, *taru-rajani* and the *triphala*. This medicine is said to remove from the eyes *timira*, *paṭala*, *kācha* and *kaṇḍu*.

The preparation of the *varti* known as *Sunētri* (No. 16) is described in the *Sahasrayōga* under *nētrarōgaprakaraṇa*. A large number of drugs such as the three acrids, the three fruits, *plumbago zeylanica*, *alnus integrefolia*, *embelia ribes*, white lotus, liquorice, rock salt, camphor, conch, *achorus calamus*, *gairika*, the two kinds of sandal, *lāksha*, *lōdhra*, copper sulphate, *pīta-rōhiṇī*, enter into the composition of this medicine. It is said to be capable of curing all kinds of eye diseases such as *kācha*, *pushpa*, *paṭala*, *vraṇa*, *dāha*, *rāga*, *kaṇḍu*, *timira*, *kukkima*, and *adhimāṁsa*.

The preparation of *kalyāṇaka-lavaṇa* (No. 19) is given in verses 29 and 30 of the chapter on *Arśa rōga* in the *Vṛindamādhava*. The ingredients are the Bhallātaka group, the three fruits, *danti* and *chitraka*, *i.e.*, *plumbago zeylanica*, in equal parts with twice the quantity of Saindhava salt.

The historical importance of the present record lies in the valuable information it gives regarding the king's **exploits in the island of Ceylon**, besides the facts known from other inscriptions[1]. The historical introduction of Vīrarājēndra's inscriptions begins in three different ways. In two sets of records it commences with the words *tiru vaḷar*, etc., and furnishes complete information regarding his military exploits, while one set of inscriptions begins with the words *vīramē tuṇai* in which these heroic deeds are referred to in brief. A few records of the former type supply us with a list of appointments made and honours conferred by the king on his relations. In some places the smaller historical introductions supplement the information given in the longer ones. A study of all the records of Vīrarājēndra so far known would

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 32 ff. and 193 ff. where Dr. Hultzsch has exhaustively dealt with the historical facts of Vīrarājēndra's reign.

show that he was crowned king immediately after his victorious return from the battle field of **Kūḍal-Saṅgama.** Since the three campaigns against the Western Chālukyas in the regions of **Gaṅgavāḍi**, **Vēṅgi** and Kūḍal-Saṅgama find mention even in a second year record of the king, they have to be placed before A.D. 1062 which was the year of his accession to throne as calculated by Professor Kielhorn[1]. It is therefore fairly certain that in this very year his elder brother Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva died which gave the occasion for Vīrarājēndra to proceed straight from the last campaign to the capital and have his coronation ceremony celebrated along with his queen **Ulagamuluduḍaiyāḷ** as stated in his epigraphs. It is plain that the series of campaigns against the Western Chālukyas must have been begun by Rājēndradēva and completed by Vīrarājēndra after the former's death. King Vīrarājēndra started his career, it may be noted, by making his position secure by conferring honours on his relations.[2] Vīrarājēndra's dealings with **Pottappi**, an un-named **Kērala king**, as well as the younger brother of **Jananātha**[3] and **Vīrakēsari**,[4] the son of the **Pāṇḍya king Śrīvallabha** are mentioned in a record of his fourth year,[5] and as such might have taken place in about A.D. 1065. About the same time the Chōḷa king being invited to fight a combat by Āhavamalla through a war messenger, advanced against him and defeated him a second time in the very field appointed by himself. Then taking a vow that he would not return before he recovered possession of the Vēṅgi country, he directed his arms to that quarter, accomplished his object and thus fulfilled his elder brother's desire,[6] and then had his anointment of victory (*vijaya-abhishēka*) performed.[7] The Vēṅgi country was first invaded by Rājarāja I (985-1013 A.D.) and was again overrun by Rājēndra-Chōḷa I[8], but it appears that his successors Rājādhirāja I and Rājēndradēva did not assert their right over it. This neglect on their part to hold the reins tight in the Vēṅgi country gave room to the Eastern Chālukyas to throw off the Chōḷa yoke. Rājēndradēva seems to have realised the necessity of bringing this tract back under the Chōḷas but he died without effecting it. The Kanyākumāri[9] inscription clearly refers to this neglected patrimony of the Chōḷas, won back by Vīrarājēndra. It says :—

भ्रातृभ्यां समुपेक्षितं जनपदं वेङ्ग्याख्यमभ्यागतं काले वैरिमहीधरैरतिबलैर्वेङ्ग्यन्तिकेष्वपि ।
भ्रातृभ्यां समुपेक्षितं जनपदं [illegible] चोलाधिपतिः [illegible] तं मोचयन् ॥
जित्वा यत्पुरंदरामतिचमं जित्वा च [illegible]

Before 1067 A.D., the Chōḷa sovereign burnt the city of **Kampili**, set up a pillar of victory at a place called **Karaḍikal** (which must be different from another pillar set up on the banks of the **Tuṅgabhadrā** as reported in our inscription), gained victories at **Bezwada**, got back **Kannakuchchi** (Kānyakubja), took the head of the Pāṇḍya, levied tribute from the **Chēra**, defeated **Vijayabāhu** and brought Ceylon under subjection. Proceeding again to the north, he defeated a number of chiefs who were fighting under the banner of the Chālukyas, set up a third pillar of victory at **Śāṭṭukkal**, gained victories at **Chakkarakōṭṭam** and **Kāvi** and destroyed the **Kaliṅga** country.[10]

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[1] See for instance *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. V, No. 976.

[2] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III, p. 33 and also No. 976 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

[3] Jananātha has been taken to be the king of Dhārā for which there is no warrant. The achievements noted

[4] By considering Vīrakēsari as the son of Śrīvallabha I differ from Dr. Hultzsch. (See No. 29 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. III.)

in this paragraph were accomplished by the end of Rājēndradēva's reign.

[5] *Ibid.*, No. 20.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 336.

[7] These additional facts are recorded in No. 82 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1892. See also No. 30 of *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III, and Nos. 98 of 1892 and 122 of 1902.

[8] That this king himself was engaged in subduing the countries of the *Uttarāpatha* is recorded in an inscription of Rājādhirāja I found at Eṇṇāyiram (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1918, p. 145).

[9] *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol III, p. 148, v. 77.

[10] These achievements are noticed in inscriptions of the 6th year of the king's reign. See for instance the present record and No. 88 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1898.

Regarding the location of Vīrarājēndra's pillars of victory in the Chālukya country, Karadikal is referred to in a Kanarese inscription[1] from Uchchangidrug in the Bellary district as Karakal-nāḍu of which the village of Nandavāḍige is said to be the face. Nandavāḍige and Karadikal may, therefore, be identified with Nandavāḍige and Karaḍi, two villages in the Hungund Taluka of the Bijāpur district on the border of the Nizam's Dominions situated to the south of the Kṛishṇā river. They are only at a distance within 5 miles of each other.

As noted above, the most important historical facts gathered from our inscription relate to the war with Ceylon. It is stated that 'Vīrarājēndra despatched a number of vessels to Ceylon, commenced a war in that island which was protected by the sea, routed the Singhalese army; and as there arose a great tumult, when it was reported that Kurukulattaraiyaṉ and other feudatories fell in the field, king Vijayabāhu ran away and the Chōḷa king got possession of his queen and crown along with his family treasures and gems and made Laṅkā his own.' This event, which, as we have pointed out above, happened in A.D. 1066, is of importance for the synchronism it affords to the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*, where the causes that led to the war and further details connected with it are narrated at great length. According to the chronicle, the name Vijayabāhu was assumed by Kitti[2] when he became sub-king. Almost in the first year of his reign he was defeated by a Chōḷa sovereign and forced to take refuge in a fortress on the hills.[3] He is then said to have obtained help from the ruler of the Ramañña country and to have dwelt at Tamalagāma. About the 11th year of his reign the Singhalese scornfully set at naught the authority of the Chōḷas and vexed the Chōḷa officers of revenue. And when the Chōḷa king heard of it, he was greatly provoked and sent a large army under his general against Ceylon. The general landed at Mahātittha, slaughtered the people of the various parts of the country and brought them under subjection. Vijayabāhu now built a fortress at Pulatthapabbata, fought with and killed the Chōḷa general and proceeded to Pulatthi with a large army. When the Chōḷa king was informed of these tidings, he desired to take Vijayabāhu captive, went to the sea-port himself and sent a larger army than before to the island. The lord of Laṅkā, hearing this, sent his general who encountered them at Anurādhapura and fought a great battle. But many of Vijayabāhu's men fell in the field and the people went over to the Chōḷa side. Thereupon Vijayabāhu left the city of Pulatthi and fled away to Villikabana. When he was told that the governor of the Chōḷas pursued him even there, he went away to Vatagiri, built a fortress at its foot, made war for three months and drove back the Tamils.[4]

Of the two wars noted above as having been waged by Vijayabāhu with the Chōḷas, it is fairly certain that the latter is the one alluded to in the extract given from our inscription of Vīrarājēndra as having been fought with him in about A.D. 1066. Of the other war which took place 11 years previously, we have also epigraphical confirmation in Tamil records. It is the one recorded as having been waged by Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva, the predecessor of Vīrarājēndra, in A.D. 1055. Rājēndradēva's inscriptions state that he despatched a war-like army into the southern region, seized on the battle-field the two sons of Mānābharaṇa and captured Laṅkā. Thus our inscription enables us to say that Vijayabāhu's accession took place in about A.D. 1055, that he fought with Rājēndradēva in that very year and that in A.D. 1066 he had to meet Vīrarājēndra's forces. From the Singhalese account we learn the cause of the war and the different places which witnessed the scene of action. Except these two wars, Vijayabāhu had no further encounter with the Chōḷas till late in his reign, *i.e.*, in the 30th year corresponding to A.D. 1085 when Kulōttuṅga was the Chōḷa ruler.

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, p. 107.

[2] He is said to be the eldest son of Mugalana. It is stated that the latter was well versed in the ways of the world and was known to all men as "the great lord". He greatly loved the order of priesthood and was the habitation of many lasting virtues.

[3] Wijesinha's translation, Ch. LVIII, pp. 97 f.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 98.

From this inscription it is further learnt that while most of the articles of daily use were obtained by exchange of paddy, there were some which could be had only for cash. A few articles were sold both for grain and money. Among the articles that were obtained exclusively for money may be mentioned sandal-paste, *karpūram*, *kuṅkumam*, honey and turmeric. The purchasing power of one *kāśu* was 8 *palams* of sandal, 576 *palams* of sugar, ¼ a *kalañju* of *kuṅkumam*, 2 *nāḻi* of honey or 200 *palams* of turmeric. The price of cloth varied according to the size. Oil and sugar were obtained both for money and paddy. The price of oil was 20 *nāḻi* per *kāśu*; 10 *palams* of sugar were obtained in exchange for 16 *nāḻi* of paddy; and 1 *kāśu* fetched 576 *palams*.

Cereals and vegetables were generally obtained by exchanging paddy. It is seen that milk, curds and salt had the same value and could be had by giving twice the quantity of paddy. Ghee, pepper and cumin were highly prized and they required 32 times their measure of paddy. Unhusked green pulse exchanged with twice the quantity of paddy, while clean pounded pulse required 4 times the quantity of paddy. To get a certain measure of rice, 2½ times the quantity of paddy is provided for. This seems to include wages for husking and cleaning.

Betel-leaves, areca-nuts, plantain fruits and coconuts were sold by number. A bundle of 80 betel-leaves formed a *kaṭṭu* or *paṟṟu* and its price was 2 *nāḻi* of paddy. A *nāḻi* of paddy had the purchasing power of 5 areca-nuts or 2 plantain fruits; and 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy was exchanged for 3 coconuts.

The **geographical names** that occur in this inscription are easy of identification. **Gaṅgapāḍi** (l. 1) is the Western Gaṅga territory comprising 96,000 villages with its capital at Talakkāḍ or Talakāḍu. **Vēṅgai-nāḍu** (l. 1) is the East coast littoral ruled over by the Eastern Chāḷukya kings. **Tuṅgapattirai** (l. 1), on whose bank a pillar of victory was set up, is the Tuṅgabhadrā. **Kūḍal Saṅgama** (l. 1) or Kūḍal (l. 4), where more than one battle was fought between the Chōḷas and the Chāḷukyas, is a place at the confluence of the rivers Kṛishṇā and the Pañcha-Gaṅgā.[1] **Kōsalai** (l. 2) is the ancient territorial division of Kōsala. **Gaṅgaimānagar** (l. 4), **Gaṅgāpuri** (l. 7) or **Gangaikoṇḍachōḷapuram** (l. 10) is identical with the last-mentioned place in the Uḍaiyārpāḷaiyam Taluk of the Trichinopoly District. It was founded by Rājēndra-Chōḷa I (A.D. 1010-1015) and made the capital of the Chōḷa dominions. The temple here is of the model of the great Pagoda at Tanjore built by Rājarāja I (A.D. 985-1013). **Iraṭṭapāḍi** (l. 5) or Raṭṭapāḍi, 7½ lakhs, is the country of the Raṭṭas. **Karandai** (l. 5) has been identified with Inchal-Karañji, in the neighbourhood of Kūḍal-Saṅgama.[2] **Kuntaḷa** (l. 5) is certainly the Western Chāḷukya territory.[3] **Visaiyavāḍai** (l. 6) is undoubtedly the modern Bezwada. The **seven Kaliṅgas** (l. 6) form the territorial division on the East coast, north of Vēṅgi, ruled by the Eastern Gaṅgas. **Īḻam** (l. 7) or Ilaṅgai is Ceylon. **Chakkarakkōṭṭam** (l. 9) has been identified with Chakrakōṭṭa in the Bastar State. I am not able to trace **Śōnaiyanagar** (l. 9) and **Kāvi** (l. 10). **Imaiyam** (l. 10) is another name for the Himālayas and **Sētu** (l. 10) is the southernmost point of India near Rāmēśvaram. **Madurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam** is no other than Madhurāntakam, a station in the S. I. Railway and the Headquarters of a Taluk in the Chingleput District. Tirumukkūḍal, though 10 miles away from it, was included in it in ancient times perhaps for administrative purposes. **Jayaṅgoṇḍachōḷa-maṇḍalam** is the name given to the ancient Pallava territory of Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam during the days of Rājarāja I, who bore the designation of Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chōḷa. **Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam** is one of the 24 districts of it. The village of **Vayalaikkāvūr** (l. 11) and **Alpākkam** (l. 43) are very near Tirumukkūḍal. **Mīnaṟkuḍi** in **Idaiyaḷa-nāḍu**, a sub-division of **Vijayarājēndra-vaḷanāḍu** in **Śōḷa-maṇḍalam** (l. 52) **Ayaṇḍampākkam** in **Āguḍi-nāḍu**, a sub-division of **Puḻaṟ-kōṭṭam** in Jayaṅgoṇḍachōḷa-maṇḍalam (l. 53 f.), **Rājasundari-chaturvēdimaṅgalam** in another sub-division of the same province, are other geographical names that occur in this epigraph.

[1] Above, XII, p. 298.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*

Details of Expenses.

No.	Item.	Rate.				Total expenses for the year.				
		Kal	ku	na	ul	Kal	ku	na	ul	śo
	Daily expenses.									
1	Śiṛukālai-sandi	0	5	5	3	171	6	6	0	0
2	Akkāradalai	0	9	3½	0	283	1	4	0	0
3	Night, Pāl-pōṇagam	0	3	1	0	93	9	0	0	0
4	For Śrī-Rāghavachakravartin	0	1	6	0	52	6	0	0	0
	Special occasions and festivals.									
5	Aippaśi festival	....				7	0	0	0	0
6	Māśi festival	....				7	0	0	0	0
7	Hunting festival	....				7	1	0	0	0
8	Jayantyashṭami	....				2	0	0½	0	0
9	Kārttigai-Kārttigai	....				3	11	7	0	0
10	King's Birthday	....				6	5	2	0	0
11	Birth-day of Vaidya Mādavaṉ Dāmayaṉ	....				9	5	2	0	0
12	Puraṭṭāśi-Tiruvōṇam	....				5	0	0	0	0
13	Feeding Śrī-Vaishṇavas on Amāvāsyā days	....				19	4	4	0	0
14	Do. during Procession to Tiruveṅgaḍamalai	....				8	8	3	0	0
15	Do. during Procession from Tiruveṅgaḍamalai	....				8	8	3	0	0
16	Do. during Puraṭṭāśi Tiruvōṇam	....				8	8	3	0	0
17	Do. during Aippaśi festival	....				17	4	6	0	0
18	Do. during Mārgaḻi festival	....				8	8	3	0	0
19	Do. during Māśi-Makham	....				17	4	6	0	0
						134	11	5	2	0
	Services.									
20	Tiru	0	0	6	0	....				
21	Tiruvāymoḻi Songster	0	3	0	0	....				
22	Gardeners	0	4	0	0	....				
23	Special Tiru	0	1	0	0	....				
24	Vaikhānasa Dēvakanmis	0	1	0	0	....				
25	Accountant	0	1	0	0	....				
26	Potter	0	1	0	0	....				
27	Washerman	0	0	4	0	....				
28	Tirumukkūḍal Pērayan	0	0	4	0	....				
						362	6	0	0	0
29	Repairs	....				80	0	0	0	0
	School.									
30	Ṛig-Vēda teacher	0	2	0	0	....				
31	Yajur-Vēda teacher	0	2	0	0	....				
32	Vyākaraṇa teacher	0	4	0	0	....				
						240	0	0	0	0
33	Hostel Expenses of 60 Students	3	10	6	0	1,402	6	0	0	0
34	Hospital	1	0	1½	0	395	7	4	0	0
35	Waterman	0	1	0	0	15	0	0	0	0
36	Rāmachcham and cardamom	....				20	10	0	0	0
37	Dakshiṇā, betel-leaves, etc.	....				1	4	2	3	3
						3,243	8	6	1	3

Details of Expenses—contd.

No.	Item.	Rate.	Total expenses for the year.
		kal ka ma ul	kal ka ma ul
	Money Expenses.		
38	Sugar for *Akkāraḍalai* . . . 20 *kāśu*	....	....
39	Sandal-paste and its ingredients 46 ,,	....	....
40	Oil . . . . . . 22½ ,,	....	....
41	*Kārttigai* . . . . . 1½ ,,	....	....
42	King's Birthday . . . . 7½ ,,	....	....
43	Dāmayan's Birthday . . . 6½ ,,	....	....
44	*Tiru* . . . . . . 1 ,,	....	....
45	Songster . . . . . 4 ,,	....	....
46	Dēvakanni . . . . . 4 ,,	....	....
47	Accountant . . . . . 4 ,,	....	....
48	Pūrayan . . . . . 1 ,,	....	....
49	Rig-Vēda teacher . . . . 4 ,,	....	....
50	Yajur-Vēda teacher . . . . 4 ,,	....	....
51	Vyākaraṇa Bhaṭṭa . . . . 10 ,,	....	....
52	Cook . . . . . . 6 ,,	....	....
53	Maid-servant . . . . . 2 ,,	....	....
54	Maṭa . . . . . . 2 ,,	....	....
55	Oil (for students) . . . . 9¼ ,,	....	....
	Hospital.		
56	Physician . . . . . 8 *kāśu*	....	....
57	Fuel and herbs . . . . 2 ,,	....	....
58	Nurses . . . . . . 1 ,,	....	....
59	Medicines . . . . . 40 ,,	....	....
60	Oil (hospital) . . . . . 2¼ ,,	....	....
61	Mādavan Dāmayan . . . . 1 ,, 7 *mā* An item of 7 *kāśu* is lost in the original. With this, 216½ *kāśu* and two *mā* are made up.	....	....

NOTE.—The quantity of sugar required daily for *akkāraḍalai* is 32 *palam*. Hence the requirement for a year of 360 days comes to 11,520 *palams*. Since 1 *kāśu* fetched 576 *palam* of sugar, the amount of money required for sugar is 20 *kāśu*.

The requirement of sandal-paste for a year at ½ *palam* per day is 180 *palam*. This at the rate of 8 *palam* per *kāśu* amounted to 22½ *kāśu*. The requirement of *karpūram* for the same item is 11¼ *kalañju*; and this at the rate of ½ *kalañju* per *kāśu* comes to 22½ *kāśu*. Another ingredient for this item is *kuṅkumam* which cost 1 *kāśu*. Thus the total for this item amounts to 46 *kāśu*.

TEXT.

1 [Svasti Śrī] [||*] [Tiru]-vaḷar-tiraḷ-puyatt=iru-nila-valaiyan=taṉ maṇi-ppūṇ-ena-ttā[ṅgi]=ppan-maṇi-kkoṟṟa-veṇ-kuḍai-ñiḻal[1] kuvalaiyatt=uyirgaḷai=ppeṟṟa tāyi[num] pēṇi maṟṟ-uḷav=arai-kaḻal-araiśar taṉ-a[ḍi-ñiḻa]l[1]-oduṅga urai-pilatt-uḍai-Kaliy=oduṅga maṟai śeydu virai-malar-tteriyal Vikkalaṉ-raṉṉoḍu vari-śilai-ttaḍa-kkai mā-sāmantarai=k[Kaṅ]gapāḍi-[k*]kaḷattiḍai-tin[tu]u-[2] Tuṅ[ga*]pattirai puṉa-tturatti [āṅ]g-avar Vē[ṅ]gai-[nan]nāṭṭinai[3] miṭṭum-avaṉ viṭṭa tāṅg-aṟ[um-peru]-vaḷi-ttaṇḍu [ke]ḷa=t]tākki [mā-ḍaṇ]ḍa-nāyakaṉ Śāmaṇḍarājaṉai-chchegg-avan śi[ra]ttiṉaiy=aruttu [ma]ṟ-avan-uru-[maga]ḷ-āgiya] Irugayaṉ-dēvi Nāgalaiy-eṉṉu[n]-t[ō]gaiy-añ-chāyalai mugattoḍu [mūkku vēṟ-ā]kki pagaitt-edir mūṉṟām viśaiyilum [ś]eṉṟemar poruvaṉ-eṉa-kkaruḍi-ppōr-pōṉar[4]-**Kūḍalsaṅgamatt-Āhavamallan** makkaḷ-āgiya Vikkalaṉ Śiṅgaṇa-

[1] Read *ni[al*.
[2] Read *'ḍai*.
[3] There is some correction here in the original. Read *nāṭṭinai*.
[4] Read *pōṉār*.

2 ṉ enṟ-ivar-tammo[ḍu] eṉṉ-il śāmantarai veṉṟ-aḍu-tūśi muṉ viṭṭu-ttaṉ-ṟuṇai ni[ai*]ṉ[dāru]ḷ-tāṉum piṉ-aḍutt-irundu vaḍa-kaḍal-eṉa vaguttav[1]-a-ttāṉaiyai-kkaḍa-kaḷiṟ-oṉṟā[l]-kkalakki aḍal-puri-Kōśalai-Śiṅgaṇai-kkoḍi-ppaḍai taṉ muṉ tūśi-veṅ-kaḷirroḍuṉ-tuṉittu-kKēśavaṉ-Daṇḍanāyakaṉ Kettaraiśaṉ tuṇḍigai-Mārayaṉ tiṟal Pottaraiśaṉ Irēchchayaṉ igal-śey-poṟ-Kōdai Mūvindi eṉṟūr tand-aḍu-tuppil-anēga śāmantarai-chchinna-piṉṉaḿ-cheydu piṉṉai-mudaliy-āgiya Muḍuvaṇaṉ ōḍa viritta talaiyoḍu Vikkalan ōḍa śeru-ttoḻil-a[ḻ]indu Śiṅgaṇaṉ ōḍa aṉṉal mudaligaḷ aṉaiva[ru]m mā-pōr-ppaṇṇina pagaḍ-iḻand-ōḍa naṉṉiṉa Āhavamallaṉum-avarku muṉṉ-ōḍa-[tt]aṉ vēga-veṅ-kaḷirriṉai viṭakka[2] vāgai-koṇḍ-āṅg-avar tāramum-avar-kula-dhaṉamuñ-chaṅgum-toṅgalum-tāraiyum pēriyum māgaḍamba-

3 ramum[3] veṇ-chāmaraiyuñ-chūkara-kkoḍiyum makara-tōraṇamum-oṭṭaga-niraiyumum alōk-śiaṇamum [puṣ]paga-ppiḍiyum poru-kaḷiṟ-ṟiṭṭamum pāy-pari-ttōgaiyoḍum paṟittu-chchēy-oḷi-vīrasiṁhāsana[m p]ār tolav-ēṟi eḻil-tarn-Ulagamuḻuduḍaiyārum [4]viśai-maṇi-makuṭam ēyndu kuśai-koḷ tattu-mā-puravi-pPottappi-vēndaṉai vāraṇa-vaḷai-kaḷar-Kēraḷaṉṟaṉṉai-[t]tār-Śa[ṉa]nāḍan-rambiyai-ppōr-kaḷatt-alaṅgal-śūḻ pasun-talaiy-arindu pulaṅ-kaḻar-Reṉṉavaṉ Śrīvallabaṉ magaṉ śiṟuvaṉai miṉ-navil-maṇi-muḍi-Vīrakēsariyai [ma]da-varaiy-onṟāl-udaippittu-ttan[5] kaiyil Śēralar tammoḍu śeṅgiraiyar kulam vēr-paṟind-ōḍi mēl-kaḍal vīḻa vāraṇa-pōr-aḍaṉiṟ-chaḻutti Vāriyil-eṉṉ-arañ-kaḷirriṉ [6]Iraṭṭarai-kkavarnda kaṉṉiyar kaḷirroḍuñ-kaṭṭi-ppaṇṇa-ppiḍiyoḍum-āṅg-avar-iḍu[7] tiṟai tanta vēḷa-[ni]rai koṇḍu sūḻ-puṉal-koṇḍ-[ā]ṟ-kuṟu[8]-

4 mir-kuritta vem-pōrir[9]-Daṇḍanāyakar tammir[10]-tiṇḍiṟal Villi[11] iyaṇṇaṉaiyum Vañjippayaṉai[12] . . . . . [13]gu mada-kaḷirru . . . . [14] ṉḍār-Aśōkaiyan taṉṉaiyum tiṇḍiṟar-Chattiyaṇṇaṉaiyuñ-Chanduvigraha-pPaṭ[ṭiyaṉ]ṉan-[ṟaṉṉaiyu]m [a]-ttagu tēm-aru-toriyav-Vimal[ya*]ṉ-ṟaṉṉai śē-madi-Vaṅgāraṇaiyum nāma-vēṟ-Kaṅgaṇai Nuḷambaṉai-kKāḍavar-kōṉai vamb-uṟar[15]-mada-śāṉai[16]-Vaiydum-barāśaṉaiy-iru[n]-[17]talaiy-arindu perum-puṉaṟ-ṟa[ṇ]ḍāḍu-Gaṅgaimānagar taiyttapiṉ[18] tiṅgaḷil vaḻi-varu-Śaḷukki i-ppaḻiyoḍum vāḷva[di]l śāvadē śāla-naṉṟ-eṉṟu ēvam-uṟr-uṉṉiya śindaiyaṉ-āgi muṉṉam pudalvaruṉ-tāṉu[m*] muḍugu-koḍuṭ-uḍaindu Kūḍalē kaḷam-eṉa-kkuṟittu-kKūḍalil-vā[rā]d-añjiṉar maṉṉavar-allarga] pōr-pperum-paḻi-ppiraṭṭar-āgav-eṉ-ṟ-iy-

[1] The letter va may also be read u.

[2] vilakki is the reading in Nos. 20 and 30 of *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III.

[3] Delete the ra.

[4] The letter vi looks like mi in the original.

[5] *Udaippit* is the reading in the Takkōlam inscription, while No. 30 of *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III, has *Ula-paiyil*.

[6] This letter is badly formed and looks like ra in the original.

[7] *Vidu* is [illegible] reading in the *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III, No. 30.

[8] Kond[illegible] by *kond-ār-uruv* in No. 30 of *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III.

[9] Read [illegible]

[10] Correct [illegible]

[11] *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, [illegible] III, No. [illegible] has *Malli*.

[12] *Vañji* is replaced by *Manji* in No. [illegible] of *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III.

[13] Some letters are completely worn out here. The gap may be filled up with the syllables *yum pi*.

[14] Read *piramadīśaṉaiyum ka* in the gap.

[15] *Vamb-uṟar* is replaced by *maṇya* in No. 30 of *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III.

[16] Read *yāṉai*.

[17] Between *ru* and *ta* there is some empty space.

[18] *Nla* is another reading.

5 āvarum=ariyav=eḻudiya śapadamō varum-ōlai viḍaiyoḍuṅ-kuḻuttu **Iraṭṭapāḍi**-[1]ppiraṭṭarā mē-tagu Gaṅg[ā]-kKo[t]taṉaiy=ēva āṅg-avan vand-aḍi vaṇaṅgiy=a-vvāchakamum=uraittaluñ=chindaiyu[m*] mugamun-tiru-ppuyam-iraṇḍum śud-eḻil-ugav iyōr[2]-iru-maḍaṅgu poliya=ppūnd=ap-pōr-kaḷam pu[gu]ndu Karandaiyil Vallavar-[k]ōṉai [va]ravu kāṇād-avan śolliya nāḷiṉ-mēlum-oru-tiṅgaḷ [3]pārt-iṉid-irunda-piṉṉai pērtt-avan kā[ṭ]keḍav=ōḍi mēl-kaḍalil-oḷittalum=Dēvanādanañ-Chittiyuñ-Kēśiyum mūvarum taṉi-ttan mudugiḍa=ppāy-arum Iraṭṭappāḍi ēḻ-arai ilakkamum mura-ttoḻil=aḍakki muḷaṅg-eri [mū]ṭṭi veṅ-kada[4]-ppuliy=ēṟi viyandu viḷaiyāḍa=tTuṅgapattirai-kkarai Jayabattira-ttūṇ nānila[m pa]ra[va] nāṭṭi māṉāḷ vaṇḍav=a-ppiraṭṭaṉai Vallavan-ākki-[ch]chundara-kkaṇḍigai śūṭṭi[5] a-kKunta[a[ḷ*]]-araśanu[m*] makkaḷum ai-nmaḍi aḷḷi-ttan[6]

6 puraiśai-yāṉaiyiṟ=puḷai-kkaiyu=piḷaitt-ivv-ulag-elām=aṟiya ōḍiya-pariś=oru-palagaiyiṟ=paḻul-arav-viḻudi=chchātti[na]r=araiyuñ-Chaḷukki padamum=ēṟa pūttaḷi-māvoḍu=ppuṭṭil pōrtum-tāṅ-kai-kkoṇḍa [V]ēṅ[ai]-naṉ-[n]āḍu [7]miṭṭukkoṇḍ-aḷāl miḷgilañ-kōṭṭiṉi vallaṉ-āgil vandu kākk-eṉu śoll-eṉa-chcholliya pōkki ellaiy-aṅg-aḍuttav-a-ttāṉai eḻil **Vijayavāḍaiyōḍ**-aḍutta pēr-āṟ=ivandu āṟṟ=ttaḍutta Jananāḍaṉaiyu[m Tippa]raiśaṉaiyu[m*] mudalāgav-uḍaiyav=a-pperuñ-chēṉaiyai aḍaviyiṟ-pāchchi-kKōdāvi[ri]yiṟ-ṟan pōdaga nīr=uṇṇa=kKaliṅgam-ēḻuṅ-kaḍand=a-ppuli-valam-poṟitta-maiya-Mahēndiratt-aḷavu[m*] mē-varuṉ=tāṉai-ttāvaḍi śeluttiṭ-ṭan pūṅ-kaḻark-aḍaikkalam pugunda paḍaikkala-ttaḍa-kkaiy Vijaiyādittark-araḷi viśaiyoḍu mīṇḍu viṭṭa kaliyum

7 pūṇḍa jaya-ttiruvoḍuṅ-**Gaṅgāpuri** pugund-aruḷi aṅgē Rājādhirājan Rājarājan-eṉa-ttarāpadiyar-āṉa ttamaniyati=iyaṟṟi a-ppaḍi-mannar=aḍi toḻud-eṉa iṉa-maṇi-ppiḷatt-irutti mu[ṉai]yiḍai **Vēṅgai**-naṉ-nāṭṭiḍai-[k]koṇḍa iru-peḍi-ppirakkam variśaiyiṟ-kāṭṭi āḻiyu=nigaḷamum=kaḷaṟṟi āṅg-avar vāḻiya viraḍamum=aṉṟi **Īḻa**-ttaḷi kaḍal-aḍaiyādu paḍa-kalañ-che[lutti*] mā-pperun-tāṉaiy=ēṟa-kkāppuḍai-kkaḍ[a]ḷ-valaiy-araṇattu vel-śaman-tuḍaṅgiy=a-chChiṅgaḷa-chchēṉai maṅga-ppaiṅ-kaḻaṟ-Kuru-kulattaraiyaṉum=urum-eṉa=pporu-śiṉattu-ta[r*]-śāmantaṉum paṭṭu-viḷa-kkeṭ-uḍaind=āṟṟād-ōr-ōśai-ttaraiyiṉ-ōḍa=ttarāpadi **Vijaiyabāhu**vuṉ=tiśai-keḍav-ōḍa [ma]ṟ-avan dēviyai=ppaṟṟi veḷ[u]ṟu . . . . . . mudalāgiya aḷa-pperuṅ-kula-dana-maṇi-iṉam muḍiyoḍum vāri=tiṇi-madil-Ilaṅgaiyun-taṉadēy=ākki

8 Teṅgāgan=tāṇḍi-kKoṇḍaiyil mīṇḍum=a-chChaḷukki paṇḍaiyil iraṭṭi pagattoḍum viḍu . . . . . . tuḍuttu kaṇḍāril madi-Nāgaiyan Māṟayan Manumikkaṇḍayan kattaṅ-gila . . . kkūṟṟu kavadigai-kKāmayan . . . . . . Koṇḍayan Āchchidaran paṟkoḍu . . muyaṭṭi-kko . . yan mudaliṉar mada-maḷai[y]-pporum-iḍi mudukiṭṭu vāśiy-ōḍa-kKo . oṭṭumaḍaiyan mudaliṉar pāda-sāmantarōḍ=[illegible] [illegible]ḷand=ōḍa ōḍaṟ-parav-iḷaṅ-kariyum=arivaiyar-kulāttoḍum=agappaḍ[illegible]=ppaṇḍu pōla=[illegible]koṇḍu [illegible] appāgām Kēśavan . . . . yōdaiyum paḍāgiṉ-iḍan-taṅgu Śiṅgaṇan [illegible] āgaṇanil . . . . . . chaḷukki tan viśa . . . n daṇḍanāyakar araśi [illegible] ttiṇḍ-eri Śōḻiyavaraiyaṉ=eṉu ēḻ-pari-yāṉai mikkunm [illegible] purakkī-

9 gal Puli-**Śūṭṭukkallir**-[illegible]yastamba nāṭṭi [illegible] . . . [illegible] . sāmantarai-ch[**Ch**]akka[illegible] ta . . . . śanai-**kKaliṅgam**-iḍaiya

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[1] Read -ppi.
[2] [illegible] [illegible]-ra is the reading in No. 20 of *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III.
[3] [illegible] [4] No. 20 of *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III, reads *kaḍu*.
[5] [illegible]
[6] The passage [illegible] No. 20 of *South-Ind. Inscrs.*, Vol. III.
[7] The letter [illegible] the Grantha *ki*.

paḍai-kkaḍal-ēvi vaḍa-tiśai-chChakkarakōṭṭattu mikk-uḍaṟṟ-eḻunda Chaḷukkiyan-āṇaiyai[1]-kkana[l-eri] ṇūṟi-chChōṇay[ya]nagar śilai-chChōmayaṉ Eṟiyaman vāma-vēl-Ādittapanman-ṟām-ivar kuṟai-ttalai-kkuḷāttoḍuṅ-kuṇippa-ttaṟaippa . . ād-achcha pa[2] . . . . Maliyum Śagaiyan . ṇum vach-chira-ppaim-pūṇ-Maṇumanum[3] [Vai]ḍumbaṉun=Dēvanādaṉum=Dēviko[4] . . . . ṇnagaḍam-eṭṭum pagudiyum oṭṭaga-ttogudiyum . [5]rigala-pparisandi-ppagudiyum variśaiyiṟ-koḷḷaiyil kū . . . . patt-u-

10 [6]ḷḷalind-ōḍu- . . . . . nāḍaṉ-dēvi **Kāviyil** vāḷi-maṇ-ṇaduṅga . ṇ Kāḷiyappa-kuḷun-tōgaiyar-īṭṭamum mā-kkaḷatt-agappaḍa-ppiḍittu ti . kuṟṟa . lamayaṉ makkaḷaiy=odukki ellai kaḍandu nilaiy-iṭṭu=kkalagā-ppiliy-iruḍaṟ-kiḍanda vaḍa-tiśaiy-Imaiyattoḍuṅ-kiḍanda Sētu varambāga-chcheṅgōl śeluttiⁿ . . . . . vēda-nidiyai viḷakki mīd-uyar vīra-ttaṇi-kkoḍi tiyāga-kkoḍiyoḍum=ēṟpavar varug-eṉṟu niṟpa-kkōttoḷil-urimaiyin-eydi araiśu vīṟṟ-irundu mē-varu-Manu neṟi viḷakkiya kōv-**Irājakēsari**vanmar-āna [8]m[u]ḍaiyār śrī-**Vīrarājēndradā-varkku** yāṇḍu añjāvadu **Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷapurattu**=chChōḷakēraḷan-tirumāḷigaiyil Rājēndraśōḷa-Māvalivāṇarājanil eḻundaruḷiy-irundu **Jayaṅgoṇḍaśō-**

11 **ḷa-maṇḍalattu-kKaḷattūr-kkōṭṭattu**=ttaṇi[yū]r śrī-**Madurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅ-galattu**=tT**irumukkūḍal Mahāvishṇukkuḷ** dēvadānamā[y] varuginṟa **Kāliyūr-kkōṭṭattu**=ttōrōḍu-**Paruvūrnāṭṭu Vayalaikkāv**=ūragaga[ḷ][9] śālaikk-iruttu-varuginṟa ponn=eḻupatt-aiṅ-kaḻañjum i-chchālaikku-chchālābōgamāy varuginṟa[pa]ḍi Iraṭṭap-koṇḍ-aruḷinadēvaṟk-iyāṇḍ-iraṇḍāvadu mudal tavirndu veḷḷān vagaiyil mudal-eḍuttu i-ppoṉ=eḻupatt-aiṅ-kaḻañjum ivv-ūrāl vandav-ūrkkaḷañjuṅ-kumarakkachchāṇamum vaṇṇārappāṟai[yu]m min[pā]ṭṭamun=taṭṭārappāṭṭamun=uḷḷiṭṭa kīḻiṟai-ppāṭṭamum vālikkāśun=tiṅgaḷ-mēramum muttāvaraṇamum taṟippuḍavaiyum valaṅgaiy=iḍaṅgai-maga[ṉ]maiyun=daśabandamu[m*] māḍaikkūliyum viraśēḷaiyum[12]=uḷḷiṭṭa pāṭṭa-

12 ṅgaḷ-uṟpaḍa=tTirumukkūḍal Mahāvishṇukka[ḷu]kku vēṇḍu[m*] nimandaṅgaḷukk-iṟuppa-dāga yāṇḍ-aiñ[jā]vadu dēvad[ā]ṇa mudal dēvadāṇa iṟaiy-iliyāga variyil-iḍa=ttiruvāymoḻind-aruḷiṉār-eṉṟu Tiru[ma]ndiravōlai Kshatri[11]y[ś]ikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṇaiyūr-nāṭṭu Nērvāyil[11] Nērvāyil-uḍaiyāṉ Tāḻi Tiruppaṇaṅgāḍuḍaiyāṉ-āṉa Vāṇavan Vallavaraiyan-eḻuttiṉālun-Tirumantravōlai-ṇāyagam Pāṇḍiyaṉārum Rāja-rāja-Brahmamārāyarum Vīrarājēntra[12]-Gāṅgaiyarājaṉ=oppiṉālum puguṇda . kēḷvi variyil-iṭṭu-kkoḷgav-eṉṟu Villavarājaruṅ-Kaliṅgattaraiyarum Viḍaiyil Rājēntra[13]-vayirāgarachchōḷarum Pāṇḍiyaṉārum ivvōrgaḷ=ēviṉpaḍiyōy-Uḍankūṭṭattu adigārigaḷ Vīrarājēntra[12]-Brahmādhirājaruṅ=Chōḷa-Brahmamārāyaruṅ=Chembiyaṉ Śittirājarum Atiśayaśōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷāruṅ-Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-Viḻupparaiyarum Utta-maśōḷa-pPallavaraiyarum Viḍaiyil-

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[1] Read [illegible].

[2] Here is an unwritten space which cannot be filled up.

[3] Between the second [illegible] and [illegible] there is some unaccountable space in the original.

[4] Here also there is some vacant space.

[5] The dot may be replaced by the letter ṇa.

[6] The unwritten space at the beginning of this line cannot be filled up.

[7] Space for about 8 letters are left blank.

[8] For [illegible] read [illegible].

[9] Read [illegible].

[10] Read [illegible].

[11] Read Kshatriya.

[12] Read [illegible].

[13] This word is written below the line.

13 adigārgaḷ Kāḍavarājaruṅ-Kāvērivallaba-Mūvēndavēḷārum Iḷattarai[ya]ruṅ-Chōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷārum Vīrarājēndra-Maḷavarājarum Vaḷavan-Mūvēndavēḷārum Rāja-uttama-Mūvēndavēḷārum Rājarāja-kka[ḍi*]gairājaruṅ-Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-Mūvēnda-vēḷārum Rājēntraśōḷa[1]-Aṉukka-pPallavaraiyaruñ-Chembiyan-Brahmamārāyaruñ-Chundaraśōḷa-pPallavaraiyaruñ-Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-Vayaṉāṭṭaraiyaruñ-Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa*-chChēṉāmuga-Mūvēndavēḷāruñ-Chōḷa-Viḷupparaiyaruñ-Jayasiṅga-kulakāla-Viḷuppara-iyarum Vīrarājēntra[1]-tTiruvindaḷūr-nāṭṭu-Mūvēndavēḷārum Rājarāja-Viḷupparaiya-Vīrarājēntra[1]-Varuguṇarājarum Kshatriyasiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷārum Uttamaśōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷārum Pārmaṇṇu-kuladīpa-Mūvēndavēḷārum Iraṭṭa-kulakāla-Mūvēndavēḷārum Uttama-Pāṇḍiya-Mūvēndavēḷā—

14 rum Vīraśōḷa-pPallavaraiyarum . . ṇa . . ri . . . -Mūvēṇdavēḷārum Muḍi-koṇḍaśōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷārum Vaḷavarāditta-Mūvēndavēḷāruṅ-Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷa-pPallavaraiyarun-Naḍuvirukkum Uṟuppaṭṭūr Yajña-baṭṭaruṅ[2]-Sāvyaṇa-Siva[lā]]jāti-baṭṭaruṅ-Karippuṟattu-chChōḷadēva-baṭṭaruṅ-Karippuṟattu Anantaṉārāyaṇa-baṭṭarum ēvā-pPuravuvari-tiṇaikkaḷattu-kkaṇgāṇi Kulaiya-divākara-Mūvēndavēḷārum Arindamaṉ Puraṅgarambai-nāṭṭu-Mūvēndavēḷāṉum Rājarāja-chChenni-nāḍu-kiḷavanum Vīrasiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṉum Aḷagiyaśōḷa-Viḷupparaiyanum[3] Puravuvari-tiṇaikkaḷattu-Chaḷukki-kulakāla-Mūvēndavēḷāṉum Vāṉavan-Viḷupparaiyaṉum Vaḷa-varāja-Mūvēndavēḷāṉum Avanināṟāyaṇa-Mūvēndavēḷāṉuñ-Jiṅgaḷāntaka-Mūvēnda-vēḷāṉum Varippottagam Pālaiyūr[5]-kiḻa-

15 vaṉum Mugaveṭṭi Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-dDamaṉūr-nāṭṭu-Viḷupparaiyaṉum [4][Ā]ḷamaṅga-lamuḍaiyāṉum Atirājēntra[1]-pPallavaraiyaṉuṅ-Kūndal-kiḷāṉun-Terippu Iṉaik-kuḍaiyāṉum Māttūruḍaiyāṉum Vaḷavaśūḷāmaṇi-Mūvēndavēḷāṉun-Taravuṉāṭṭu Śōladivākara-Mūvēndavēḷāṉum Pullkiḷāṉum Palaniyāyam Paṭṭālamuḍaiyāṉum Śembiyan-Miḻalaivēḷāṉum[6] Araiyamāṉum Variyilīḍu Avani[p]āla-Mūvēndavēḷāṉum Arindaman-Viḷupparaiyaṉum Varippottaga-kkaṇakku-chChaṅgāttimaṅgalamuḍaiyāṉum Vaḷavan-Viḷupparaiyaṉu[m*] Paṭṭōlai Śiṟupākkiḷāṉum Maṇaṟpākkiḷāṉuṅ-Kēḷvi-variyil-iḍuvitta Puravuvari-tiṇaikkaḷattu-Chaḷukki-kulakāla-Mūvēndavēḷāṉum Śiṅgaḷ-āntaka-Mūvēndavēḷāṉum Mugaveṭ-

16 ṭi Śōḷamū[r]ttāṇḍa-Mūvēndavēḷāṉuṅ-Kūndalkiḷāṉum Vāśittān-varippottaga-kkaṇakku-chChaṅgāttimaṅgalamuḍaiyāṉum Variyiliṭṭān Śōḷa-maṇḍalattu-pPuravuvari-tiṇai-kkaḷattu-kkaṇakku-chChōḷamāṇikka-Mūvēndavēḷāṉum Paṭṭōlai-eḻudiṉāṉ Vīraśōḷa-Nenmali-nāṭṭu-Mūvēndavēḷāṉum irundu yāṇḍ-aiñjāvadu nāḷ muṉṉūṟṟu-nāṟpatt-eṭṭiṉāl variyiliṭṭa pon eḻubatt-aiṅ-kaḻañjum(m)-i[v]v-ūr-aḍaṅgalukkum vandav-i-ppāṭ-ṭaṅgaḷum munbu i-ttēvar dēvadānamāy varugiṉṟa pon eḻubatt-iru-kaḻañjēy-onbadu-mañjāḍiyum āga-ppon-nūṟṟu-nāṟpatt-eḻu-kaḻañjēy-onbadu-mañjāḍikku-ppon kaḻañj-iṉukku Rājakēsariyāl nellu-ppadiṉ-aṟu-kalam-āga vanda nellu iraṇḍ-āyiratt-muṉṉūṟṟ-aimbatt-onbadin-kalaṉē padakku muṉṉāḻiy-āḻakkē-

17 mu-chchevidum ivaiyiṟṟukku Arumoḻidēvan-marakkāl-ākki-kkāl-vāśiyuṅ-kāl-aḷavu-kūli-yuṅ-koṟṟaḷavu-vāśiyum uṭpada Rājakēsariyāl-kalam Arumoḻidēvan-marakkālāl kalaṉē tūṇi nā-nāḻiy-āga vāśiy-ēṟun-nellu eṇṇūṟṟ-eṇbattu-nāṟ-kalaṉēy-iru-tūṇi mū-nnāḻiy-āḻakkum āga vāśiy-ēṟṟiy-Arumoḻidēvan-marakkālāl nellu mūv-āyiratt-irunūṟṟu-nāṟpattu-mukkalaṉē iru-tūṇi-ppadakk-aṟu-nāḻiy-uḻakkē mu-chchevidum ivv-ūrāl vandav-ūr-kkaḻañju pon kaḻañjuṅ-kumara-[k]kachchāṇam pon kaḻañjum

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[1] *Read* ndra.
[2] Read baṭṭarum.
[3] This word is engraved below the line.
[4] Read °ār.
[5] This word may also be read *Pāḷai*.
[6] This word is engraved below the line.

mīṉ-pāṭṭam poṉ mu-kkaḻañjē-kāluṅ-kiḻirai-ppāṭṭam poṉ aiṅ-kaḻañjē-mukkālum āga=ppoṉ padiṉ-oru-kaḻañjiṉāl māḍai padiṉ-eṭṭēy-eḻu-māviṉāṟ-kāśu muppatt-āṟaraiyun-daśavandaṅ-kāśu irubatt-eṭṭaraiyē ṉāl-māvu[m*] māḷaikkāli kāśu irubatt-aiñjē mu-

18 kkālē mūṉṟu-māvum mudalē-śelavu kaṇakkiṉpaḍi kāśu mūṉṟum vaṇṇakka-kkūlikku=kkāśu oṉṟ-araiyun=tari-ppuḍavaiyāṟ=kāśu mukkālu[m mu]ṭṭāvaraṇattāṟ-kāśu mukkālum=tiṅgaḷmēvāttāṟ-kāśu oṉṟ-araiyum vāli-kkāśukku-kkāśu ṉūṟṟ-orubatt-eṭṭum āga-kkāśu iraṉūṟṟ-orubatt-āṟ-araiyē iraṇḍu-māvukku i-ttēvarku vēṇḍum=nimandaṅ-cheydapaḍi [|*] Āḻvāṟku=chchirukālai-chchandiy-oṉṟukku=pparuppu-ppōṉagattukku ariśi kuṟuṇikku aiñj-iraṇḍ-ākki ṉellu=ppadakku ṉā-nāḻiyum paruppu ṉā-nāḻikku=ppayaṟu kuṟuṇikku ṉellu=ppadakkum puḷukku-kkaṟiy-amud-oṉṟukku ṉellu ṉāḻiy-uriyum pori-kkaṟiy-amud-oṉṟukku ṉellu nāḻiy-uriyun=tayir-amud-urikku ṉellu ṉā-nāḻiyun=ṉeyy-amud-āḻakkukku ṉel nāḻiyum upp-āḻakkukku ṉell-uḻakkum aḍaikkāy-amudu veṟṟilaik-kāy-aiñjukku ṉel ṉāḻiyum ve-

19 ṟṟilaiy-irubadukku ṉell-uriyum āga-chchandiy-oṉṟukku ṉel aiṅ-kuṟuṇi aiṅ-ṉāḻi uḻakkum [|*] uchchiyampōdu śandikku akkāraḍalai-pōṉagam[1] Vīrāśōḻanukku ariśi ṉā-ṉāḻikku ṉel kuṟuṇiy-iru-ṉāḻiyum paruppu ṉā-ṉāḻikku=ppayaṟu kuṟuṇikku ṉel padakku=ppāl=aṟu-nāḻikku ṉel kuṟuṇi ṉā-ṉāḻiyun=ṉey ṉāḻikku ṉel tūṇiyum vāḻaippaḻam eṭṭukku ṉel ṉā-ṉāḻiyum aḍaikkāy-amudu veṟṟilaik-kā[y*] aiñjukku ṉel ṉāḻiyum veṟṟilaiy=irubadukku ṉell-uriyum āga akkāraḍalai-ppōṉagattukku ṉel=iru-tūṇi kuṟuṇi mu-ṉṉāḻiy-uriyum [|*] idukku ṉāḷ oṉṟukku=chchaṟkarai muppatt-iru-palamāga ṉāḷ mu[ṉ*]ṉūṟṟ-aṟupadukku=chchaṟkarai padiṉ-ōr-āyiratt-aiññūṟṟ-irubadiṉ-palattukku-kkāś-oṉṟukku-chchaṟkarai aiññūṟṟ-eḻubatt-aṟu-palamāga-kkāśu irubadum [|*] iravai-śandikku=ppāl-pōṉagattukku ariśi ṉā-ṉāḻikku ṉel kuṟuṇiy-iru-ṉāḻiyum pāl ṉā-nāḻikku ṉel kuṟuṇiyum porikkaṟiy-amud-oṉṟukki[2]

20 ṉel[3] ṉāḻiy-uriyum porikkaṟiy-amidukkum pōṉagattukkun-ṉeyy-āḻakkukku ṉel nā-ṉāḻiyum aḍaikkāy-amudu veṟṟilaik-kāy-aiñjukku ṉel ṉāḻiyum veṟṟilaiy-irubadukku ṉell-uriyum āga iravai-śandikku ṉel mu-kkuṟuṇiyē [eḻu][4]-ṉāḻiyun=[|*] Ś(Śrī)-Rāgavachcha-krava[r*]ttikku uchchiyampōdai śandi oṉṟukku ariśi ṉā-ṉāḻikku ṉel kuṟuṇiy-iru-ṉāḻiyun-ṉeyy-amuduṅ=kaṟiyamudum aḍaikkāy-amudum uḷḷiṭṭiṉavaiyiṟṟukku ṉellu ṉā-ṉāḻiyum-āga ṉel kuṟuṇiy-aṟu-nāḻiyum Āḻvāṟku=chchandaṉakkāppukku=chchandaṉam=ṉāḷ-oṉṟukku arai-ppalam-āga ṉāḷ muṉṉūṟṟ-aṟubadukku=chchandaṉam ṉūṟṟ-eṇbadiṉ-palattukku kāś-oṉṟukku=chchandaṉam e[ṭṭu]-ppalam-āga-kkāś=irubatt-iraṇḍ-araiyum mēṟpaḍikku=kkaṟpūra-ppoṭṭaraśu ṉāḷ-oṉṟukku añju-māv-āga ṉāḷ muṉṉūṟṟ-aṟubadukku=kkaṟpūram padiṉ-oru-kaḻañjē-kālukku=kkāś-oṉṟukku=kkaṟpūram=arai-kkaḻañj-āga kāś-iru-

21 batt-iraṇḍ-araiyuṅ=kuṅgumattuk[ku]-kkāś-oṉṟum [|*] Āḻvāṟku=ttiru-nundāviḷakk=iraṇḍukku ṉāḷ-oṉṟukk-eṇṇaiy-uriyum irā-ttiruchchuṟṟu-māḷigaiyilē viḍiyum-aḷavum=eriyum viḷakku mūṉṟukk=eṇṇaiy-uḻakk-āḻakku mēṟpaḍiyil eriyum sandi-viḷakku=ppattu-kku viḷakk-oṉṟukk-eṇṇai oru-śeviḍē-kāl-āga eṇṇai uḻakkēy-iru-śeviḍ-araiyum-āga ṉāḷ-oṉṟukku eṇṇai ṉāḻiy-āḻakkēy-iru-śeviḍ-araiy-āga ṉāḷ muṉṉūṟṟ-aṟubadukk=eṇṇai ṉā-ṉūṟṟ-aimbatt-iru-ṉāḻiy-urikku=kkāś-oṉṟukk=eṇṇaiy=irubadiṉāḻiy-āga=kkāś=irubatt-iraṇḍ-araiyēy-araikkālum [|*] Aippaśi-ttirunāḷil tiruviḻāv-eḻund-a[ru*]ḷum Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷar . . . . ṉāḷ eḻil-amudu-śeyya=ppōd-oṉṟukku ariśi padakkukku ṉellu aiṅ-kuṟuṇiyun paruppu=urikku=ppayaṟu nāḻikku ṉell-iru-nāḻiyum porikkaṟiy-amud-oṉṟukku ṉel ṉāḻiyum puḷukku-kkaṟi oṉṟuk-

[1] This word is engraved below the line.

[2] Read oṉṟukku.

[3] The e sign of ṉe is in the previous line.

[4] kkuṟuṇiy-eḻu is what is required.

22 ku nel nāḻiyum miḷagu-kaṟi oṉṟukku nel nāḻiyum miḷag-iru-śevid-araikku nell=iru-nāḻiyu ṉ -neyy=āḷakkukku nel nā-nāḻiyun=tayir nāḻikku nell-iru-nāḻiyum upp-uḷakkukku nell=uriyum aḍaikkāy-amudu veṟuṅkāy-aññ[ū]kku nel nāḻiyum veṟṟilaiy=irubadukku nell-uriyum-āga=ppōd-oṉṟukku nel eḻu-kuṟuṇiy-āga=ttiruviḷav=eḻundaruḷu-nāḷ āḻḻ eḻundaru[ḷu*]m pōdu paṉṉiraṇḍukku nell=eḻu-kala[m*] [|*] maṟṟaiy Māśi-ttirunāḷ-eḻundaru[ḷu*]m pōdu paṉṉiraṇḍukku nāṟpadiy-ākki nell=eḻu-kalamum [|*] i-ttirunāḷ-iraṇḍilum Vīrašōḷan tiru-pandavanattil=tiruvēṭṭaiy-eḻundaruḷu[m*] nāḷ-oṉṟukku=pperum-tiruv-amud-arisi kalattukku nell=[iru-kalanē tūṇi-ppadakkum parupp-amud=iru-nāḻikku=ppayaṟu nā-nāḻikku nel kuṟuṇiyum porikkaṟiy-amud-oṉṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum puḷukku-kkaṟiy-amud-oṉṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum miḷagu-kaṟiy-amud-oṉṟukku nel kuṟu-

23 ṇiyum miḷag=āḷakkukku nel nā-nāḻiyum upp=iru-nāḻikku nel nā-nāḻiyum ney nāḻikku nel tūṇiyum tayir kuṟuṇikku nel padakkum aḍaikkāy-amudu veṟuṅkā[y] nāṟpadukku nel kuṟuṇiyum veṟṟilai=ppaṟṟ-iraṇḍukku nel nā-nāḻiyum āṟa[1] nāḷ-oṉṟukku nel mu-kkalanē tūṇi-ppadakku nā-nāḻiy-āga=ttiruvēṭṭaiy-eḻundaruḷu-nāḷ iraṇḍukku nell=eḻu-kalanē kuṟuṇiyum [|*] Jayantyashṭami-nāḷ Veṇṇai-kkūttāḷvāṉukku perum-tiruv-amudukku arisi tūṇi-ppadakkukku nel kalanē mu-kkuṟuṇiyum parupp=iru-nāḻikku=ppayaṟu nā-nāḻikku nel kuṟuṇiyum porikkaṟiy-amud-oṉṟukku nel nā-nāḻiyum puḷukku-kkaṟiy-amud-oṉṟukku nel nā-nāḻiyum miḷagu-kaṟiy-amudukku nel nā-nāḻiyum [miḷag-iru-śe][2]vid-araikku nell=iru-nāḻiyum upp=urikku nel nāḻiyun=tayir-amudu nā-nāḻikku nel kuṟuṇiyum neyy-amud=uḷakkukku nel kuṟuṇiyum aḍaikkāy-amudu veṟuṅkāy-irubadukku nel nā-nāḻiyum veṟṟilai-ppaṟṟ-oṉ-

24 ṟukku nell-iru-nāḻiyum āga-pperum-tiruv-amudukku nel kalanē iru-tūṇi aiñ-ñāḻiyum [|*] aṟṟai-nāḷāl-amudu-śeyd-aruḷa appattukk-arisi kuṟuṇiy-iru-nāḻikku nel mu-kkuṟuṇ[i] oru-nāḻ[iyum] paruppu nāḻikku=ppayaṟ=iru-nāḻikku nel nā-nāḻiyun=neyy=urikku nel padakkum śaṟkaraiy=irubadiṉ-palattukku nel tūṇiyum miḷag=āḷakkukku nel nā-nāḻiyuñ=chīragam-iru-śevid-araikku nell-iru-nāḻiyum upp=uḷakkukku nell=uriyun=teṅkāy=āṟukku nel padakku[m*] aḍaikkāy-amudu veṟuṅkāy-irubadukku nel nā-nāḻiyum veṟṟilai=ppaṟṟ-oṉṟukku nell=iru-nāḻiyum āga appav-amudu[kku*] nel kalanē kuṟuṇi oru-nāḻiy-uriyum [|*] i-tteruvil=eḻundaruḷināl=amudu-śeydaruḷa vāḻaippaḻa[m*] muppatt-iraṇḍukku nel padakkun=tayir-amudu nā-nāḻikku nel kuṟuṇiyum āga Jayantyashṭamikku nel mu-kkalanēy-aṟu-nāḻiy-uriyūm[3] [|*] Kārttigai-kKārttigai-nāḷ perum-tiruv-amudukk-arisi kalattukku nell=iru-kalanē tūṇi-ppadakku=pparupp=iru-nāḻikku=ppayaṟu nā-nā-

25 ḻikku nel kuṟuṇiyum porikkaṟiy-amud-oṉṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum puḷukku-kkaṟiy-amud-oṉṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum miḷagu-kaṟiy-amud-oṉṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum puḷiṅ-kaṟiy-amudukku=ttayir kuṟuṇikku nel padakkuñ=charkarai padiṉ-palattukku nel padakkum vāḻaippaḻam-irubadukku nel kuṟuṇiy-iru-nāḻiyum miḷag=āḷakkukku nel nā-nāḻiyum uppu nāḻiy-urikku nel mu-nnāḻiyun=neyy-amudu nāḻikku nel tūṇiyun=tayir-amudu kuṟuṇikku nel padakkum aḍaikkāy-amudu veṟuṅkāy aimbadukku nel kuṟuṇiy-iru-nāḻiyum veṟṟilai-ppaṟṟ-iraṇḍukku nel nā-nāḻiyum āga nel mu-kkalanēy=iru-tūṇi mu-kkuṟuṇiy-eḻu-nāḻiyum [|*] i-nnāḷil viḍiyum-aḷavun=tiruvuṇṇāḻigaiyilun=tirucchuṟṟumāḷigaiyilum eriyum viḷakk-iru-nūṟṟukku viḷakk=oṉṟukk=eṇṇaiy-āḷakkāga eṇṇaiy-irubatt-ai-ññāḻikku=kkāś=oṉṟe-kālum [|*] Uḍaiyār-śrī-Vīrarājēntradēvar[4] aṭṭai-ttirunāḷ Āvaṇi-ttiṅgaḷ tiruv-Āyilōyattil Āḻvārkku-ttirumañja-

[1] Read āṟu.

[2] This portion is badly damaged.

[3] Read uriyum.

[4] Read "ndra".

26 nattukku=ttirumuḷaiy-aṭṭa=ppayaṟu nāḻik[ku] nell=iru-nāḻiyun=tirumuḷai-kkī[l]=aṭṭa nel padakkuṅ=kalaśam nāṟṟ-eṭṭa=chchāḻa pāl=oru-palattukku nel kuṟuṇiyum aḍikkī[l]-aṭṭa nel tūṇi-[ppa]dakkun=tiruchchuṇṇattukk=ariśiy=iru-nāḻikku nel ṉā-nāḻiyun=ney nā-ṉāḻikku nel kalanēy tūṇiyun=tayir [nā]-ṉāḻikku nel kuṟuṇiyum pāl nā-ṉāḻikku nel kuṟuṇiyum [|*] aṟṟai-nāḷ perun-tiruv-amudukku ariśi kalattukku nellu iru-kalanē tūṇi-ppadakkum paruppu nā-ṉāḻikku=ppayaṟu [kuṟu*]ṇikku nel padakkum puḷukku-kkaṟiy-amud=oṉṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum pori-kkaṟiy-amud=oṉṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum miḷagu-kaṟiy-amud=oṉṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum miḷag=āḻakkukku nel ṉā-nāḻiyum uppu nāḻikku nell-iru-nāḻiyum puḷiṅ-kaṟiy-amudukku=ttayir kuṟuṇikku nel padakkum ney nāḻikku nel tūṇiyum aḍaikkāy-amudu ve[ṟ]ṟuṅkāy mu-ppadakku nel kuṟuṇiy=iru-nāḻiyum veṟṟilai-kkaṭṭu mūṉṟukku nell=aṟu-nāḻi[yu*]m puḷiṅ-kaṟikku-chcharkarai padin-palattukku nel pa-

27 dakkum vāḻaippaḻam=iruhadukku nel kuṟuṇiy=iru-nāḻiyum āga nell=aṟu-kalanē aiṅ-kuṟuṇiy=iru-nāḻiyum [|*] i-ttirunāḷaikku=ttirumuḷaiy-aṭṭa-ppāligai-śūḻa=ppuḍavaiy=oṉṟuṅ=kalattin-mēlaḍi=ppuḍavaiy=oṉṟum tirumañjaṇam[1]-paṇṇum=āchāri[ya]ṉukku uḍukkavum uttari[ya]mum=iḍa=ppuḍavaiy-iraṇḍum=āga=ppuḍavai nālukku=kkāś=oṉṟun=tirumañjaṇam[1]=āḍiy-aruḷa-ttēn nā-ṉāḻikku-kkāś-araiyum kuḷakundan mañjaḷ=aimbadin-palattukku=kkāśu kālum snapana-dravyaṅgaḷ koḷḷa=kkāś=araiyum tiru-mañjaṇam[1]-āḍināl śātta pariśaṭṭam=oṉṟukku-kkāś=oṉṟum snapanam-paṇṇuvikkum āchāriyaṉukku dakshiṇai kāś=oṉṟum aṟṟai-nāḷār[2]-tiruvōlakkañ=chēvikka vanda Śrī-Vaishṇavarkkun=tiruv[āy]moḻi viṇṇappañ=cheyvārkkuṅ-kuḍukkum pariśaṭṭav=uru=ppattukku=ttaniy=oṉṟu kāśu kāl-āga=kkāś=iraṇḍ-araiyum [|*] ittirunā[|*] śollun=tiruvukku=ppariśaṭṭattukku-kkāś=araiyum [|*] ittanmaiyum-tiruchchuṟṟumāḷigaiyuñ=Jananādan-maṇḍapamuñ=cheyvi-

28 ytta Vaiśyan Mādavan Dāmayan piṟanda Kārttigai-ttiṅgaḷ=pPūrāḍattu-nāḷ=ttirumañ-juṇattukkum[3] perun-tiruv-amudukkun=nell=aṟu-kalanēy aiṅ-kuṟuṇiy=iru-nāḻiyum ippaḍikku-ttirumañjuṇattukku[3] vēṇḍuvana koḷḷavum pariśaṭṭam peṟuvārkku=ppari-śaṭṭañ-kuḍukkavum mēṟpaḍiy-āga-kkāś=āṟē-kālum [|*] Puraṭṭādi=tTiruvōṇattu-nāḷ Veṇṇaikkūttāḻvāṉ Jananādan-maṇḍapatt=eḻund-aruḷināl appa-amudukk=ariśi aiṅ-kuṟuṇikku nel kalanē [nā]-ṉāḻiyuñ=charkarai mu-ṉṉūṟṟu-ppalattukku nell=iru-kalanē tūṇi-ppadakkum ney mu-ṉṉāḻikku nel kalamum miḷagukkuñ=chāgattukkum uppukkum nel mu-kkuṟuṇiyum aḍaikk[āy-a]mud=eṇbadukku nel=ppadakkum veṟṟilai-kkaṭṭ-iraṇḍukku nel nā-ṉāḻiyum [ā]ga nel aiyā-kalamum [|*] amāvāsyaiyil Āḻvāṉ tīrttham prasādittāl tīrttham-āḍa-vandār puṟambil Jananādan-maṇḍapatt=uṇṇum Śrī-Vaishṇavar irupadinmaṟku=ppērāl-ariśi ṉāḻiy-uriy-āga ariśi mu-kkuṟuṇi-

29 y-aṟu-nāḻikku nell-iru-tūṇi kuṟuṇi mu-nnāḻiyum puḷukku-kkaṟiy=oṉṟukku nel ai-ñāḻiyum miḷagu-kaṟiy=oṉṟukku nel ai-ñāḻiyum puḷitta-kaṟiy=oṉṟukku=ppuḷiy-uṭpaḍa nel-kkuṟuṇiy-oru-nāḻiyum ilai-kkaṟikku nell-iru-nāḻiyum miḷag=āḻakkukku nel nā-ṉāḻiyum upp=iru-nāḻikku nel nā-ṉāḻiyum neyy=uḻakkukku nel=kkuṟuṇiyum mōr padakkukku nel=kkuṟuṇiy-iru-nāḻiyuñ=charkarai nāṟ-palattukku nel=kkuṟuṇ-iyum veṟuṅkāy nāṟpadukku nel=kkuṟuṇiyum veṟṟilai=ppaṟṟ-iraṇḍukku nel nā ṉāḻiyum aḍuvāṉ=oruvaṉukku nel=kkuṟuṇiyum āga amāvāsyai oṉṟukku nel-kkalanēy=eḻu-kuṟuṇi mu-nnāḻiy=āga amāvāsyai panniraṇḍukku nel=ppattonbadin-kalanē tūṇi nā-ṉāḻiyun=Tiruvēṅgaḍamālai=[t] tīrttham-āḍa=pperuṅ-kōṭṭamāy vandu Jananādan-maṇḍapatt=uṇṇum Śrī-Vaishṇavar ṉūṟṟuvarkku=ppērāl ariśi nāḻiy-

[1] Read *'janam*.

[2] Read *-nāḷāl*.

[3] Read *tirumañjana'*.

uriy-āga aril kalanē tūṇi-ppadakk-aṟu-nāḻikku nel mu-kkalanēy-iru-tūṇi=ppadakk=eḻu-nāḻiyum payaṟu kuṟuṇikku nel-ppadakkum paḻukku-kkaṟiy=oṉṟukku

30 nel mu-kkuṟuṇiyum miḷagu-kaṟiy-oṉṟukku nel mu-kkuṟuṇiyum puḷissa-kaṟiy oṉṟukku=ppuḷiy=uṭpaḍa nel-tūṇiyum ilai-kkaṟiy-oṉṟukku nel=kkuṟuṇiyum miḷagu mōḷakkukku nel mu-kkuṟuṇiyum uppu-kkuṟuṇikku nel=ppadakkum neyy=iru-nāḻikku nell-iru-tūṇiyum mōr kalattukku nel tūṇi=ppadakkum puḷiṅ-kaṟikku mōr-ukku nel tūṇi-ppadakkum śarkarai irubatt-iru-palattukku nel tūṇiyum veṟṟilaiy=iru-nūṟṟukku nel aṟu-kuṟuṇiyum veṟṟilai=ppaṟṟ-eṭṭukku nel-ppadakkum aḍuvār=iruvarkku nel tūṇiyum śuṇṇāmbukku nel nā-nāḻiyum virag-iḍuvān-oruvaṉukku nel=ppadakkum ilai-kkaṟiy-iḍuvān=oruvaṉukku nel=ppadakkum āga nel eṇ-kalanēy-iru-tūṇi mu-nnāḻiyum [|*] ivargaḷ tīrtham-āḍi mīṇḍu vandāl Śrī-Vaishṇavar nūṟṟavarkku mōṟpaḍiy-ākki nell-eṇ-kalanēy-iru-tūṇi mu-nnāḻiyum [|*]Purattāḍi=tTiruvōṇatti-nāḷ tīrtham=āḍa vanda Śrī-Vaishṇavar nūṟṟavarkku mōṟpaḍiy-ākki nell=eṇ-kalanēy-iru-tūṇi mu-nnāḻiyum Aippaśi-ttirunāḷil-ttiruviḷāv-eḻundaruḷ[u*]=nāḷ=āgil nāḷ oṉṟil=uṇṇum Śrī-Vai-

31 shṇava(r)=irubatt-aiñj-āga nāḷ-āṟil=uṇṇum Śrī-Vaishṇavar nūṟṟ-aimbadum tīrtham=āḍum-aṉṟ=uṇṇum Śrī-[Vaishṇavar=ai]mbadum āga . . . . e[ḻ]u-kalanē tūṇiy=aṟu-nāḻiyum [|*] Mārgaḻi=ttiruv-adhyayaṉa-ttiruvāy-moḻi kēṭka vanda Śrī-Vaishṇavarkk-i . . . . nell=eṇ-kalanēy=iru-tūṇi mu-nnāḻiyum [|*] Mā-

32 śi-Maga-ttirunāḷil i-mmaṇḍapattil=uṇṇum Śrī-Vaishṇavar-iru-nūṟṟavarkku mōṟpaḍiy-ākki nel padi[ṉ]-eḻu-kalanē tūṇi[y][1]-aṟu-nāḻiyum [|*] tiru . . . .[2]vaṉukku nāḷ-oṉṟukku nell=aṟu-nāḻiyum kāś=oṉṟum Tiruvāymoḻi viṇṇappañ-cheyvār=iruvarku=ppērāl nellu-kku . . . .[3]ṉṟukku nel mu-kkuṟuṇiyum pērāl=kāś=iraṇḍ-ā-

33 ga=kkāśu nālum Virasōḻan-tirunandavaṉam uḷappār nālvarkku=ppērāl nel-kkuṟuṇiy=āga nāḷ-oṉṟukku nel tūṇi . . . .[4]=ttiruv-utsavaṅgaḷukkun=tirumañjaṉaṅgaḷukkum[3] nāḷ=cholli nāḷ-ōlai tākkun=tiruvukku nāḷ=oṉṟukku nel kuṟuṇi . . . [5][ni]ḷaiyir=aṟṟ-kkaḍamai taṇḍi nimandañ-cheluttil

34 niṟkum Vaikhānasa dēvakanmi[y-oru]vaṉukku nāḷ=oṉṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyuṅ-kāśu nāluṅ=kaṇakk-eḻudi niṟkuṅ-ka . . . . . .[4]ḷ=oṉṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyuṅ-kāśu nālum Āḻvārku-ttirumañjaṉaṅgaḷukku[3] vēṇḍuṅ=kalaśamun=tirumaḍaippaḷḷikkuñ-Jananādaṉ-maṇ . . . .[5]kiḍaigaḷukkuñ=Śāstraṅkum Ātula-śālaikku vē-

35 ṇḍuṅ=kalam-iḍuṅ-kuśavaṉukku nāḷ=oṉṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum Āḻvārku=pparisaṭṭamuñ=Jananādan-maṇḍapattil-ōdu . . . . . .[6]ōttu-kkēṭpārkkum ātularkkum olikkum=iraṅkoḷikku[m*] nāḷ=oṉṟukku nel nā-nāḻiyum Jananādan-maṇḍapamum Ātula-śālaiyum nimanda . . . . .[5]kun=tirumuṉ-kāvalō Tirumukkūḍaṟ-Pāraiyaṉukku

36 nāḷ=oṉṟukku nel nā-nāḻiyuṅ-kāś=oṉṟum tiruchchuṟṟumāḷigai puduk-kappuṟattukku nel nāṟpadiṉ-kalamuṅ-ja . . . . .[4]-maṇḍapattil Ri(Ṛi)g-vēdam=ōduvippāṉ=

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[1] The letters in brackets have been filled up by referring to the claim. They are obstructed by a pillar and have not come out in the impression.

[2] The portion of the wall before this, represented by dots, is replaced by an uninscribed slab.

[3] Read tiru-mañjana.

[4] The portion before this is obstructed by a pillar.

[5] The letters have peeled off.

[6] For dots read [illegible].

oruvaṉukku nāḷ-oṉṟukku nel padakkum Yajur-vēdam ōduvippāṉ=oruvaṉukku nāḷ-oṉṟuk[ku nel] padakkum ivargaḷ-iruvarkkum pēṟāṟ-kāśu nāḷ-āga-kkā-

37 ś=eṭṭum Vyākaraṇamum Rūpāvat[āram]um vakkāṇikkum Bhaṭṭaṉ-oruvaṉukku nāḷ=oṉṟukku nel tūṇiyum kāśu pattum Ṛi[g-vēdam ō][1]dum Brāhmaṇar padinmarum Yajur-vēdam ōdum Brāhmaṇar padinmaru[m] Vyākaraṇamum Rūpāvatāramuñ-kēṭkum Brāhmaṇaru[m*] chāttirar-irupadinmarum [charāttirar-oru][1]padinmarum Śiva-Brāhmaṇar mūvarum Vaikhānasar aivarum

38 ñ . . . . . mār-iruvarum āga ōduv[ārum] ōttu-kkēṭpārum=āga aṟupadinmarkku=ppērāl=ariśi nāḻiy-uriy-āga nāḷ=oṉṟukk=ari[śi tū][2]ṇi mu-kkuṟuṇiy-iru-nāḻikku nell=iru-kalanē tūṇiy-oru-nāḻiyum payaṟu nā-nāḻikku nel kuṟuṇiyum puḷukku-kkaṟikku nell=aṟu-nāḻiyum ilai-kka-

39 ṟikku nel mu-nnāḻiyu[m] miḷagu-kaṟikku nel kuṟuṇiyum puḷitta-kaṟi[k*]ku puḷiy-uppada nel kuṟuṇiyum miḷag=uḷakk-āḻakkukku ne[l nā-nāḻi][3]yum uppu nāḻikku nel kuṟuṇiyum ney nāḻikku nel tūṇiyum mōr tūṇi-ppadakkukku nel mu-kkuṟuṇiyum veṟuṅkāy-aṟubadukku nel kuṟu[ṇi nā-nā][3]ḻiyum veṟṟilai paṟṟ-iraṇḍukku nel nā-nāḻiyum

40 Vayalaikkāvūr-niṉṟa ariśi koḍuvandu viṟagum=ilaiyum=iṭṭu=ttaṇṇīr=aṭṭiy-aḍu-maḍaiyar mūvarkku=ppērāl kuṟuṇiy-āga [nāḷ-oṉ][4]ṟukku nel mu-kkuṟuṇiyum pēṟāṟ-kāś=iraṇḍ-āga=kkāś=āṟum i-mmaṇḍapatt-uṇṇuñ=chāttirarkkuñ=kiḍaigaḷukkum paṇi-śeyyum peṇḍuga[ḷ-iruvark][3]ku=ppērāl nellu nā-nāḻiy-āga nāḷ-oṉṟukku

41 nel kuṟuṇiyum pēṟāṟ-kāś=oṉṟ-āga=kkāś=iraṇḍum chāttirarkkuñ=kiḍaigaḷukkum ātular-kkum kiḍakka=ppāy=iḻupat[taindu]kku=kkāś=iraṇḍum kiḍaigaḷukkuñ=chātti-rarkkum=talaikk=aṭṭa=chchaṇiy-oṉṟukk=eṇṇaiy=iru-nāḻiy-āga āṇḍ-oṉṟiṟ=chaṇi aimbatt-oṉṟukk=[eṇṇai][5] nūṟṟ-iru-nāḻikkum Jananāḍan-maṇḍapatt=ōttu-

42 kkēṭpārkku irāy-eriyum viḷakk=oṉṟukk=eṇṇai uḷakk-āga āṇḍ-oṉṟukk=eṇṇai toṇṇūṟṟu-nāḻiyu[m irv-e][4]ṇṇai nūṟṟu-toṇṇūṟṟ-iru-nāḻikku=kkāś=oṉṟukk=eṇṇaiy=irupadi-ṉ=nāḻiy-āga=kkāś=onbad-araiy=āy-araikkālum=Jananāḍaṉ-maṇḍapa[ttukku][5]=ppuḷukkuppu-rattukku nel nāṟpadiṉ-ka[lamu]m [|*] ātu-

43 [la]r-śālai Vīraśōḻanil vyādippaṭṭu=kkiḍappār padinaiyvarkku=ppērāl=ariśi nāḻiy-āga ariśi kuṟuṇiy-eḻu-nāḻikku nel [tūṇi ai][6]nnāḻiy-uriyum vyādippaṭṭu=kkiḍapparkkum pala-paṇi-nimandakkārarkkum kiḍaigaḷukkuñ=chāttirarkkum vaidyañ-cholla=kkāṇiy=āga=ttanakkun=tan [vargat][7]tārkkum peṟṟuḍaiya Ālappākkattu Savarṇṇaṉ

44 Kōdaṇḍarāmaṉ Aśvatthāma-Bhaṭṭaṉukku nāḷ-oṉṟukku nel mu-kkuṟuṇiyum kāś=eṭṭuñ=challiyakkiriyai-paṇṇuvā[ṉ-oruva][7]ṉukku nāḷ-oṉṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum ātu-larkku marundugaḷukku vēṇḍu[m*] marundu paṟittum viṟag-iṭṭum pariyāram-paṇṇuvār=iru[varu]kku=p[pērāl][3] nāḷ=oṉṟukku nel kuṟuṇiy-āga nel padakkum pērā-

45 ṉ=kāś=oṉṟāga=kkāś=iraṇḍum ātularkku vēṇḍum pariyāram paṇṇi marund-aḍum peṇḍu-gaḷ-iruvarkku=ppērāl-a[riśi nā][3]-nāḻiy-āga nāḷ-oṉṟukku nel kuṟuṇiyum pēṟāṟ-kāś-

[1] The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar. They have been filled up by referring to the stone.

[2] This is filled up by calculation.

[3] Here is an obstruction by pillar. Read from stone.

[4] Here is an uninscribed slab. The inscribed slab should have contained the letters in brackets.

[5] The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and they have been filled up *in situ* from stone.

[6] The syllables in brackets have been filled up as the inscribed stone is here replaced by a plain one.

[7] Lost in the original and have been supplied by calculation.

araiy-āga=kkāś-onṟum āturarkkuñ-kiḍaigaḷukkuñ=chāttirarkkum vēṇḍum paṇi-
śey[yum nā]¹viśan=oruvanukku nāḷ-onṟukku nel nā-nāḷi

46 yum [|*] āturaśālai Vīraśōḷanil āṇḍ-onṟil-iḍu[m*] marundu Brāhmyam-ka[ḍumbūri]y=
onṟum karuṅgāy niṅga ippaḍi . . . . . ḍum Vāśā-harītakī-ppaḍiy=
iraṇḍum Daśamūla-harītakī paḍiy=onṟum Bhallātaka-harītakī paḍiy=onṟum
Gaṇḍīram [paḍi]y¹=onṟum Balākēraṇḍa-tailam tūṇiyum Pañchā-

47 ka²-tailan=tūṇiyum Laśunādy³-ēraṇḍa-tailan=tūṇiyum Uttamakarṇādi-tailan=tūṇiyum U
. . . . ⁴[pa]dakkuñ-Suk . . . . ⁴śā-ghṛitam pada-
kku[m*] Bilvādi-ghṛitam padakkum Maṇḍā[ka]ra-vaṭakam iraṇḍ-āyiramum Dravatti
nāḷiyum Vimalai iraṇḍ-āyiramum Sunēriy⁵-iraṇḍ-āyiramun=⁶Tamrādiy-iraṇḍ-āyira-
mum Vajrakalpan=tūṇi-ppa

48 dakkum Kalyāṇa-lavaṇan=tūṇi-ppadakkum ivaiy=aḍugaikku vēṇḍum marun[du*]gaḷu-
kkum ne . . . . ⁴[raiyum] tē . . . . ⁴yum uḷḷiṭṭana
koḷḷavum āṇḍu-tōṟum Purāṇasarppi padaikka=ppaśuvi[n*] ney padakkuñ-koḷḷavum
(k)kāśu nāṟpadum [ātura]⁷śālaiyil-irāy=eriyum viḷakk-onṟukk=eṇṇaiy=āḷakk-ā-

49 ga nāḷ mu-nnūṟṟ-aṟupadukk=eṇṇai nāṟpatt-ai-nnāḷikku kāś=iraṇḍē-kālum Janaṉādan-ma-
. . . . ⁴nbil taṇ . . . . ⁴yaṇukku=pPaṅguṉiy-uttiran=
tuḍaṅgi=pPuraṭṭādi=tTiruvōṇatt-aḷavum parambāl-āṟa-ttaṇṇīr koḍuvandu vai[ttu=
chchāy]⁸ppān oruvaṉukku nāḷ-onṟukku nel kuṟuṇiy-ā-

50 ga nāḷ nūṟṟ-eṇbadukku nel padinaiṅ-kalamum śāttukkum ilāmachchattukkum
nell-iru⁹ . . . . ⁴padakkun-ta . . . . . . ⁴ṇyāham
paṇṇina Brāhmaṇarkku¹⁰-dakshiṇaikkum veṟṟilai veṟuṅkāykkum nel kalanē tūṇiy-
iru-nāḷi mū[nṟu kō mu]¹¹-chchevi[ḍum Vayalaikkāvūr kāṇiyuḍaiya Mādhavan Dāma-

51 yan varggattārkku=pPuraṭṭādi=tTiruvōṇatti-nāḷ kuḷukkum [pa]riśaṭṭam iraṇḍukku=
kkāś-onṟey=eḷu-mā . . . . ⁴mūv-āyiratt-irunūṟṟu-nāṟpattu-mu-
kkalanēy-iru-tūṇi-ppadakk-aṟu-nāḷiy=uḷakkē mu-chcheviṭṭukkum kāś-iru-nūṟṟ-oru-
batt-āṟ-araiyēy-iraṇ[ḍu-mā]¹²vukkum [|*] ikkāś=uḍavāvidil kāś-onṟukku=tTaṇḍavāṇiyō-

52 ḍ-okkum pon kāśu-niṟai-kkal iḍuvad-āgavum[|*] ippaḍi yāṇḍu ārāvadu nimandañ=cheyda-
paḍi in . . . . ⁴lumiḍattu chā[tti]ra-kkaṇkāṇiyōḍum kiḍai-
kkaṇkāṇiyōḍum śellakkaḍavad-āga nivandam śādapaḍikku kallu veṭṭuvittār i-
ṇ[nāḍu kūṟu]¹³śeyda adigārigaḷ **Śōḷa-maṇḍalattu Vijaiyarājēntra¹³-va-**

53 **ḷanāṭṭu Iḍaiyaḷa-nāṭṭu** **[Miṇa]¹⁴ṟkuḍaiyān** Paśuvati Tiruvaraṅgadēvanār-āna
Rājēntra¹³-Mūvēndavēḷār Pāṇa[. . . ¹⁵śva-kkallu veṭṭuvittāṉ **Jayaṅgoṇḍa-**

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¹ The letters in brackets have been read *in situ*.
² The letter *ka* was supplied by examining the original stone.
³ The syllables *śunādyēra* have been read *in situ*.
⁴ Here and in the following an inscribed slab is replaced by a plain one.
⁵ The syllables *nēriyi* have been restored by reading on the spot.
⁶ Read *Tām*°
⁷ The letters *ātura* are entered below the line.
⁸ The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and have been read from stone.
⁹ The syllables lost here must be *padin kalanēy-iru-tūṇi*.
¹⁰ Read *ṇā*
¹¹ A pillar obstructs these two letters.
¹² The syllables in brackets are obstructed by a pillar. Restored from stone.
¹³ Read °*ndra*
¹⁴ The two syllables are lost in the original.
¹⁵ The syllables *Śvara-kku* have been filled up from the stone, though obstructed by a pillar.

śōḷa-maṇḍalattu-pPuḷar-kōṭṭatt-Aguḍi-nāṭṭu Ayaṇḍampākkattu Iṟaivēṭṭin Kumara-Pāśūr-kkattan-āṇa[1] Virarājēntra[2]-chChembiyadarayan[|*] Inda danma[m*] śeyvitta Dāmayanār

54 maga[n] Dāmayaṉ Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷaṉ-āṉa Sēnāpatigaḷ Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷa-Danmapālarkkum ivar tambiyār Dā . . . . . . n-āṉa Sēnāpatigaḷ Virarājēntra[2]-Danmapālarkku-māy idu kallu veṭṭuvittāṉ Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalattu Puḷal-kōṭṭattu . . . r-nāṭṭu [Śā] . . . . . turvēdimaṅga[la*]ttu Brāhmaṇan Māṅgaḷūr Namaśśivāyadēvaṉ magaṉ

55 Taḷuvakkuḷamdāṉ-āṉa Abhimānamēru-Brahmamārāyaṉ [|*] I-dharmam(m) śrī-**Madhurāntaka-chchatu[rvēdimaṅga]**[3]**lattu** Mahāsabhaiyār rakshai [|*] Śrī [||]

Abstract of Contents.[4]

Hail! Prosperity! (*With the aid of*) his strong shoulders, (*wherein the goddess of*) Prosperity resided, (*the king*) bore the circle of the wide earth as (*lightly as*) his jewel of gems; under the shade of (*his*) victorious white parasol (*set with*) numerous gems, (*he*) protected the living beings of the earth more (*tenderly*) than the mother who bore (*them*); (*he*) conducted (*his*) rule (*so as to cause*) other kings (*wearing*) ankle-rings to seek shelter under the shadow of his feet and (*forced*) the cruel Kali (*age*) to retire to (*its*) abysmal abode. (*He*) drove from the battle-field of **Gaṅgapāḍi** the great feudatory chiefs (*sāmantas*) whose strong hands (*carried*) tightly-bound bows, (*and forced them*) along with Vikkalan (*who wore*) a garland of fragrant flowers to enter the **Tuṅgabhadrā.** (*He made such an*) attack (*as to cause*) the destruction of the irresistably great and powerful army which the Vallabhan had again despatched into the fine country of Vēṅgi; and fought[5] with *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Chāmuṇḍarāja and cut off his head and severed the nose from the face of his (*i.e.*, Chāmuṇḍarāja's) incomparable[6] daughter called Nāgalai (*who was*) the queen of Irugaiyaṉ and (*who*) resembled a peacock in beauty.

Himself and his sons, who assisted him, remaining behind in close quarters, he sent forth an army, which victoriously fought against countless *sāmantas* along with the (*two*) sons of **Āhavamalla** called Vikkalan and Siṅgaṇaṉ at **Kūḍal-Saṅgama** on the great waters, whither they had rushed forth enraged, resolving to advance forward and fight for a third time; and with (*his*) rut elephant, he agitated that army (*of the enemy*) which was arrayed in battle like the Northern ocean; he cut to pieces in front of his banner-troop Siṅgan of **Kōsalai** who was fighting with his furious elephants and vanguard; he (*also*) cut to pieces Kēśavadaṇḍanāyaka and Kettaraiśan, Mārayan of great strength, the powerful Pottaraiśan and Rēchchayan, Poṟkōdai and Mūvēndi who were fighting (*fiercely*), and many (*other*) unknown *sāmantas* who offered (*him*) battle. Then Muduvaṇaṉ, who was the commander,[7] fled; Vikkalan fled with his hair dishevelled; Śiṅgaṇaṉ fled leaving off the field-work; all the other chiefs of the elder brother[8] dismounted from the male elephants on which they were fighting the great battle and fled; and Āhavamalla, who was thus put to shame,[9] ran before them (*all*). He then separated his swift-footed and fierce elephant, put on a garland of victory and seized the (*enemies'*) wives, their family treasures,

[1] The letters *āṉa-āṉa* are obstructed by a pillar.

[2] Read °*ndra*.

[3] The letters in brackets are obstructed by a pillar and have been restored by reading from the stone.

[4] Prof. Hultzsch has translated the introductory portion on pp. 36ff. of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III.

[5] The word *śeyyuma* is a compound of *śeyyu* and *uma*.

[6] May be taken to mean also 'the only daughter.'

[7] The word may be rendered also 'who was the father of his wife'.

[8] *Annal* may also mean 'the king'.

[9] The word *sengaiya* means also 'who was in close quarters'.

conches, parasols, trumpets (*tārai*), big drums, canopies (*mēghaḍambara*), white fly-whisks (*chāmarai*), the boar banner, the ornamental arch (*makara-tōraṇa*), a herd of camels, the metal throne, the female elephant called Pushpaka, a herd of war-elephants together with a collection of prancing horses; (*he then*) ascended the powerful lion-throne of great splendour, being bowed to by all the world, and along with his beautiful queen **Ulagamuḷuduḍaiyāḷ**, put on the victorious crown set with gems.

He cut off in battle field the beautiful heads, wearing flower garlands, of the king of **Pottapi** whose horse was unsteady under the bridle (*kuśai*), and of the **Kēraḷa** (*king*) wearing anklerings and (*powerful on account of his*) elephants[1] as well as of the younger brother of **Jananātha** adorned with wreaths[2]; (*and he also*) trampled under the feet of a single rut elephant **Vira-kēsari** who wore a crown (*set with*) lustrous gems and who was the young son of the Pāṇḍya king **Śrīvallabha** wearing gold ankle-rings.[3]

He put forth his elephant (*force*) in the field and uprooted with his hands the family of the Chēras along with their infants, and caused them to run and plunge into the Western ocean. At Vāri, he tied up the Raṭṭas, who had numberless elephants, along with the elephants belonging to their ladies who coveted (*them*)[4]; and received also a herd of elephants which they paid as tribute together with female elephants and trappings.

In a hot battle pitched on the bank of a river of whirling water[5] he cut off the heads of the following Daṇḍanāyakas:—Villiyaṇṇaṉ[6] of great valour, Vaññippayaṉ[6], who possessed a rutting elephant, Aśōkayan (*who wore a cool*) garland, Śattiyaṇṇaṉ of brilliant valour, Pattiyaṇṇaṉ (*the minister of*) peace and war, Vimayaṉ, who wore a honey-dribbling garland, Vaṅgāraṉ of great wisdom, the Gaṅga (*king*) of dreadful lance, the Nuḷumba (*king*) and the king of the Kāḍavas as well as the Vaidumba (*king*) who owned highly furious and rutting elephants.

After he had reached the great city (*called after*) the great river Gaṅgā, the Chāḷukya (*king*) who came from the race of the moon, felt the sting and thought 'it is better to die than live with such disgrace' and choosing as battle-field the very Kūḍal, where his sons and himself had been made to retreat, wrote, so that all might know, a letter embodying (*his*) vow—"those who do not come to Kūḍal through fear are no kings but are disgraceful liars in war," handed it over with an oral message to the Gaṅga chief Kettan renowned among the liars of Raṭṭappāḍi and asked him to take it; and when he came, bowed at the feet of, and delivered the message to (*the Chōḷa king*), his (*i.e.*, the latter's) mind, face and glorious two arms began to glow doubly on account of the increasing joy and he advanced forth and entered the field, and not finding the approach of the king of the Vallabhas at **Karandai**, stayed there delightfully for one month more after the appointed day, and then he found him run away until his legs became sore and hid himself in the western ocean, and each of the three (*chiefs*) Dēvanāthan, Siddhi and Kēśi turned their backs.

(*The Chōḷa king*) subdued the powerful activity of Raṭṭappāḍi 7½ lakhs, hard (*even for bards*) to sing and set crackling fire on it; and set up a pillar of victory (*jayabhadra-tūṇ*) on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā so that the world[7] praised him and the fierce and angry tiger (*the crest of his race*) mounted on it and sported joyfully.

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[1] *Vāraṇi* is the reading in No. 20 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, and it has been taken as a proper name. The reading *vāraṇa* is better since the Chēras are noted for their elephant forces. *cf.* 'paḷyāṇai-kō-kKaṇḍan.'

[2] Instead of *Dhāra*, it is preferable to read '*tār*.'

[3] See note 6 on page 27 of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III.

[4] Hultzsch has rendered the passage thus:—"tied up in stables the Raṭṭas, whose elephants were numberless, along with the elephants of the Kanniyan which he had seized."

[5] This rendering somewhat differs from that given in the *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 68.

[6] Malliyaṇṇaṉ and Maṅgippayaṉ are the readings in No. 20 of the same Volume.

[7] *Nānilam* means 'four kinds of lands, *i.e.*, *kuṟiñji*, *mullai*, *pālai* and *neydal*—grassy, forest, sandy and coast tracts' and hence 'the world'.

He made the liar, who had advanced against him on a previous occasion, a Vallabha and fastened on him a *kaṇṭhikā*. He caused to be depicted beautifully on a board how the **Kuntaḷa** king and (*his*) sons ran five times to the full knowledge of the world mounted on an elephant which had a cord (*round its neck*) and a hole-bearing hand.

Vowing not to return until he fulfilled the word that he formerly uttered, *viz.*—that he would destroy the state of the Chāḷukyah (*lordship*), and their stables wherein was locked up the flower of his horse troops (?) and recover the Vēṅgi country which the Chāḷukya had taken,—he sent (*the following*) word to be announced " Hear this and if you have (*any*) power, come and protect yourself ".

When the array of his army which was advancing towards the (*enemies'*) boundary had reached the great river close to the beautiful city of **Vijayavāḍai** (*i.e.*, Bezwāda), he (*the Chōḷa*) drove into the forest the great battalion which had at its head Jananāḍaṉ and Tipparaiśaṉ ; caused his elephants (*pūdakam*) to drink the water of the Gōdāvarī ; crossed the seven Kaliṅgas, and led his swelling elephant forces (*tānai-tāvaḍi*) as far as the snow-covered Mahēndra (*mountain*) on whose right side was carved the tiger mark and bestowed (*that country*) on Vijayāditya of broad arms wearing weapons of war who sought shelter at his feet (*which were adorned with*) flowery anklets.

Returning fast, he graciously entered (*the city of*) **Gaṅgāpuri** leaving off the Kali and bringing the goddess of victory which had attached (*itself*) to him. There, he assumed the *damaniga* as the lord of the earth (*under the titles*) Rājādhirāja and Rājarāja. The kings of the earth bowing at his feet, he sat on a pedestal set with choicest gems : exhibited in order the immense wealth, which he had brought from the fine country of **Vēṅgi,** removed the *āli* and *nigaḷa*[1] and fulfilled his vow.

(*Putting forth*) a number of ships (*laden with*) excessively large forces on the ever swelling and highly protected sea, and without attempting to ford it, he (*the Chōḷa king*) began to wage a war in **Īḻam** (*i.e.*, Ceylon) which cast a gloom on that army of the Singhalese wherein Kurukulattaraiyaṉ who wore a golden anklet and another feudatory whose anger in war was that of thunder, fell down and were slain. A great tumult then arose and spread through the land which was not able to bear (*the charge of the Chōḷas*) with the result that **Vijayabāhu,** the king (*of the island*) took to flight without knowing even the directions and (*the Chōḷa king*) took his queen captive, conquered . . . . carried away immeasurably large family gems along with fine crowns and made Laṅkā with its impregnable walls his own.

Crossing back the southern region, (*the Chōḷa king*) . . . . obstructed at **Koṇḍai** where the Chāḷukyan king again sent against him double the number of elephants which he had put forth on a former occasion. Among those that were seen (*there*) were the intelligent Nāgaiyaṉ, Mārayaṉ, Manmagaṇḍayaṉ, ... Koṇḍayaṉ, Āchchidaraṉ . . . . and others. These ran away showing their backs and making such an uproar (*in their flight*) that resembled the noise of thunder during heavy rains. Ko. oṭṭumaḍaiyaṉ and others lost their elephants and ran along with the commanders of infantry (*pada-sāmantas*). The Chōḷa king caught hold of prancing horses and young elephants as well as a galaxy of women that were seen (*in the field*) and received as before a *paraṇi*. Tuṉṉamārāyaṉ, ... , Kēśavaṉ, ... , who were subdued by his forces . . . . . . the sound . . . . , Siṅgaṇaṉ, who was resting under a flag, ... and (*he*) planted a pillar of victory at Puli-Śūṭṭukkal, where, getting up a hill . . . . and mounted on a vehicle (*yānai*) drawn by seven horses, the chief known (*by the name*) Śōḷiyavaraiyaṉ, ... -daṇḍanāyaka . . . . fought. He sent

[1] The word *nigaḷa* is phonetically connected with the skt. *nigaḍa* 'fetters or shackles' ; and thus may be construed to convey the idea of 'armour.'

forth a (*very*) sea of army . . . . in **Kaliṅgam** . . . . his chief feudatories at **Chakkarakōṭṭam** and destroyed by heavy fire the elephant (*forces*) of the Chāḷukya king which appeared in great numbers at Chakkarakōṭṭam in the North. The bowman Sōmayan of **Sōṇaiyanagar**, Eriyaman, Ādityavarman of fearful trident,—these with clusters of heads that were cut off,— . . . . Malli, Sōmaya . . . . . n, who wore ornaments set with diamonds, Vaidumba, Dēvanātha, Dēvise . . . . . along with herds of camels . . . . and the reward of ornaments were looted in order . . . . and ran with broken hearts. The wife of . . . . nāthan trembling with fear, **Kāḷiyappai**, his younger brother . . . . and others together with crowds of their ladies wearing *tumbai* garlands, fell in his hands in the great field of **Kāvi** and were caught.

Removing the sons of . . . . lamayan, (*the Chōḷa king*) crossed the boundary and fixed the limit, wielded his sceptre from the **Himālayas** in the northern quarter, where the tiger ever lies in ambush, up to the **Sētu** (*in the south*); propagated the Vēdic lore, assumed possession of kingly duties, invited suppliants and raising aloft the banner of *harṁsa* and the banner of liberty, sat in Royal state and exemplified the path of the great Manu. (*He*), *i.e.*, king **Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* **Uḍaiyār** the glorious **Vīrarājēndradēva**, in the fifth year of his reign was pleased to be seated on (*the seat called*) Rājēndrasōḷa-Māvalivāṇarājaṉ in the Royal palace of Sōḷakēraḷan at Gaṅgaikoṇḍasōḷapuram.

Vayalaikkāvūr in Tōṇḍu-**Paruvūr-nāḍu**, (*a sub division*) of **Kāliyūr-kōṭṭam** was a *dēvadāna* of (*the temple of*) **Mahāvishṇu** at **Tirumukkūḍal** in the prosperous **Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam** (*which was*) a free village in **Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam**, (*a district*) of **Jayaṅgoṇḍachōḷamaṇḍalam**. The residents of this village were paying 75 *kaḷañju* of gold for the feeding house (*sālai*). This amount of 75 *kaḷañju* of gold was deducted from the accounts and assigned to the temple in the second year of the reign of Ulaguyyakkoṇḍaruḷinadēva who took Raṭṭappāḍi 7½ lakhs and who twice saw the back of (*i.e.*, defeated) Āhavamalla. This (*amount*) together with the taxes accruing from the village, *viz.*, *Ūr-kaḷañju*, *kumārakkachchāṇam*, *maṇṇaiṭṭappāṭṭam*, *minpāṭṭam*, *taṭṭārappāṭṭam*, etc., forming the *kīḻiraippāṭṭam*, *vālakkāśu*, *tingaḷmeṟi*, *maṭṭāvaraṇam*, *tarippuḍavai*, *valaṅgai* and *iḍaṅgai-magamai*, *daśabandam*, *māḍakkūli*, *viruttahai*, etc., forming the *pāṭṭam*—were ordered by the king to be entered in the accounts, in the fifth year of (*his*) reign, as a tax-free *dēvadāna* gift to meet the requirements of the (*god*) Mahāvishṇu at Tirumukkūḍal. This Royal mandate (*ōlai*) was written by *Tirumandiravōlai* Tāḷi Tiruppanaṅgāḍuḍaiyān *alias* Vāṇavan Vallavaraiyan of Nērvāyil, in Paṇaiyūr-nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu and signed by *Tirumandiravōlai-nāyagam* Pāṇḍiyanār Rājarāja-Brahmamārāyar and Vīrarājēndra-Gāṅgaiyarājaṉ. That it may be so entered in the account was ordered by Villavarājar, Kaliṅgattaraiyar, *Vidaiyil* Rājēndravayirāgarachchōḷan and Pāṇḍiyaṉār; and further endorsed by (1) the *Uḍankūṭṭam* officers Vīrarājēndra-Brahmādhirājar, (2) Sōḷa-Brahmamārāyar, (3) Sembiyan Śittirājar, (4) Atiśayasōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷār, (5) Jayaṅgoṇḍasōḷa-Viḻupparaiyar, (6) Uttamasōḷa-Pallavaraiyar, (7) the *Vidaiyil* officers Kāḍavarājar, (8) Kāvērivallabha-Mūvēndavēḷār, (9) Iḷattaraiyar, (10) Sōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷār, (11) Vīrarājēndra-Maḷavarājar, (12) Vaḷavan-Mūvēndavēḷār, (13) Rāja-uttama-Mūvēndavēḷār, (14) Rājarāja-Kāḍigurājar, (15) Jayaṅgoṇḍasōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷār, (16) Rājēndrasōḷa-Anukkappallavaraiyar, (17) Sembiyan-Brahmamārāyar, (18) Sundarasōḷa-Pallavaraiyar, (19) Jayaṅgoṇḍasōḷa-Vayanāṭṭaraiyar, (20) Jayaṅgoṇḍasōḷa-Sēnāmuga-Mūvēndavēḷār, (21) Sōḷaviḻupparaiyar, (22) Jayasiṁha-kulakāla-Viḻupparaiyar, (23) Vīrarājēndra-Tiruvindaḷūraḷ . . . -Mūvēndavēḷār, (24) Rājarāja-Viḻupparaiyar-Vīrarājēndra-Vāṇavarājar, (25) Kshatriyasiṁga-Mūvēndavēḷār, (26) Raṭṭakulakāla-Uttamasōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷār, (27) Pāṇḍiyan-kulaśīpa-Mūvēndavēḷār, (28) Raṭṭakulakāla-Mūvēndavēḷār, (29) Uttamapāṇḍiya-Mūvēndavēḷār, (30) Vīrasōḷa-Pallavaraiyar, (31) . . . .

. . . . -Mūvēndavēḷār, (32) Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷār, (33) Vaḷavarādittа-Mūvēndavēḷār, (34) Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷa-Pallavaraiyar, (35) *Naḍuvirukkum* Uṟuppuṭṭūr-Yajña-Bhaṭṭa, (36) Sāvyaṇa-Śivaḷajjādi-Bhaṭṭa, (37) Kaṟippuṟattu-Sōḷadēva-Bhaṭṭa and (38) Kaṟippuṟattu-Anantanārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭa.

Then the following persons being present *viz.*, *Puravuvaritiṇaikkaḷattu-kaṅkāṇi* Kuvalaiyadivākara-Mūvēndavēḷār, Arindamaṉ-Puraṉjarambainaṭṭu-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, Rājarāja-Śeṉṉināḍu-kiḷavan, Vīraliṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, Aḷagiyaśōḷa-Viḷupparaiyan, *Puravuvaritiṇaikkaḷam* Śaḷukki-kulakāla-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, Vāṇavaṉ-Viḷupparaiyaṉ, Vaḷavarāja-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, Avaniṉārāyaṇa-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, Śiṅgaḷāntaka-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, *Varippottagam* Pālaiyūr-kiḷavaṉ, *Mugaveṭṭi* Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-Damaṉūrnāṭṭu-Viḷupparaiyan, Ādamaṅgalamuḍaiyāṉ, Atirājēndra-Pallavaraiyaṉ, Kūndalkiḷāṉ, *Terippu* Iṅgaikkuḍaiyāṉ, Māttūruḍaiyāṉ, Vaḷavaśūḷāmaṇi-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, *Tanvuśāta* Śōḷadivākara-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, Pulikiḷāṉ, *Palaniyāyam* Paṭṭālamuḍaiyāṉ, Sembiyaṉ-Miḷalaivēḷāṉ, Araiyamāṉ, *Variyilīḍu* Avanipāla-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, Arindamaṉ-Viḷupparaiyaṉ, *Varippottaga-kaṇakku* Saṅgattimaṅgalamuḍaiyāṉ, Vaḷavaṉ-Viḷupparaiyaṉ, *Paṭṭōlai* Śiṟu-pākkiḷāṉ, Maṇarpākkiḷāṉ, *Kīḻvi-variyiliḍuvitta Puravuvaritiṇaikkaḷam* Śaḷukki-kulakāla-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, Śiṅgaḷāntaka-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, *Mugaveṭṭi* Śōḷamārtāṇḍa-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, Kūndalkiḷāṉ, *Vāśittāṉ varippottaga-kaṇakku* Saṅgattimaṅgalamuḍaiyāṉ, *Variyiliṭṭāṉ Puravuvaritiṇaikkaḷattu-kaṇakku* Śōḷamāṇikka-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ of Śōḷamaṇḍalam, *Paṭṭōlai-eḻudināṉ* Vīraśōḷa-Nemmali-nāṭṭu-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ,—all these being present, in the 6th year and three hundred and forty-eighth day (of the king's reign), it was entered in the accounts, that for the 75 *kaḷañju* of gold, the abovementioned *pāṭṭam* accruing from the village, the 72 *kaḷañju* and 9 *mañjāḍi* of gold previously granted as *dēvadāna* to this god, making a total of 147 *kaḷañju* and 9 *mañjāḍi*, the income in paddy by the *rājakēsari* measure at 16 *kalam* per *kaḷañju* was 2350 *kalam*, 1 *padakku*, 3 *nāḻi*, 1 *āḻakku* and 3 *śevidu*. This when converted into *arumoḻidēvaṉ* measure, at the rate of 1 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi*, and 4 *nāḻi* of *arumoḻidēvaṉ* for a *kalam* of *rājakēsari*, became, inclusive of *kāśvāṉ*, *kāḷaḷavukūli* and *koṟṟaḷavuvāṉ*, 884 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, 3 *nāḻi*, and 1 *āḻakku* of paddy in excess, thus making a total of 3243 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, 1 *padakku*, 6 *nāḻi*, 1 *uḻakku* and 3 *śevidu* of *arumoḻidēvaṉ*.

The taxes accruing from this village, *viz.*, 1 *kaḷañju* of gold by *ūrkaḷañju*, 1 *kaḷañju* of gold by *kumarakachchāṇam*, 3¼ *kaḷañju* of gold by *maṉpāṭṭam*, 5¾ *kaḷañju* of gold by *kiḷiruppāṭṭam*, in all 11 *kaḷañju* of gold, equivalent to 18 *māḍai* and 7 *mā*, or 36¾ *kāśu*, together with 28¾ *kāśu* and 4 *mā* by *daśabandam*, 25½ *kāśu* and 3 *mā* by *māḍaikkūli*, 3 *kāśu* by the account of *muḍal-śilavu*, 1½ *kāśu* by *maṇṇakkalañi*, ¾ *kāśu* by *muttāvaṇam*, 1¼ *kāśu* by *tiṅgaḷmāṟu*, 118 *kāśu* by *vīlikkāśu*, made a total of 216¾ *kāśu* and 2 *mā*.

Here are detailed the following expenses to be met in the temple from the above said income of paddy and *kāśu*.

For one *tirukālai-sandi* offering to the Āḻvār :—

(L. 18). One *padakku* and four *nāḻi* of paddy for one *kuṟuṇi* of rice, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 4 *nāḻi* of *paruppu* (broken green pulse) or 1 *kuṟuṇi* of *payaṟu*, 1 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *puḷukkukaṟi* (boiled curry), 1 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *porikkaṟi* (fried curry), 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *uri* of curd, 1 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *āḻakku* of ghee, 1 *uḻakku* of paddy for 1 *āḻakku* of salt, 1 *nāḻi* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 5 *kuṟuṇi*, 5 *nāḻi* and 3 *uḻakku* of paddy for one *sandi*.

For the *akkāravaḍalai* offering at the Vīraśōḷan :—

(L. 19). 1 *kuṟuṇi* and 2 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *nāḻi* of rice, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 4 *nāḻi* of *paruppu* or 1 *kuṟuṇi* of *payaṟu*, 1 *kuṟuṇi* and 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 6 *nāḻi* of milk, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 1 *nāḻi* of ghee, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 8 plantain fruits, 1 *nāḻi* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 2 *tūṇi*, 1 *kuṟuṇi*, 3 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for the *akkāravaḍalai* offering. The sugar required for this for a year of 360 days, at 32 *palam* per day is 11,520 *palam*, which at the rate of 576 *palam* of sugar for 1 *kāśu* cost 20 *kāśu*.

For the offering of *Pālpōnagam* at night :—

(L. 19f.) 1 *kuṟuṇi* and 2 *nāḻi* of paddy for 4 *nāḻi* of rice, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 4 *nāḻi* of milk, 1 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *porikkaṟi*, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *āḻakku* of ghee for *pōnagam* and *porikkaṟi*, 1 *nāḻi* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kuṟuṇi* and 1 *nāḻi* of paddy for the night offering.

(L. 20). For the offering at noon to Śrī-Rāghavachakravarti :—

1 *kuṟuṇi* and 2 *nāḻi* of paddy for 4 *nāḻi* of rice, and 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for ghee, curry and areca-nuts, thus making a total of 1 *kuṟuṇi* and 6 *nāḻi* of paddy.

For sandal-paste to the Āḻvār :—

180 *palam* of sandal are required for a year of 360 days at ½ a *palam* per day and this quantity at 8 *palam* of sandal for 1 *kāśu*, costs 22½ *kāśu*. 11¼ *kaḻañju* of *karpūra* are required for a year of 360 days at 5 *mā* per day and this costs 22½ *kāśu* at ½ a *kaḻañju* of *karpūram* for 1 *kāśu*. And 1 *kāśu* is required for *kuṅkumam*.

(L. 21.) For lamps :—

1 *uri* of oil for 2 perpetual lamps to the Āḻvār, 1 *uḻakku* and 1 *āḻakku* of oil for 3 lamps to burn in the inner circuit of the temple till dawn ; 1 *uḻakku* and 2½ *śeviḍu* of oil for 10 twilight lamps, at 1¼ *śeviḍu* of oil for 1 lamp, thus making a total of 1 *nāḻi*, 1 *āḻakku* and 2½ *śeviḍu* of oil per day. The oil required for a year of 360 days is 452 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri*[1], which, at 20 *nāḻi* per *kāśu*, cost 22½ *kāśu*.

(L. 21.) For Aippaśi festival to Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷar :—

5 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 1 *padakku* of rice, 2 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *uri* of *paruppu*, 1 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *porikkaṟi*, 1 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *puḻukku-kaṟi*, 1 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 2 *nāḻi* of paddy for 2½ *śeviḍu* of pepper, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *āḻakku* of ghee, 2 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *nāḻi* of curd, 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *uḻakku* of salt, 1 *nāḻi* of paddy for 5 areca-nuts and 1 *uri* of paddy for 20 betel-leaves, making a total of 7 *kuṟuṇi*. Thus, for the 12 occasions of the seven days of the festival the paddy required is 7 *kalam*.

(Ll. 22-23). For the Māśi festival at the same rate as above is 7 *kalam* of paddy.

For offerings during the hunting festival in the garden of Virasōḻaṉ :—

2 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 2 *nāḻi* of *paruppu*, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 1 *porikkaṟi*, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 1 *puḻukku-kaṟi*, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *āḻakku* of pepper, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 2 *nāḻi* of salt, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 1 *nāḻi* of ghee, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kuṟuṇi* of curd, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 40 areca-nuts, and 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 2 *paṟṟu* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi*, 1 *padakku* and 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for an occasion. Hence for the 2 hunting festivals, the paddy required for offering is 7 *kalam* and 1 *kuṟuṇi*.

(Ll. 23-24). For offerings during *Jayantyashṭamī* to Veṇṇaikkūttāḻvār, *i.e.*, Krishṇa.

1 *kalam* and 3 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 6 *kuṟuṇi* of rice, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 2 *nāḻi* of *paruppu*, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *porikkaṟi*, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *puḻukku-kaṟi*, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 2 *nāḻi* of paddy for 2½ *śeviḍu* of pepper, 1 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *uri* of salt, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 4 *nāḻi* of curd, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 1 *uḻakku* of ghee, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts, and 2 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *paṟṟu* of betel leaves, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, and 5 *nāḻi* of paddy. For *appa-amudu* to be offered on the same occasion 3 *kuṟuṇi* and 1 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *kuṟuṇi* and 2 *nāḻi* of rice, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *nāḻi* of *paruppu*, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *uri* of ghee, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 20 *palam* of sugar, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *āḻakku* of pepper, 2 *nāḻi*

[1] By calculation, the requirement for the year is only 427 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri*. It is not understood how the inscription gives an excess of 25 *nāḻi*.

of paddy for 2½ *śevidu* of cumin, 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *uḻakku* of salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 6 cocoanuts, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts and 2 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *parru* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 1 *kuruṇi*, 1 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* of paddy. For offering to be made when the deity is taken on procession in the street, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 32 plantain fruits and 1 *kuruṇi* of paddy for 4 *nāḻi* of curd. In all, the provision made for the *Jayantyashṭamī* was 3 *kalam*, 6 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* of paddy.

(Ll. 24-25). For offerings to be made on the day of Kārttigai in the month of Kārttigai :—

2 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice, 1 *kuruṇi* of paddy for 2 *nāḻi* of *paruppu*, 1 *kuruṇi* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *kuruṇi* of paddy for 1 *puḻukku-kari*, 1 *kuruṇi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kuruṇi* of curd required for 1 *puḻiṅgari*, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 10 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kuruṇi* and 2 *nāḻi* of paddy for 20 plantain fruits, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *āḻakku* of pepper, 3 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* of salt, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 1 *nāḻi* of ghee, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kuruṇi* of curd, 1 *kuruṇi* and 2 *nāḻi* of paddy for 50 areca-nuts, and 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 2 *parru* of betel-leaves, thus making a total of 3 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, 3 *kuruṇi* and 7 *nāḻi* of paddy. 1¼ *kāśu* was provided for obtaining 25 *nāḻi* of oil for burning 200 lamps in the central shrine and in the inner circuit, at the rate of 1 *āḻakku* for a lamp.

(Ll. 25-26). Expenses to be met on the birth-day asterism *Ayilīya* (*Āślēsha*) in the month Āvaṇi, of king Vīrarājēndra, are as follows :—

2 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *nāḻi* of green pulse required for sprouting at the *tirumañjanam*, 1 *padakku* of paddy to be placed below the sprouts, 1 *kuruṇi* of paddy for 1 *palam* of thread to wrap round 108 *kalaśas* (pots), 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *padakku* of paddy to be placed under the *kalaśas*, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 2 *nāḻi* of rice required for powder, 1 *kalam* and 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 4 *nāḻi* of ghee, 1 *kuruṇi* of paddy for 4 *nāḻi* of curd, 1 *kuruṇi* of paddy for 4 *nāḻi* of milk, 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of rice required for an offering to be made on that day, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 4 *nāḻi* of *paruppu*, 1 *kuruṇi* of paddy for 1 *puḻukku-kari*, 1 *kuruṇi* of paddy for 1 *porikkari*, 1 *kuruṇi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *āḻakku* of pepper, 2 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *nāḻi* of salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kuruṇi* of curd required for 1 *puḻiṅgari*, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 1 *nāḻi* of ghee, 1 *kuruṇi* and 2 *nāḻi* of paddy for 30 areca-nuts, 6 *nāḻi* of paddy for 3 *kaṭṭu* of betel-leaves, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 10 *palam* of sugar required for *puḻiṅgari* and 1 *kuruṇi* and 2 *nāḻi* of paddy for 20 plantain fruits, thus making a total of 6 *kalam*, 5 *kuruṇi* and 2 *nāḻi* of paddy.

(L. 27). For this festival are required one *pudavai* (cloth) for covering the *pāligai* kept for sprouting, one *pudavai* for being placed above the *kalam*, two *pudavai*—consisting of one loin cloth and one upper cloth—for the *āchārya* who performs the bathing ceremony of the god, thus making in all four cloths which cost one *kāśu*. A provision of half a *kāśu* for 4 *nāḻi* of honey, quarter *kāśu* for 50 *palam* of turmeric, half a *kāśu* for purchasing *snapana-dravyas*, one *kāśu* for one *pariśaṭṭam* to be used after bathing, one *kāśu* for the *dakshiṇā* of the *āchārya* performing the bathing ceremony of the god, two and a half *kāśu* for purchasing 10 *pariśaṭṭam* at the rate of quarter *kāśu* for one *pariśaṭṭam*, to be presented to the Śrī Vaishṇavas that served in the *Tiruvōlakkam* and those who recited the *Tiruvāymoḻi* hymns on the occasion, half a *kāśu* for one *pariśaṭṭam* to be presented to the astrologer (*tiru*) who announced the festivals, thus making a total of seven and a quarter *kāśu*.

(L. 28). For the bathing of the god and for the great offering to be made on the day of *Pūrāḍam* in the month of Kārttigai which was the birth-day of the *Vaiśya* Mādavan Dāmyan,

who built the inner enclosure of the temple and the Jananātha-*maṇḍapa*, a provision of 6 *kalam*, 5 *kuṟuṇi* and 2 *nāḻi* of paddy was made together with 6¼ *kāsu* for purchasing the necessary things for the *tirumañjana* and for presenting cloths to those that should get them.

(L. 28). For Puraṭṭāśi-Tiruvōṇam when Veṇṇaikkūttāḻvār is taken in procession to the Jananātha-*maṇḍapa* :—

1 *kalam* and 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 5 *kuṟuṇi* of rice, 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi* and, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 300 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kalam* of paddy for 3 *nāḻi* of ghee, 3 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for pepper, *śukku* and salt, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 80 areca-nuts and 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 2 *kaṭṭu* of betel-leaves thus making a total of 5 *kalam* of paddy.

For feeding Śrī-Vaishṇavas in the Jananātha-*maṇḍapa* on *amāvāsyā* days when the god presented *tīrtha* :—

(Ll. 28-29). 2 *tūṇi*, 1 *kuṟuṇi* and 3 *nāḻi* of paddy for 3 *kuṟuṇi* and 6 *nāḻi* of rice, for 20 persons at 1 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* each, 5 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *pulukku-kari*, 5 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *kuṟuṇi* and 1 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *puḷitta-kari* inclusive of tamarind, 2 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *ilai-kari* (leaves), 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *ulakku* of pepper, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 2 *nāḻi* of salt, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 1 *ulakku* of ghee, 1 *kuṟuṇi* and 2 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *padakku* of butter-milk, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 4 *palam* of sugar, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 40 areca-nuts, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 2 *paṟṟu* of betel-leaves, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 1 cook, thus making a total of 1 *kalam*, 7 *kuṟuṇi* and 3 *nāḻi* of paddy for each *amāvāsyā*.[1] For 12 *amāvāsyās*, the provision made was 19 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi* and 4 *nāḻi* of paddy.

(Ll. 29-30). For feeding 100 Śrī-Vaishṇavas in the Jananātha-*maṇḍapa* on the occasion of the *tīrtham* at Tiruveṅgaḍamalai :—

3 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, 1 *padakku* and 7 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi*, 1 *padakku* and 6 *nāḻi* of rice at 1 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* each, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kuṟuṇi* of green pulse, 3 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 1 *pulukku-kari*, 3 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 1 *puḷitta-kari* inclusive of tamarind, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 1 *ilai-kari*, 3 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 3 *ulakku* of pepper, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kuṟuṇi* of salt, 2 *tūṇi* of paddy for 2 *nāḻi* of ghee, 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for 1 *kalam* of butter-milk, 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *padakku* of paddy for butter-milk to the *paṟiñjeri*, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 22 *palam* of sugar, 5 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 200 areca-nuts, 1 *padakku* of paddy for 8 *paṟṟu* of betel-leaves, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 2 cooks, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for lime, 1 *padakku* of paddy for one that supplied fire-wood and 1 *padakku* of paddy for one that supplied *ilai-kari* thus making a total of 8 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi* and 3 *nāḻi*.

When the party returned from Tiruveṅgaḍamalai after *tīrtham*, 100 Śrī-Vaishṇavas had to be fed at a cost of 8 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi* and 3 *nāḻi* of paddy.

(Ll. 30-32). For feeding Śrī-Vaishṇavas that came on the occasion of Puraṭṭāśi-Tiruvōṇam a provision of 8 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi* and 3 *nāḻi*, calculated at the above rate, was made.

17 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi* and 6 *nāḻi* of paddy were provided for feeding 150 Śrī-Vaishṇavas on the 6 days of the Aippaśi festival, at 25 persons for each day and for feeding 50 Śrī-Vaishṇavas on the day of the *tīrtham*. A quantity of 8 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi* and 3 *nāḻi* of paddy for the Śrī-Vaishṇavas that came to hear the *Tiruppāvai* hymns on the days of the *ēkādaśī* and *dvādaśī* in the month of Mārgaḻi and 17 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi* and 6 *nāḻi*, calculated at the above rate, for feeding 200 Śrī-Vaishṇavas in the *maṇḍapa* on the occasion of Māśi-Makhā, were also provided.

[1] An item of expenditure amounting to 5 *nāḻi* is omitted.

(Ll. 32 to 43). 6 *nāḻi* of paddy and 1 *kāśu* per day for 1 *tiru*, 3 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy and 4 *kāśu* per day, at 1 *kuṟuṇi* and 4 *nāḻi* and 2 *kāśu* each, for 2 persons who recited the *Tiruvāymoḻi* hymns, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 4 persons who cultivated the flower-garden of Virasōḻan at 1 *kuṟuṇi* each per day, 1 *kuṟuṇi* and . . . . . . of paddy per day to 1 *tiru* who brought the calendar and announced the sacred festivals and bathing days, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy and 4 *kāśu* per day to 1 Vaikhānasa-dēvakanmi who demanded from the appointed persons their dues and had the expenses met, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy and 4 *kāśu* to 1 accountant who entered the accounts, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy per day to 1 potter who supplied the necessary pots to the temple kitchen, Jananātha-*maṇḍapa*, the teachers and students, to the hospital as well as the *kalaśas* to the Āḻvār, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy per day to one washerman who washed the *parivaṭṭam* of the gods and the cloths of the Vēdic teachers and students as well as of the persons in the hospital, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy and 1 *kāśu* per day to **Tirumukkūḍal-Pōraiyan** who kept watch in the Jananātha-*maṇḍapa* and the hospital, 40 *kalam* of paddy for the repairs to be executed in the *tiruchchuṟṟumāḷigai*, *i.e.*, the inner enclosure of the temple, 1 *padakku* of paddy per day to one who taught the Rig-Vēda in the Jananātha-*maṇḍapa*, 1 *padakku* of paddy per day to one who taught the Yajur-Vēda, and 8 *kāśu* to these two at 4 *kāśu* each, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy and 10 *kāśu* per day to one Bhaṭṭa who expounded the Vyākaraṇa and the Rūpāvatāra, 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *nāḻi* of paddy per day for feeding 60 persons in all—consisting of 10 persons who studied the Rig-Vēda, 10 Brāhmans who studied the Yajur-Vēda, 20 Brahmans and *Chhātras* who heard the expounding of the Vyākaraṇa and Rūpāvatāra, 10 Mahāpāñcharātras, 3 Śiva-Brāhmaṇas, 5 Vaikhānasas and 2 . . . . . . at the rate of 1½ *nāḻi* of rice to each person amounting in the aggregate to 11 *kuṟuṇi*, and 2 *nāḻi* of rice per day, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 4 *nāḻi* of *payaru*, 6 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *poḍukku-kaṟi*, 3 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *ilai-kaṟi*, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 1 pepper curry, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 1 *poḷitta-kaṟi* including tamarind, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 1 *uḻakku* and 1 *āḻākku* of pepper, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 1 *nāḻi* of salt, 1 *tūṇi* of paddy for 1 *nāḻi* of ghee, 3 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *padakku* of butter-milk, 1 *kuṟuṇi* and 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 60 areca-nuts, and 4 *nāḻi* of paddy for 2 *parru* of betel-leaves, 3 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy per day and 6 *kāśu* to 3 assistant cooks, at 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy and 2 *kāśu* each, who brought rice from Vayalaikkāvūr and supplied daily fuel, leaves and water, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy and 2 *kāśu* per day to 2 maid-servants—at 4 *nāḻi* of paddy and 1 *kāśu* each—who attended on the *Chhātras* and *kiḍai* that were fed in the *maṇḍapa*, 2 *kāśu* for purchasing 75 mats for the *Chhātras*, *kiḍai* and the *āturas* (*i.e.*, the sick), to lie on, 9½ *kāśu* for purchasing 192 *nāḻi* of oil, at the rate of 20 *nāḻi* of oil *per kāśu*, to meet the requirement of 102 *nāḻi* of oil to the *Chhātras* and *kiḍai* for their oil baths during the 51 Saturdays of the year at 2 *nāḻi* of oil per Saturday and 90 *nāḻi* of oil for lamps to students at 1 *uḻakku* of oil per night and 40 *kalam* of paddy for the repairs to be executed to the Jananātha-maṇḍapa, were provided.

(Ll. 43-45). The expenses for the hospital of Virasōḻan are :—

1 *tūṇi*, 5 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 1 *kuṟuṇi* and 7 *nāḻi* of rice for feeding 15 in-patients at the rate of 1 *nāḻi* each, 3 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy and 8 *kāśu* per day to Savarṇan Kōdaṇḍarāman Aśvatthāma-Bhaṭṭan of Ālappākkam, who had obtained land to be enjoyed by himself and his descendants, for prescribing medicines to the patients lying in the hospital, to the several *nimandak-kāras*, *i.e.*, the persons bound to the temple for supplying daily requirements, and to the teachers and students (*attached to the temple*), 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy per day to one who performed surgical operations, 2 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy and 2 *kāśu* per day to 2 persons, at 1 *kuṟuṇi* and 1 *kāśu* each, that gathered medical herbs, supplied fuel and attended to the preparation of medicines, 1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy and 1 *kāśu* per day to 2 nurses, at 4 *nāḻi* of paddy and ½ *kāśu* each, that attended on the patients and administered medicines, 4 *nāḻi* of paddy per day to one barber who served the patients, teachers and students, were provided.

(L. 46.) The medicines to be stocked in the hospital of Virasōḻan for the year are :—

1 measure of Brāhmyam Kaḍumbāri, ... of . . . . . . exclusive of *karuṅgāy* (nut), 2 measures of Vāsā-haritaki, 1 measure of Daśamūla-haritaki, 1 measure of Bhallātaka-haritaki, 1 measure of Gaṇḍīram, 1 *tūṇi* of Balākēraṇḍa-taila, 1 *tūṇi* of Pañchāka-taila, 1 *tūṇi* of Laśunādyēraṇḍa-taila, 1 *tūṇi* of Uttamakarṇādi-taila, 1 *padakku* of . . . . , 1 *padakku* of Su . . . . . sa-ghṛita, 1 *padakku* of Bilvādi-ghṛita, 2000 Maṇḍū-karavaṭakas, 1 *nāḻi* of Dravatti, 2000 Vimala, 2000 Sunētri, 2000 Tāmrādi, 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *padakku* of Vajrakalpa and 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *padakku* of Kalyāṇa-lavaṇa.

An amount of 40 *kāśu* (*is provided*) for purchasing these, (*procuring the*) medicinal herbs, purchasing . . . . and for 1 *padakku* of bovine ghee required to be kept under the earth annually for Purāṇasarpi.

(L. 48.) (*There had been provided*) 2¼ *kāśu* for purchasing 45 *nāḻi* of oil which was required for a year of 360 days for a lamp, at 1 *uḻakku* per night, to be kept burning during night in the hospital, 15 *kalam* of paddy for 180 days from Paṅguni-Uttiram to Puraṭṭāśi-Tiruvōṇam at 1 *kuruṇi* of paddy per day, to one who brought water and poured it . . to be stocked in front of Jana-nātha-*maṇḍapa* ; 20 *kalam*, [2 *tūṇi*] and 1 *padakku* of paddy for cardamom and artemisia ; 1 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi*, 2 *nāḻi*, 3 *uḻakku* and 3 *śeviḍu* of paddy for the *dakshiṇā* to be paid to one Brahman that performed *puṇyāha* (*i.e.*, purification ceremony) and for betel-leaves and areca-nuts ; and 1 *kāśu* and 7 *mā* for (*purchasing*) 2 *parivaṭṭam* (*cloths*) to be presented on the day of Tiruvōṇam in the month of Puraṭṭāśi to Mādavan Dāmayan of Vayalaikkāvūr and his descendants.

(L. 51.) (*This is the account of expenses*) for the paddy income of 3243 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, 1 *padakku*, 6 *nāḻi*, 1 *uḻakku* and 3 *śevиḍu* and the amount of 216½ *kāśu* and 2 *mā*.

If this (*amount of*) *kāśu* were not available (*owing to any default*), for every *kāśu* (*of default*) there shall be paid gold weighing one quarter by the *Daṇḍanāyaṇi*.

(L. 52.) Thus in accordance with the *nimanda* laid down in the sixth year (*of the king*), it (*i.e.*, the inscription) was engraved so that the stipulated expenses might be met under the supervision of the *chhātras* and teachers. Paśupati Tiruvaraṅgadēvanār *alias* Rājēndra-Mūvēndavēḷār of **Miṉarkuḍi** in **Iḍaiyaḷa-nāḍu**, (*a sub-division*) of **Vijayarājēndra-vaḷanāḍu**, (*which was a district*) of **Chōḷa-maṇḍalam**, the *adhikāri* (officer) who conducted the settlement of this *nāḍu*, having commanded, Iṟaivēṭṭin Kumara-Pāśūrkattan *alias* Virarājēndra-Śembiyadaraiyan of **Ayaṇḍampākkam** in **Āguḍi-nāḍu**, (*a sub-division*) of **Puḻar-kōṭṭam**, (*which was a district*) of **Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḻa-maṇḍalam**, had it engraved. On behalf of Dāmayan Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḻan *alias* Sēnāpati Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḻa-Danmapāla, the son of Dāmaya who made this charity, the former's younger brother Dāma . . . . . *alias* Sēnāpati Virarājēndra-Danmapāla, Taḻuvakku-ḻaindān *alias* Abhimānamēru Brahmamārāyan, the son of the Brahman Māṅgaḷūr Namaśśivāya-dēva of . . . . [-cha]turvēdimaṅgalam in . . . . -nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Puḻar-kōṭṭam of Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḻa-maṇḍalam, had (*the order*) engraved on stone. This charity shall be under the protection of (*the members*) of the great assembly (*mahāsabhā*) of Śrī-Madurāntaka-chaturvēdi- maṅgalam Prosperity.

No. 39.—KALAWAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 134.

BY STEN KONOW.

Kalawān is the name of a site near ancient Takshaśilā where Sir John Marshall has been conducting excavations during the winter 1931-32. It is situated about three miles to the south-east of Sirkap, on one of the many flat-topped eminences jutting out on the north side of the Margalla hills.

Sir John there found remains of a monastery and a *stūpa*-chapel with Gandhāra sculptures in good style.

The *stūpa* was eight-sided and stood in the eight-sided apse of the chapel, which was originally roofed over, like the apsidal chapels at the Chir Tope and in Sirkap, but its plan differs somewhat from the ordinary apsidal temples.

Under the foundations of the *stūpa* was found a **copper-plate,** which can confidently be stated to have been deposited at the time of its erection. It proved to contain a **Kharōshṭhī** inscription in five lines, and Sir John has, with his usual skill, succeeded in cleaning it, so that every detail is clearly visible in the excellent photographs which he was good enough to give me when I met him in London in May, 1932[1].

The inscription is of considerable importance, and Sir John therefore allowed me to publish a preliminary account in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1932, pp. 949 and ff.

The **letters** are of the same kind and type as in the Taxila silver scroll of the year 136. They consist of dots punched into the plate, and the execution is comparatively careful. There is, however, a superfluous dot in the upper right-hand corner of *thu*, the last *akshara* of l. 2, and, on the other hand, the loop denoting ante-consonantic *r* is incomplete in *sarvasti*, l. 4, only three dots having been punched in, while the wrong subscript *v* in *-svatvaṇa* instead of *-satvaṇa*, l. 5, may be due to a slip in the original draft.

The **alphabet** is Kharōshṭhī, of the same type as in the silver scroll, cf. *inter alia* the short projection of the vertical bar of *sa*. Of individual characters we may note the rare *akshara chha* in *Chhaḍaśilae*, l. 2, the very distinct *tsa* in *saṁvatsaraye*, l. 1, and the superscript line which we know from the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript and the Kharōshṭhī documents from Central Asia, and which is also found above *sha* in the word *tasha*, Skr. *trishṇā*, in the Kurram casket inscription, while the Kanhiāra record uses a dot in the word *Krishayasa*, Skr. *Krishṇayaśas*. In the *Corpus* I have rendered this line or dot with a dash, writing *tash'a*, *Krish'ayasa*, respectively. In our inscription the line occurs in the word *sh'ushachi*, Skr. *snushakābhyām*. Professor Rapson has shown[2] that *sha* with the superscribed line stands for *shṇa* in Central Asian documents, and it is possible that the *ṇ* was actually sounded. I shall therefore write *shṇushachi*, but I am by no means certain that this writing is a correct rendering of the sound.

Of **numerical symbols** we find those for 1, 3, 4, 10, 20 and 100.

With regard to the **shape of individual letters**, it will be seen that the bottom of *ha* is angular in *graha*, *gaha*, l. 2; *putrchi*, l. 3; *shṇushachi*, l. 4; *hotu*, l. 5, but rounded in *graha*, l. 3. We may further note the upward bend of the bottom of *ta* in the compounds *tva*, l. 5, and *tsa*, l. 1; cf. the *tva* of the silver scroll and the *tsa* of the Patika, Pāja, and Sue Vihār inscriptions. The post-consonantic *r* is usually more or less rounded; cf. *gra*, ll. 2, 3; *tra*, ll. 1, 3; *dra*, ll. 2, 4; *dhra*, ll. 2, 4; *pra*, ll. 2, 5; *śra*, l. 1. It is, however, angular in *gra*, l. 5; *bhra*, l. 3. Ante-conso-

[1] [Sir John Marshall while sending me the photographs for preparing the facsimile tells me that the copper-plate measures 8·85 by 2·63 inches and weighs 879 grains.—Ed.]

[2] *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, p. 321.



nantic *r* is denoted by a loop in *sarva*, l. 5, while the incomplete akshara in *sa(r)va*, l. 4, is more like the old form, with a curved cross-bar instead of the loop.

The *anusvāra* is noted in the usual way in *saṁvatśaraye*, *Chaṁdrabhi*, l. 1; *Naṁdivaḍhanaṁ*, l. 3; *Jīvanaṁdaṁ*, l. 4, but omitted in *bhue*, l. 4. A redundant *anusvāra* is found in *Dhraṁmasa*, l. 2, while l. 4 has *Dhramae*.

The **language** is the North-Western Prakrit which we know from other **Kharōshṭhī** inscriptions and from the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript. The **phonetical system** is broadly the same. The vowel *ṛi* is represented by *ra* in *grahavati*, Skr. *gṛihapati*, ll. 2, 3, but by *a* in *gahathubami*, Skr. *gṛihastūpe*, l. 2. Intervocalic *k* has disappeared in *uasia*, Skr. *upāsikā*, l. 1; *shpushahi*, Skr. *snushakābhyām*, l. 4, and *pratiae*, Skr. *prāptikāyai*, l. 5, but is represented by *y* in *saṁvatśaraye*, Skr. *saṁvatsarakē*, l. 1. Intervocalic *g* appears as *k*, *i.e.*, probably a voiced guttural fricative, in *-sikamo*, Skr. *-sugamam*, l. 5. Instead of *-ch-* we find *y* in *ayariena*, l. 4, and, similarly, also twice *ya* for the enclitic *cha*, l. 4, but *cha*, l. 3. If *Saita* represents Skr. *Sachitta* this *ya* has regularly disappeared before *i*. Intervocalic *ja* becomes *ya* in *puyae*, Skr. *pūjāyai*; *puyaita*, Skr. *pūjayitvā*, l. 5, but remains in the name *Raja*, l. 4, which I cannot explain. In *apaśa*, l. 1, *ś* denotes the voiced *s*, *i.e.*, *z*. Intervocalic *t* is usually preserved, but was probably pronounced as *d*; cf. *grahavati*, Skr. *gṛihapati*, ll. 2, 3; *dhita*, Skr. *duhitā*, l. 2; *dhituga*, Skr. *duhitrā*, l. 3; *hotu*, Skr. *bhavatu*, l. 5, but *bhradaga*, Skr. *bhrātrā*, l. 3. In the unaccented prefix *prati* it has been dropped, evidently in consequence of the absence of stress, in *praitavati*, Skr. *pratishṭhāpayati*, l. 2; cf. *prathaveti* in the Taxila gold plate; *prathavide* in the Jamālgaṛhi inscription. Intervocalic *d* disappears, probably after having become a fricative, in *sarvastivaana*, Skr. *sarvāstivādānām*, l. 4. Intervocalic *p* regularly appears as *v*, which is dropped after *u*; cf. *uasia*, Skr. *upāsikā*, l. 1; *grahavati*, Skr. *gṛihapati*, ll. 2, 3, but becomes *b* as in some other Kharōshṭhī records in *thuba*, Skr. *stūpa*, l. 2. As in the silver scroll, the dental *n* has throughout been replaced by *ṇ*. The compound *ry* becomes *ria* in *ayariena*, Skr. *āchāryeṇa*, l. 4, and *y* in *bhaya*, Skr. *bhāryā*, l. 2. The same double treatment is also found in other Kharōshṭhī records. Similarly we have *ṇirvaṇa* for Skr. *nirvāṇa*, l. 5, but *sarva*, ll. 4, 5, as in the silver scroll. The transposition of *r* in *Dhrama*, Skr. *Dharma*, ll. 2, 4, is also known from other sources, but has not been met with in other Kharōshṭhī inscriptions. New is also the assimilation of *s*(*n*) to the ensuing *sh* in *shpushahi*, Skr. *snushakābhyām*, l. 4.

Of **inflexional forms** I shall only mention the peculiar instrumentals fem. *dhituga*, Skr. *duhitrā*, l. 3, and *shpushahi*, Skr. *snushakābhyām*, l. 4. They seem to be coined after the pattern of masculine nouns, but we have no right to characterize them as simple mistakes. They were evidently used in the dialect, and Pischel's valuation of the stray Prakrit examples of fem. instr. plur. in *ehi*[1] should be modified.

After the date, with which I shall deal below, the inscription goes on to record that the female worshipper (*upāsikā*) **Chaṁdrabhi** (Skr. *Chandrābhā*), the daughter of the householder (*gṛihapati*) **Dhraṁma** (Skr. *Dharma*), the wife of **Bhadravala** (Skr. Bhadrapāla) puts up relics in the 'house-*stūpa*' (*gṛihastūpa*) at **Chhaḍaśila**.

The term *gahathuba* (Skr. *gṛihastūpa*) is new, but evidently means a *stūpa* standing in a *griha*, *i.e.*, a roofed building. For we have already seen that our *stūpa* was situated within a chapel that had been roofed over.

Chhaḍaśila, on the other hand, must be the name of the district, or of an old village or town in the immediate vicinity of the monastery to which our *stūpa* belonged. It cannot well be a synonym of Takshaśilā, though the last part of the two names, *śilā*, is evidently the same. For, in the first place, the new site does not seem to belong to ancient Takshaśilā. Chhaḍaśilā

[1] *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, § 376.

is designated as *raṭhanikama*, Skr. *rāshṭranigama*, which seems to mean a country-town or market town, and can hardly denote the capital.

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[1] Takshaśilā was founded by Bharata as the residence of his son Taksha; but Buddhist sources show that the first part of the name was felt to be derived from the base *taksh*, to chop, cut off. According to the 22nd *avadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna* the town was formerly called Bhadraśilā, and in one of his *jātis* the Buddha was born as Chandraprabha, king of Bhadraśilā, and as such cut off his own head and gave it to a needy Brāhmaṇ. In the Aramaic inscription found at Taxila the name has been translated with *naggārūṯā*, *i.e.*, according to the late Professor Andreas,[2] "carpenter's craft," as if the real form were *Takshaśila*. *A priori* it is quite possible that *Takshaśilā* means "carpenter's rock", or "chop rock", "a detached rock". And the new name *Chhaḍaśilā* seems to support the latter explanation. For its first part, *chhaḍa*, can very well correspond to Sanskrit *chhaṭā*, mass, lump, a continuous streak. The Margalla hills, on which Chhaḍaśilā was situated, form a continuous range, while the Takshaśilā ridge consists of several more or less detached hills. Chhaḍaśilā can accordingly mean a place situated on a massy ridge, and Takshaśilā a town on or below a detached hill. The name occurs as *Ch'a-t'o-she-lo* in v. 33 of Saṅghavarman's Chinese translation of the Mahāmāyūrī (A.D. 516), which Professor Lévi[3] wants to restore as *Chhardaśaila*.

In establishing the relics Chandrabhī was associated with her brother Nandivardhana, her sons Śama and Saita (*i.e.*, perhaps Sanskrit *Sachitta*), her daughter Dharmā, her daughters-in-law Rajā and Indrā, her grandson Jīvanandin, and her teacher. We may note that Dharma's granddaughter was called Dharmā, and that the element *nandin* is found both in the name of Nandivardhana and in that of his sister's grandson Jīvanandin.

The text has, in l. 4, *ayariena ya*, which can only mean 'and (*with*) her *āchārya*'. It is, however, possible that the original draft had *ayariaṇa sarvastivaṇa parigrahe*, in the acceptance of the Sarvāstivāda teachers; cf. *acharyana sarvastivadana parigrahaṁmi* on the Kurram, and *acharyana sarvastivatina pratigrahe* on the Kanishka casket. But also the Lion Capital has *sarvasti-vat(r)ana parigrahe*, without *ayariana*, and the text as it stands gives good sense.

The final portion of the record contains a blessing on the *raṭhanikama*, Sanskrit *rāshṭranigama*, evidently Chhaḍaśilā, and on all beings, terminating in the wish for Nirvāṇa, as in the silver scroll.

The inscription is **dated** *saṁvatśaraye 134 ajasa Sravaṇasa masasa divase treviśe*—23, in the year 134 . . . on the twenty-third—23, day of the month Śrāvaṇa, *i.e.*, it is about two years older than the silver scroll of the year 136, for the shape of the letters clearly shows that the same era is used in both records.

The **crucial word** in this date is the genitive *ajasa* preceding the name of the month, and it is clear that this *ajasa* is identical with the genitive *ayasa* preceding *ashaḍasa* in the silver scroll.

In my edition of the latter in the *Corpus*, I have discussed the various explanations given of this word, and proposed to explain it as corresponding to Sanskrit *ādyasya* and as characterizing the month as the "first" Āshāḍha because there was, in that particular year, a second, intercalary, Āshāḍha. This being the only inscription of the older series of Kharoshṭhī records containing any clue to a scientific calculation of the era, I sought the co-operation of the well-known Dutch scholar Dr. van Wijk, who was good enough to investigate the matter, whereafter I made his calculations the basis of the chronological system proposed as a working hypothesis in the introduction.

[1] VII, 101, 10 f., cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, xv, 89.

[2] *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, 1931, p. 13.

[3] J. A., XI, v, 1915, p. 30.

The chief importance of the Kalawān epigraph is that it enables us to test this explanation and other attempts at translating the crucial word.

If my explanation were right, we should have to assume that there was an intercalated Śrāvaṇa in the year 134 and an intercalated Āshāḍha in the year 136, and this double indication would make it possible to arrive at almost certain results with regard to the epoch of the era, if the system of the *Siddhāntas* had already come into being.

Dr. van Wijk has again been good enough to come to my assistance. He has pointed out that such a state of things is impossible, unless we were to assume that the year 134 were reckoned as current and 136 as elapsed, so that the interval between the two dates could be about three years. It seems to me that we have no right to make such an assumption.

In such circumstances it becomes necessary to admit that my attempt at arriving at a dating of the older series of Kharōshṭhī records through astronomical calculations was a failure, and the meaning of the word *ayasa*, *ajasa* remains just as doubtful as when the Taxila silver scroll was discovered.

The Kalawān inscription helps us, however, to eliminate certain possibilities. Since the consonant of the base word *aya*, *aja* can be written both *y* and *j*, it cannot correspond to Sanskrit *y* or *ry*, because -*y*- remains as *y* or is dropped, and *ry* appears as *ry*, *riy*, or, occasionally, as *y* in the North-Western Prakrit.[1] We cannot, therefore, think of *ayasya*, an irregular genitive of the pronominal base in *ayam*, this, or of *āryasya*.

It is also impossible to derive the word from *ādya*, belonging to to-day (*adya*). It is conceivable that *ādya*, first, might become *āja* and further *āya*, because the connected words *ādi* and *ādika* would tend to preserve the long *ā* and prevent the regular change of *ādya* to *ajja*. But no such counteracting influence would be at work in the case of *ādya* from *adya*. Even the development of *ādya*, first, to *āja*, and further to *āya*, is *a priori* very doubtful. And now that we know that there cannot be any question of a " first " Śrāvaṇa or Āshāḍha, as opposed to a " second ", intercalated one, the explanation becomes extremely unlikely, the more so because no reasonable sense can be made out of such an addition.

The use of *j* side by side with *y* in one and the same word seems to show that we have to do either with an old single intervocalic *j* or with a voiced *s*-sound, a *z*. In other words, *ayasa*, *ajasa* must be the genitive of *aja* (*āja*) or *asa* (*āsa*). I am unable to find any possible word *aja*, *āja* which could suit the case, and, so far as I can see, we must return to the explanation originally proposed by Sir John Marshall,[2] that *ayasa*, *ajasa* means " of Azes," the double writing *aya*, *aja* being parallel to the doublets *kuyula*, *kujula* of the name of the first Kadphises king.

Sir John took the word *ayasa* in the silver scroll to characterize the era used in the record as instituted by Azes. " The absence of any titles attached to the name of Azes," he said, " is exceptional, but will hardly occasion surprise when it is borne in mind that his era had been in use for more than a century, and that his dynasty had been supplanted by that of the Kushans." Professor Rapson[3] took the same view, and added that " Azes could scarcely have been furnished with his wonted title, ' Great King of Kings ' in this inscription without prejudice to the house then actually reigning ".

The late Dr. Fleet[4] has, so far as I can see, definitely proved that the addition *ayasa* cannot be explained in this way : " From the vast mass of inscriptional material which is now available I cannot quote a single record in which the name of a real king (I mean, of course, excluding

[1] cf. *Corpus*, pp. cv. cviii.
[2] *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 973 ff.
[3] *The Cambridge History of India*, i, p. 582.
[4] *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 997, 995.

the fictitious Vikramâditya and Śâlivâhana), whether living or dead at the time of the record—or even of any official—is mentioned in such a connection without some title or another. And for this reason, if for no other, I am of opinion that the word *ayasa* does not give a proper name." "Even if the word *ayasa* stood before the statement of the years, so that the translation would actually be '(in) the year 136 of Aya,' this record would still, on the analogy of every known early Indian record, place Aya in the year 136 of some era not founded by him."

If therefore the word *ayasa*, *ajasa* in the silver scroll and the Kalawān records means "of Azes," as I believe it does, it must be explained in a different way, and I believe that a clue can be found in another Taxila inscription.

During the excavations at Sirkap in the winter 1926-27, Sir John Marshall found a worn silver vase of duck shape, bearing a Kharōshṭhī inscription round the neck. Photographs and impressions were sent to me after the manuscript of my edition of Kharōshṭhī inscriptions in the *Corpus* had been sent to press, and I could not do more than give a short account of the record.[1] In my reading it begins *ka 191*, and I was not able to give a satisfactory account of the initial *ka*.

In his review of my edition[2] Professor Thomas proposed to read *saka 191*, because "we seem to detect before the *ka* a sign which presents a great resemblance to *sa*." Mr. Hargreaves was good enough to ask his deputy, Mr. Dikshit, to make a careful examination of the original, and he reported that no trace of any letter can be found. A plaster cast was prepared for my use, and this cast shows distinct traces of a *sa*, in the same way as the photograph reproduced on Plate XVI d of the *Corpus*, and I have no doubt that here mechanical reproductions are more reliable than our eye, and that we must actually read *saka 191*.

Professor Thomas is certainly right in maintaining that *saka 191* is a clear reference to an era designated as a Saka institution, and if we substitute the fuller form *saṁvatśaraye 191 sakasa*, in the year 191 of Saka, we would have an exact parallel to *saṁvatśaraye 134 ajasa*.

Saka in the silver vase inscription is not the name of an individual ruler, but a dynastic designation, characterizing the era as connected with Saka rule, and the parallelism points to the conclusion that *ayasa*, *ajasa* should be explained in a similar way. The word has been added in order to show that the era was different from another reckoning, that connected with Saka rule, and itself introduced or adopted by another, non-Saka, dynasty.

The successors of the Sakas in Taxila were the Pahlavas, and among them the Azes kings must have been better known than the rest. The Azes coins are more numerous than all other coins found at the ancient site, and they seem to have been "struck and restruck for the best part of a hundred years," as Sir John Marshall has been good enough to tell me. To the Takshaśilā people, therefore, the name of Azes would naturally be well known, and become almost tantamount to a designation of the whole dynasty, especially after the Pahlavas had been ousted by the Kushāṇas. If it was found necessary to characterize the era used under Parthian rule, it would therefore be natural to do so by adding the word "of Azes", without thinking of any individual king, but only of the late dynasty: "in the year so-and-so, Azes style".

If this explanation is right, it follows that the addition *ayasa*, *ajasa*, does not characterize the era as instituted by Azes, but simply as connected with Parthian rulers. And as a matter of fact there are no indications to show that the Parthians introduced an era of their own, or any feature in the dates of records issued under Parthian rule which makes us think of the era as Parthian.

The Parthians brought Greek institutions and notions with them, and in a Parthian era we should expect to find traces of the Greek calendar. It is, however, noteworthy that in India

[1] *Corpus*, pp. 81 f.

[2] *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p. 4.

the Macedonian month-names have only been traced in records connected with the Sakas and the Kanishka dynasty, and in no inscription of the Parthian period.

We have, on the other hand, an Indian tradition to the effect that an Indian era, the so-called Vikrama era, was instituted by an Indian king of the name or *biruda* Vikramāditya, to commemorate his victory over the Sakas in Mālava, and I am unable to see why it should not be accepted. The Vikrama era would, in other words, start from the overthrow of Saka rule in Central India.

This event would naturally lead to a Saka exodus, and if the Sakas subsequently invaded Mathurā, it would be natural for them in later times to start their chronology from the time when they became masters there, in which case their reckoning must coincide with the new national Indian era which was gradually established in Mālava. And this era would have great chances of being adopted by the Parthian rulers, who supplanted the Sakas in the north-west, just as Vikramāditya had done in Mālava.

The Taxila silver vase inscription of the year [*sa*]*ko* 191 shows, it is true, that an older, Saka, era remained in use, also during the Parthian period. For Jihoṇika-Zeionises, during whose reign the vase was manufactured, belongs to that period. It is even probable that he was himself a Parthian and not a Saka, if the last part of his father's name Maniguls is Iranian *carda*, for Iranian *s* does not seem to become *g* in old Saka. But the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103 shows that the other reckoning was soon introduced side by side with the old one, and, to judge from other records, such as the Panjtār and the Taxila silver-scroll inscriptions, it gradually became the usual one.

It might be objected that the Parthians would, *a priori*, be more likely to adopt a Saka than an Indian era. For they were foreign invaders, of Iranian stock, just as the Sakas. And it has often been maintained that they were so closely associated with the Sakas that the two can hardly be distinguished.

I have never been able to accept that view. We know that Sakas and Parthians had constantly been at war with each other before any of them founded an Indian empire. The Sakas were hardly pressed by Mithradates I. They reasserted themselves under his successors, but were again reduced by Mithradates II. And shortly afterwards Parthian rulers replaced the Sakas in north-western India.

These Parthian rulers came to north-western India at a time when the Sakas of the Parthian kingdom had been brought to subjection. The conquest of the Saka realm in India was a consequence of the supremacy they had already acquired, and there was no occasion for commemorating it by establishing a new era. The old Saka era therefore continued to be used. But at about the same time, or probably a little later than Azes' accession, the new reckoning, which coincided with the national Indian Vikrama era, gradually spread northwards and westwards, also to Parthian India.

Sakas of course continued to live in India under Parthian rule. But we have no indications to show that they identified themselves with the Parthians. When later on the Kushāṇas entered on the stage, they took up again the Saka tradition, and they were probably themselves Sakas. Their conquest, beginning with an attack on the Parthians and culminating in the sack of Sirkap, shows that they did not look on the Parthians as their associates and kinsmen. But just because the era current under Parthian rule was not a Parthian institution, it was left alone under the new rulers.

So far as I can see, we must therefore refer the dates not only of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103, but also of the Panjtār record of the year 122, the Kalawān plate of the year 134, and the Taxila scroll of the year 136 to the Vikrama era, and if we reckon with elapsed Kārttikādi years, these dates would then roughly correspond to A.D. 46, 65, 77 and 79, respectively

With regard to the reckoning used in the Jihoṇika inscription, it is evident that it is the same as that of the Patika plate, and it is probable that also some other records should be referred to it.

Such is the case with the Maira well inscription of the year 58, if it actually contains the name Moa, *i.e.* Moga; with the Mānsehrā inscription, which seems to be dated in the year 68, and which mentions a certain Lia, who may have something to do with the Kshatrapa Liaka of the Patika plate; with the Shahdaur inscription of the *rājan* Damijada, whose name reminds us of that of the Western Kshatrapa Dāmayasada, and perhaps with the Fatehjang, Loriyān Tangai, Jamālgaṛhī, Hashtnagar, and Skārah Ḍherī inscriptions of the years 68, 318, 359, 384 and 399, respectively.

With regard to the epoch of this old Saka era, various dates have been suggested. Sir John Marshall,[1] once thought of ca. 95 B.C., but is now inclined to go back to the middle of the second century; the late Mr. Banerji[2] suggested ca. 100 B.C., Mr. Jayaswal[3] ca. 123, and Professor Rapson[4] ca. 150. It seems to me that the last mentioned scholar cannot have been far from being right.

The Jihoṇika inscription was found on a silver vase, which was much worn when it was buried at the sack of Sirkap. It may have been about twenty-five years old at that date. The Kushāṇa conquest of Takshaśilā, which led to the destruction of Sirkap, can roughly be dated ca. A.D. 65. At the time of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103, *i.e.* A. D. 46, the ruler was the Parthian Gondophernes. And we know that other Parthian rulers intervened between him and the Kushāṇas. Moreover, I cannot accept Professor Rapson's[5] criticism of my reading and interpretation of l. 5 of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription *erjhuṇa Kapasa puyae*, in honour of Prince Kapa, *i.e.* Kujūla Kadphises. On the stone I could not see traces of letters between *Kapa* and *sa*. If I am right, Kujūla's career of conquest had not begun in A. D. 46. At the time of the Panjtār inscription of the year 122, *i.e.*, A. D. 65, on the other hand, the Kushāṇa power had become established, and at the date of the silver-scroll inscription of the year 136, *i.e.* A. D. 79, the sack of Sirkap seems to have been an event of the past. If we assume that the Jihoṇika vase was made about A. D. 40, the epoch of the era would be 191—40, *i.e.* about 150 B.C.

In that case the Patika plate would be dated in the year 150—78, *i.e.* about 72 B.C. Patika was then evidently a young man, without any official position or title.[6] If he were then about twenty years old and about sixty-five when he appears as Mahākshatrapa on the Lion Capital, the date of the latter would be about 25 B.C. At that time there was another Mahākshatrapa in Mathurā, *viz.* Rājula, who had a son, the Kshatrapa Soḍāsa. The latter may have been about twenty-five years old, and it would be reasonable to assume that he was about sixty-five at the time when he appears as Mahākshatrapa in the Āmohinī tablet of the Vikrama year 72,[7] *i.e.* A. D. 15. Such calculations are, of course, not decisive. But they raise a certain presumption in favour of an epoch about 150 B. C.

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[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, p. 986.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 1908, p. 67.

[3] *J. B. O. R. S.*, xvi, p. 240.

[4] *The Cambridge History of India*, i, p. 570.

[5] *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, p. 189.

[6] As seen by Professor Thomas, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p. 6, the final sentence of the plate must be read as *mahadanapati Patika saha uvajhaa[na] Rohiṇimitrena ya ima[mi] saṃgharame navakamika*, 'the great gift-lord Patika together with the *upādhyāya* Rohiṇimitra, who is overseer of works in this Saṃghārāma.' There is, accordingly, no mention of the title *jaüva* as proposed by me, *Corpus*, p. xviii f.

[7] I cannot agree with Professor Rapson, *Acta Orientalia*, xi, pp. 260 ff., that the St. Andrew's cross symbol in the tablet stands for 40. It seems to me that Professor Lüders, *Acta Orientalia*, x, pp. 118 ff., has proved that it must be read as 70. The manuscript fragments where the symbol is used in that way came from North-Western India, and I do not quite understand Professor Rapson when he says that they are "somewhat distantly removed in place, if not in time, from the Mathurā inscriptions."

And it would seem to be quite intelligible if the Sakas had introduced an era of their own about that time. We know from Chinese sources that their southward march and invasion of Ki-pin coincided with the Yüe-chi conquest of the Ta-hia country, which is stated to have been effected ca. 160 B. C. The Sakas must then have come into contact with the Greek and with the Parthians, whose King Mithradates I (ca. 171-138 B. C.) is stated to have extended his empire to the Indus and to have brought force to bear on the Scythians. This would naturally lead to the Sakas trying to consolidate their power and to their introducing an era of their own, in imitation of the Greek, who used the Seleucidan era. Under Mithradates' successors they were more than able to hold their own, until Mithradates II (123-88 B. C.) succeeded in establishing his suzerainty over them.

The pressure thus exercised on the Sakas seems to have led to their invasion of the Indus country.[1] In the Saka year 58, i.e. about 92 B.C., we apparently find the Saka king Moga mentioned in the Maira well inscription, and ten years later perhaps a Saka chief Liā in Mānsehrā, while Moga again appears in the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78, i.e. about 72 B.C. How long he remained in power, we do not know, but he seems to have had a fairly long reign.

The Saka empire, however, soon broke up. In Mālava it was, according to an Indian tradition, brought to an end by an Indian ruler, known as Vikramāditya, and in the North-West we soon find the Parthian ruler Azes, who may have risen to power about the middle of the first century B.C.

The Kushāṇas, who made an end to the empire founded by Azes, are known to us from Chinese sources. We there learn about their gradual rise to power. At first we hear about them as forming a principality, Kuei-shuang, near or within the Ta-hia country conquered by the Great Yüe-chi.

We are told about five such principalities, each under a *hi-hou*, *viz.* Hiu-mi, the present Wakhān; Shuang-mi, the present Chitrāl; Kuei-shuang, apparently immediately to the north of Gandhāra, or Gandhāra itself; Hi-tun, the present Parwān on the Panjshir, and Kao-fu, *i.e.* Kābul.[2] The *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, K'iu-tsiu-k'io (Kujūla Kadphises), attacked the four other *hi-hou* and styled himself king, the name of his kingdom being Kuei-shuang (*i.e.* he assumed the title "Kushāṇa-king"). He further invaded An-si (*i.e.* the neighbouring Parthian realm) and seized Kao-fu. Moreover he triumphed over P'u-ta (unidentified)[3] and Ki-pin and entirely possessed those kingdoms. He died more than eighty years old. His son Yen-kao-chen (*i.e.* Wima Kadphises) became king in his stead. He again (anew) extinguished (conquered) T'ien-chu (*i.e.* the Indus country) and appointed a general there for the administration.

We are distinctly told that these events belong to the period Kien-wu (A. D. 25-55) and later, and that they had been related by Pan-yung at the end of the reign of the emperor Ngan (A. D. 107-125).[4] Kujūla Kadphises cannot, therefore, have started on his career before A. D. 25, and the whole development narrated in the *Annals*, including Wima Kadphises' reconquest of T'ien-chu, had been concluded in A.D. 125.

[1] Otherwise Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India*, i, p. 583.

[2] *Cf.* Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 242 ff. According to the Hou Han-shu Kao-fu should be replaced by Tu-mi.

[3] The T'ang pronunciation of the name was, according to Karlgren, Nos. 760 and 950 Bak-dāt. Ten miles east of Kābul we find the small village Butkhāk, at the place where the two routes to Kābul from the east meet. It is mentioned by Baber, transl. by John Leyden and William Erskine II, p. 130, and the name is said to mean "idol-dust," with reference to the legend that Mahmud of Ghazni here broke up the idols he brought from Hindustan. That sounds like a popular etymology, and if the place is old, Butkhāk might be a corruption of an old Bukdāt. But it is more likely that P'u-ta was some part of Arachosia.

[4] *Cf.* Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, II, viii, p. 188.

KALAWAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 134.

SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE

HIRANANDA SASTRI.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA

The Kalawān inscription has, as we have seen, shown that the era used in the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions connected with these events must be the so-called Vikrama era. We can, accordingly, state that Kujūla Kadphises' attack on An-si and conquest of Kao-fu cannot be placed before some time after A. D. 46, because then Gondophernes, who was not the last Parthian king, was still ruling.[1] Less than twenty years later, in the year 122, *i.e.* A. D. 65, we find a *maharaya Gushaṇa*, a title which recalls the Hou Han-shu statement about Kujūla Kadphises styling himself Kushāṇa King, mentioned in the Panjtār inscription. If this ruler was, as some scholars think, Wima Kadphises, we should have to draw the inference that his father, who was more than eighty years old at his death, was no more alive, and that he had, consequently, achieved his chief result, the victory over the Parthians, when he was a septuagenarian. That is, so far as I can see, an impossibility, and the chronology which the new inscription allows us to draw up seems to clear up the disputed question about the identity of the Kushāṇa ruler mentioned in the Panjtār and silver-scroll records. He can only be identified with Kujūla Kadphises. And if he was still alive in A. D. 79, Kanishka, the successor, or one of the successors, of his son Wima Kadphises, cannot have founded the historical Śaka era.

The Kalawān inscription is also of importance for the chronology of Gandhāra art. The sculptures found in the chapel, which cannot be older than A. D. 77, are stated to be of good style, and it is not *a priori* likely that they are older than the chapel itself. We can, accordingly, in this case approximately date some specimens of good Gandhāra art. If the Loriyān Tangai, Hashtnagar and Skārah Ḍherī image inscriptions of the years 318, 384 and 399, are referred to the old Śaka era and roughly correspond to A. D. 168, 234 and 249 A. D., respectively, we should be able to survey the development of Gandhāra sculpture for more than 150 years. The Mamāna Ḍherī pedestal of the Kanishka year 89 would then be only slightly older than the Hashtnagar image, because it seems impossible, in view of the chronological result indicated above, to assume an earlier epoch of the Kanishka era than towards A. D. 130.

TEXT.

(L. 1). Saṁvatśaraye 1 100 20 10 4 ajasa śravaṇasa masasa divase treviśe 20 1 1 1 imeṇa kshuṇeṇa Chaṁdrabhi uasia (l. 2) Dhramasa grahavatisa dhita Bhadravalasa bhaya Chhaḍaśilae śarira praitstaveti gahathu- (l. 3) bami sadha bhraduṇa Naṁdivadhaṇeṇa grahavatiṇa sadha putrehi Śameṇa Saiteṇa cha dhituṇa cha (l. 4) Dhramae sadha shṇushahi Rajae Idrae ya sadha Jivaṇaṁdiṇa Śamaputreṇa ayarieṇa ya sa[r]vasti- (l. 5) vaaṇa parigrahe raṭhanikamo puyaita sarvas(v)atvaṇa puyae ṇivaṇasa pratiae hotu.

TRANSLATION.

In the year 134 of Azes, on the twenty-third—23. day of the month Śrāvaṇa, at this term the female worshipper (*upāsikā*) Chandrābhī, daughter of the householder (*grihapati*) Dharma, wife of Bhadrapāla, establishes relics in Chhaḍaśila, in the chapel-*stūpa*, together with her brother, the householder Nandivardhana, with her sons Śama and Sachitta and her daughter Dharmā, with her daughters-in-law Rajā and Indra, with Jīvanandin, the son of Śama, and the teacher, in acceptance of the Sarvāstivādas, having venerated the country-town, for the veneration of all beings; may it be for the obtainment of Nirvāṇa.

[1] That does not, however, preclude that Kābul might already have been associated with the Kushāṇas at an earlier stage, before the attack on the Parthians. Such a previous connection may be reflected in the Kujūla-Hermaeus coins and in the notices in the older Han *Annals* about Kao-fu being one of the five Ta-hia principalities. But the Parthian conquest of Kābul made an end to that state of things.

No. 40.—KOLAGALLU INSCRIPTION OF KHOTTIGA ; SAKA 889.

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

The stone which bears this inscription[1] was found at **Koḷagallu**, which is a railway station on the Guntakal-Hubli section of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. A very brief note on its contents has appeared in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, for the year 1913-14.[2] This is the earliest record of the **Rāshṭrakūṭa king Khoṭṭiga** so far discovered and I edit it below from the estampages kindly placed at my disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is written in ordinary **Sanskrit** and in **Nāgari** characters closely resembling those of the Dēōli[3] and the Karhāḍ[4] plates of Kṛishṇa III. The average size of the letters varies from ⅝" to 1". The *ē* sign is written in two ways—(1) by a slanting stroke at the top of the letter and (2) by a stroke beginning at the top of the letter and running down to its bottom on the left side. With the exception of lines 1 to 3, which give the date, the whole of the record is in verse. It may be remarked here that the syntax of verse 5 is faulty. The word *kāmayashṭyāsanē* stands by itself without any connection with the rest of the verse and the verse has no predicate. The form *ṛik-sāmaiḥ* (l. 29) is grammatically wrong. The rules of *sandhi* are not observed in *purushō kumārē* (l. 31) and *grāmē abhishiktaḥ* (l. 33). Apparently this is due to the requirements of the metre. The scanning of the first *pāda* of verse 21 is not in conformity with the rules of prosody for it has one syllable in excess of the actual number required. The text of the inscription contains some technical expressions like *daṇḍāsana* and *lōhāsana* (l. 35), the exact import of which is not quite clear. Neither *lōhāsana* nor *daṇḍāsana* finds place in the verse which enumerates the five yōgic *āsanas*,[5] viz.,

पद्मासनं स्वस्तिकाख्यं भद्रं वज्रासनं तथा ।
वीरासनमिति प्रोक्तं क्रमादासनपञ्चकम् ॥

The word *Kapardin* which generally means Śiva is here possibly used for Kārttikēya. Verse 18 would show that this epithet was applied to the sage Gadādhara also. In respect of **orthography**,[6] the following points may be noted : (1) A superfluous *anusvāra* is sometimes used before double *s* or before *s* followed by a consonant (*e.g.*, *tasmiṁn-ādhipatyaṁ* in l. 20, *vidvāṁsa* in l. 38, *kāṁsy-ēva* in l. 42, *anaṁnyāśritā* in l. 50 and *sāmānyō* in l. 68) ; (2) the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *saraṇyē* (l. 23) ; (3) the letter *v* is used in place of *b* in *Avala* (l. 72) and *vrahmachāribhiḥ* (l. 79) ; (4) the consonant *ri* is used for the vowel *ṛi* as in *rik-sāmair* (l. 29) and *rice* ... ; (4) the consonant *ri* is used for the vowel *ṛi* as in *anaṁnyāśritā* (l. 50) and *dēvapriya* (l. 52) ; (5) the letter *sh* is used for the *jihvāmūlīya* as in ... as well as for the *upadhmānīya* as is seen in *mallash-kuruta* (l. 63), *prītash-kapardinaḥ* (l. 77), *chakshush-Purushō* (l. 31) and *vāpyash-Pūrvati* (l. 55) ; (6) the corrupt or Prakrit form *samvachhara* is used instead of *samvatsara* in lines 1 and 2.

The record is dated **Śaka 889 expired, the year Kshaya, Sunday, the Sixth** (*tithi*) **of the bright half of Phālguna**, when king Kṛishṇa had died and Khoṭṭigadēva was ruling. This Khoṭṭiga is no other than the homonymous Rāshṭrakūṭa king of Mālkhēḍ, the half brother and successor of **Krishna III.**

The **object** of the inscription is to record the installation of the images of Kārttikēya and other gods at the village of **Kolagala** by the *Brahmachārin* **Gadādhara**. Verses 2 to 8 glorify

[1] No. 236 of 1913 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[2] Part II, para. 36.

[3] Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 281 ff.

[5] See Śabdakalpadruma under *āsana*.

the god Kārttikadēva (Skanda) and his *ānana* made of gold. His prowess in destroying the demon Tāraka and his brilliant form are then extolled (vv. 9 to 12). Verse 13 describes the ascetic Gadādhara as a *lēkhāsmi* belonging to the Śāṇḍilya-*gōtra* and as a crest-jewel of the **Gauḍa** country. The next verse tells us that he was born in the village **Taḍā** and that he was the illuminator of the **Varēndrī** country. Verse 15 is devoted to the praise of his learning and devotion. We learn from verse 16 that he set up the images of the Sun, Brahmā, Vishṇu, Mahēśvara, Pārvatī and Vināyaka and that he constructed a tank, a monastery and some wells. According to the following verse, these acts of charity established his fame in heaven. Verse 19 states that he was conducting the administration of the realm of the god Kārttikēya. Verse 22 gives the ancestry of the poet **Madhusūdana** who composed this *praśasti*. In the last verse Gadādhara beseeches future *Brahmachārins* to have the same love as himself for the god Kapardin.

The importance of this epigraph chiefly lies in its date which corresponds regularly to **A.D. 967 February 17, Sunday**, the *tithi* commencing at ·66 of the day. The earliest correct date hitherto found for Khoṭṭiga is Śaka 890, Vibhava, Jyēshṭha śuddha 1, Thursday[1] (A. D. 968 April 30, Thursday). Our record is thus earlier than this by one year. It is also important in another way for, as Khoṭṭiga was the successor of Kṛishṇa III, it helps us to ascertain Kṛishṇa's last date.

But before proceeding to determine the date of Kṛishṇa's death, I think it is necessary to discuss the date of his accession which has not yet been properly fixed. The Karhāḍ grant[2] of A.D. 959 describes at length the conquests of Kṛishṇa III which were achieved by him after he was crowned king ; but the Dēōlī plates[3] whose date is approximately 30th April A.D. 940 makes no mention of any of them. On the other hand the account given in them ends with his coronation. It is very likely, therefore, that Kṛishṇa came to the throne shortly before the date of the Dēōlī plates. And the earliest known regular date of this monarch is Śaka 861, Vikārin, Uttarāyaṇasaṁkrānti, Vyatīpāta, Monday[4] (A.D. 939 December 23, Monday). But the Isāmudra inscription[5] of his father **Baddega Amōghavarsha III** is also dated in Śaka 861, Vikārin, Uttarāyaṇasaṁkramaṇa. It has to be noted, however, that this latter date does not admit of verification as neither the week day nor the nakshatra is cited. Now, only one of the following two inferences can be drawn from these dates *viz.*, (1) that Amōghavarsha III and his son Kṛishṇa III were ruling jointly or (2) that the date which does not admit of being tested is not correct. That Kṛishṇa III became king only after his father's death is stated in unequivocal terms in the Dēōlī and the Karhāḍ plates. And Kṛishṇa's record of 23rd December 939 gives him such titles as *Mahārājādhirāja* which are indicative of paramount authority. It follows, therefore, that Baddega must have died before this date, which, as stated above, is the earliest available for Kṛishṇa III. Hence the first alternative *viz.*, that Kṛishṇa and his father were joint rulers has to be rejected and the date of the Isāmudra inscription has to be regarded as incorrect. But as has been shown by Kielhorn[6] long ago there are several instances where Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkramaṇa is wrongly quoted while other details are given correctly. We may not be wrong, therefore, if we leave out of account the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkramaṇa of the Isāmudra inscription and take as correct the only other detail contained in it, *viz.*, the cyclic year Vikārin. Then, Baddega would still be on the throne in the

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Cd. 50. An inscription of this king found at Hunavaḷḷi (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 431) is dated Śaka 890, Prabhava, Chaitra, śuddha puṇṇame, Ādityavāra, Saṅkrānti. But the details of the date given here do not work out correctly.

[2] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 281 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff. and *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 420.

[4] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 476.

[5] *Ibid.* Vol. XI, Cd. 77.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV p. 293 ; see also the dates of the Madras Epigraphical Collection Nos. 114 of 1913, 113 of 1913, 118 of 1913, 475 of 1914, 478 of 1914 and 231 of 1918 calculated by the late Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai in his *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 35 ff.

year Vikārin which began on 23rd February A.D. 939. In all probability, therefore, Krishṇa succeeded his father after this date. Thus **the initial year of the reign of Krishna III would fall between 23rd February and 23rd December A.D. 939.**

Now let us ascertain the last date of Kṛishṇa. Our inscription tells us that Khoṭṭiga was holding the reins of government on 17th February A.D. 967, after Kṛishṇa's death. Consequently, the latter ruler must have died before this date. And the latest date that we now have for Kṛishṇa is 6th March A.D. 965[1]. Several inscriptions in the Tamiḻ country are dated in the 28th year of his reign and thus prove that his rule lasted for not less than 28 years.[2] Since, as shown above, he ascended the throne after 23rd February A.D. 939 he must have occupied the throne till some time after 23rd February A.D. 966, when his 28th year began. The wording of the present record, *viz.*, **परलोकं गते तस्मिन्नाद्या कृष्णनृपे निवौ राज्ये खोट्टिगदेवस्य** (ll. 4-5) would indicate that Kṛishṇa's death had occurred not long before the date cited in it (*i.e.*, A.D. 967 February 17). This surmise is further strengthened by the fact that another record of Khoṭṭiga which is later by 4 years does not contain any reference to Kṛishṇa's death, because it was by that time an event which had taken place long ago.[3] The passage in it which introduces the king runs as: **पालयति सति प्राज्ये खोट्टिगे राज्ञि मेदिनीं.** We may, therefore, conclude that **Krishṇa III ruled from A.D. 939 to 966–67.** From what has been said above, it also becomes clear that the last year of Kṛishṇa's reign was the 28th year.[4]

Gadādhara who installed the images mentioned above appears to have been an ascetic of great repute as can be seen from the high praise bestowed upon him in the record. As stated above, the realm of god Kārttikēya was under his administrative charge. In another inscription of Koḷagallu of A. D. 964, this tract of territory is called **Kārttikēya-tapōvana** and we are told that he had full control over it and that he was ruling it from Koḷgallu.[5] We learn from an inscription at Kuḍatini[6] that this person set up in that village an image of Skanda. It thus appears that he was an ardent devotee of this god. We do not know when this celebrity came from Varēndrī to the Kanarese country but this much is clear that he rose to this eminence on account of his learning and other qualities. It is possible, however, that Kṛishṇa III met and brought him to the south during the second northern expedition which, as I have shown elsewhere,[7] took place in A.D. 963-64.

All that we know about Madhusūdana, the author of this inscription, is that he was the son of **Atibala** and grandson of **Rishi**, that he was a *dvija* of the Karmāra-kula and that his ancestors emigrated from **Tarkāri**. As the preserved portion of the last verse of the Kuḍatini epigraph, referred to above, is an exact copy of the 22nd verse of our record, the former also appears to have been composed by this same Madhusūdana. I am not able to identify him with any of the poets of this name who flourished in this period.

Of the **geographical names** occurring in the inscription, **Varēndrī** "is identified with that part of Bengal which is now called Rājashāhī".[8] As to **Tarkāri**, there seem to be a number of places of this name[9] but the Tarkāri of the present inscription is, I think, the famous

[1] Bombay-Karnatak Collection No. 112 of 1929-30.

[2] See, for instance, Madras Epigraphical Collection Nos. 364 of 1902, 125 of 1906 and 159 of 1921.

[3] Same collection No. 44 of 1904.

[4] The date of the Kiḻūr record which has been wrongly read as the [3]0th year (Madras Epigraphical Collection No. 232 of 1902) was after re-examination found to be the 28th year.

[5] *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1914, Pt. II, para. 36; No. 234 of 1913.

[6] Madras Epigraphical Collection No. 44 of 1904.

[7] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 289.

[8] Above, Vol. I, page 305 f. n. 2.

[9] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. LX, pp. 16-17.

Ṭakāri, 16 miles north-west of Gayā. **Taḍā**, where Gadādhara was born, has perhaps to be identified with the modern village Tara lying at a distance of about 12 miles south-east of Dinajpur in Bengal. **Kolagala** is, doubtless, Koḷagallu where the inscription was discovered.

TEXT.[1]

[Metres : vv. 1 to 15, 16 to 21 and 23, *Anushṭubh* ; 15 and 22, *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam.*]

First Face.

1 स्वस्ति श्री [॥*] शकनृपकालातीतसंवछ(त्स)[2][रा]-
2 छ(ट्)शताशीतिनवाधिकचयसंवछ(त्स)रे फाल्गु-
3 णशुद्धपञ्चाकेंदिने प्रतिष्ठा कृता ॥ प-
4 रलोकं गते तस्मिन्बाबा कृष्णनृपे नि[धौ] [।*]
5 राज्ये खोट्टिगदेवस्य धर्मसेतुः कलौ यु-
6 गे ॥[१*] त्रैलोक्यव्यक्तरूपाय विख्याताय
7 [यश]स्विने [।*] स्वामिकार्तिकदेवाय सर्वज्ञा-
8 य नमोन्नमः(नमः) ॥[२*] ज्ञानशक्तिधरं देवं श्रीम-
9 द्रुद्रात्मजं शुभं [।*] सर्वलोकहितं शान्तं
10 नमामि परमेश्वरं ॥[३*] सुरसेनाधिपत्ये-
11 ष्वस्त(स्था)स्य सत्वं महात्मनः [।*] यच्छन्तु विपु-
12 लां कीर्तिं सर्वपापविनाशनीं ॥[४*] वैनय-
13 ख्या(ख्या)मनोद्य[3] त्रिगुणाः[4] शौर्यं कापर्दिनः ।
14 [द्वि]जश्रेष्ठगदापाणेः शाश्वतं धर्मकी-
15 र्तनं ॥[५*] उत्पादितं प्रयत्नेन रत्नानेकै-
16 र्विभोभितं [।*] तेजसा शुभ्रमत्यंतमिंद्राद्यै-
17 र्वंदितं सुरैः ॥[६*] दिव्यरूपासनं रम्यं
18 पूर्णेन्दुरिव निर्मलं [।*] पापघ्नं वेधसा सृ-
19 ष्टं कामरूपि सुखावहं ॥[७*] ज्ञित्वा दंडा-
20 सने तस्मिं(स्मि)न्नाधिपत्यं दिवौकसां [।*]
21 कृतं द्वादशनेत्रेण सोयं देवेन्द्र-
22 सिंगभृः ॥[८*] हेमस्य नलिनीगर्भे यस्य-
23 को द्वादशेक्षणः [।*] आतस्य(श्व)रवणे रा

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[1] From inked estampages. [2] The letter श is engraved below the line.
[3] Possibly this has to be corrected into वैनयशासनस्य.
[4] Read नैर्गुण्यात्.

24 स्रो विश्वात्मा परमेश्वरः ॥[८*] षड्व(ब्र)-
25 ह्मायवर्थी यस्तारकाख्यासुराधिपः [।*]
26 क्रीडया निहतोनेन द्वादशार्क्क[च]-
27 तेन सः ॥[१०*] भुवि यौरेक(श्चैक) यथार्थ [देव ?]-
28 स्तेजोमयः कृती । द्विजात्यम्बकठ[त्वे]-

Second Face.

29 यं वि(च)क्षामैर्वेदपार-
30 गः ॥[११*] विश्वतश्चक्षु-
31 ष्पुत्रो कुमारो[1] वि-
32 श्वतोमुखः[2] [।*] चौम-
33 स्वोमगलग्रामे च-
34 भिषिक्तः शुभे दि[ने] ॥[१२*]
35 लोलामनी च शाण्डि-
36 ल्यस्तुतपस्वी गदाध-
37 रः [।*] विद्वज्जनाग्रणी
38 विद्वां(द्वा)न्गौडचूडाम-
39 णिर्गुणी ॥[१३*] स्वर्गवास-
40 निमित्तार्थं तडागा[मो]-
41 ना(ड्ड)वेन तु [।*] स्थापितो
42 दिव्यमन्त्रेण वरेन्द्र-
43 चोलकारिणा ॥[१४*] स-
44 र्व्वोर्थेभ्य परेभ्य एव भ-
45 वने कं(क)न्येव दातुं स्थि-
46 ता विद्या यस्य समस्त-
47 जन्तुहितकृद्दीपप्र-
48 भेवामला [।*] भक्तिर्यस्य
49 पतिव्रतेव वनिता स्व-
50 स्वादनं(न)न्याश्र(श्रि)ता त-
51 स्यै स्वस्ति गदाधरा[य]

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[1] Read पुत्रः कुमारो.

[2] This reminds one of the Vedic Hymn विश्वतश्चक्षुरुत विश्वतोमुखो विश्वतोबाहुरुत विश्वतस्पात् । सं बाहुभ्यां धमति संपतत्रैर्द्यावाभूमी जनयन् देव एकः ॥

Kolagallu Inscription of Khottiga: Saka 889.

264A

First Face.

Second Face.

Third Face.

54

56

58

60

62

64

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68

70

72

74

Fourth Face.

76

78

80

52 [ब]सुधादेवद्द(प्रि)याया-

53 [नि]शं ॥[१५*]

Third Face.

54 [इ]होपरं(रि) नदेवार्को वेधा विष्णुर्म[हे]-

55 श्वरस्तडागमठिकावाप्यप्यार्वती

56 च विनायकः ॥[१६*] [सु]ष्ठे स्थापिता[:*] कीर्त्ति-

57 विंदिता स्वर्गवासिनां [।*] यस्याप्रतिष्ठा

58 देवानां कृता धर्मेव धीमता ॥[१७*] सुरे-

59 न्द्रभुवने कीर्तिं गायंत्वप्सरसस्स-

60 दा [।*] जयत्वसौ कपर्दी च सुगांकव-

61 दनो मुनिः ॥ [१८*] राज्यं श्रीस्वामिन[:*] स्वा-

62 ने विद्वद्विप्रोपकारकं [।*] दुर्भिक्षमन्न-

63 प्कुरुते यथा वैरोचनो बलिः ॥[१९*] स्वा-

64 मिभट्टारकस्याय वरग्रामविव-

65 स्तनः [।*] श्र[तौ] न दत्ता वसुधा पृथ-

66 क्कृत्वा विशेषतः ॥[२०*] गृहीत्वा परिमि-

67 ता(प्रमिता) दत्ता भूमिर्या सतिलोदका [।*] विप्रे-

68 भ्यस्सा न हर्त्तव्या सामां(मा)न्यो धर्म्मसा-

69 गरः ॥[२१*] श्रीकर्माकुलाद्दयद्विज-

70 वरग्रामस्तु(ग्रामात्तु) तर्कोरितो निष्क्रम्य क-

71 मनिर्मलग्राममभवत्तस्मिन्नृषि[र्म]-

72 डितस्तत्सुवर्णमयितः चितावतिव(व)-

73 तस्तस्मादभूदय(द्य)श्रुतस्तेन श्रीम-

74 धुसूदनाभ्यर्ज्जविना शस्ता प्रश-

75 स्तिः कृता ॥[२२*]

Fourth Face.

76 गदाधरेण मन्त्रित्वं

77 कथा प्रीतिप्रापदिं-

78 नः [।*] तथान्यैरपि क-

79 र्तव्या भविष्यद्व(द्वि)प्र-

80 चारिभिः ॥[२३*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 3.) Hail ! Prosperity ! On Sunday the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of the (*month*) of Phālguna in the (cyclic) year Kshaya, when eight hundred years increased by eighty nine had elapsed since the time of the Śaka King, the installation (*ceremony*) was performed.

(Verse 1.) During the reign of Khoṭṭigadêva—the king named Kṛishṇa of excellent qualities having gone to heaven—(*this*) bridge of religious merit (*was erected*) in the Kali age.

(V. 2.) Adoration to the omniscient god Kārttikadêva who has a form which is manifest in the three worlds, who has obtained great fame and is glorious.

(V. 3.) I bow to that Supreme Lord who bears the (*weapon called*) Jñānaśakti, who is the son of the celebrated Rudra, is the auspicious and the peaceful One and the benefactor of the whole universe.

(V. 4.) The chief of the commanders of the army of the gods—let people hear the valour of the high-souled One and his wide fame which is capable of destroying all sins.

(V. 5.) (*Let people hear*) the three *guṇas* and the prowess of (*that god*), who possesses a *gushṭyāsana* made of gold, *viz.*, Kapardin, (otherwise of the ascetic with the matted hair) who holds in his hands the best of birds and the *gadā* and the meritorious act (*of the best of Brāhmans Gadādhara*) which is eternal.[1]

(Vv. 6 and 7.) His seat of heavenly form, created with special effort, decked with many gems, extremely pure in its lustre, worshipped by Indra and other gods, which is capable of destroying sins, which was created by (*god*) Brahmā and which can assume the desired form is comfortable.

(V. 8.) Seated in that *daṇḍāsana* was wielded the generalship of the (*army of*) the gods by the twelve eyed (*god*). Such is the issue of the lord of gods (*i.e.*, Śiva).

(V. 9.) This six faced, twelve-eyed boy, the soul of the universe, the supreme lord was born in the womb of the lotus of gold in the *śaravaṇa* grass.

(V. 10.) That Tāraka, the lord of demons, who could not be slain by Rudra, Brahmā and other (*gods*) was destroyed in sport by this (*god*) who has the twelve suns as his eyes.

(V. 11.) He is the only (*god*) on earth and in heaven who is eternal, who is full of brilliance and who has accomplished his purpose. Thus do the twice-born who are well-versed in the Vêdas praise him well by Ṛiks and Sāmans.

(V. 12.) This Kumāra, the eye and the face of the universe (*i.e.*, who has eyes and faces pervading the whole universe), the *Purusha* was anointed at the illustrious village Kolagala on the auspicious day.

(V. 13.) The learned and virtuous Gadādhara, the crest-jewel of the Gauḍa country, who is a *lôhāsanī* (ascetic), who is a Śāṇḍilya and who has practised great austerities is the refuge of learned men.

(V. 14.) By him who was born in the village of Taḍā and was the illuminator of (*the country of*) Varêndrī was (*the god Kumāra*) consecrated with divine hymn with a view to attain an abode in heaven.

(V. 15.) Prosperity be ever to that Gadādhara, who is dear to Brāhmans, whose wealth resides in his house only to be bestowed on others like an unmarried girl, whose learning is pure and beneficial to all beings like the glow of a lamp and whose devotion (*to god*) resorted to none but himself like a chaste wife.

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[1] There seems to be a *ślêsha* here upon the words Kapardin, *dvija-śrêshṭha* and *gadā-pāṇi* describing the greatness both of god Kārttikêya and of the ascetic Gadādhara.

(Vv. 16 and 17.) And besides (*the god named above*) the Sun, Brahmā, Vishṇu, Mahēśvara, Pārvatī and Vināyaka (*all these gods*) were installed on beautiful pedestals and a tank, a monastery and wells *were constructed*. Since the consecration of the gods was performed in this village by this learned man, his fame became well known to the dwellers in heaven.

(V. 18.) This sage who has the face of the moon is victorious and has matted hair (Kapardin) the heavenly nymphs ever sing his praises in the abode of Indra.

(V. 19.) This Durbhikshamalla (*i.e.*, the destroyer of famine) conducts in the realm of the illustrious Svāmin (Skanda) the administration, which is beneficial to the learned and the Brāhmaṇas, like Bali, the son of Virōchana.

(V. 20.) This excellent and ancient village is the property of the worshipful Svāmin. It is especially on this account that no land (*here*) is parcelled out and given.

(V. 21.) The land which is taken possession of, measured and granted with sesame and water to Brāhmaṇas should not be snatched away; (*this is*) the common (*rule of the*) ocean of Dharma.

(V. 22.) A family immigrated from Tarkāri, the village of the excellent twice born Karmāra community and became pure in successive generations. In it (*was born*) the scholar Ṛishi; his son was Atibala renowned in the world; by the poet Madhusūdana the son born to him, (*i.e.*, Atibala) was this excellent *praśasti* composed.

(V. 23.) Just as love was entertained by Gadādhara[1] towards (*god*) Kapardin, so also should it be done by all the future *Brahmachārins*.

No. 41.—THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS.

BY A. RANGASWAMI SARASWATI, B.A., AND N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A.

A

CHIMAKURTI PLATE OF VEMA.

This plate was secured on a loan from the Karnam of **Chimakurti** in the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur District in the year 1920[2]. It is a single copper plate with no rim, oblong in shape and a little broken at the bottom. It is 10¾" in length and 6¾" in breadth. There is a very small hole at the top of the plate to allow a string to pass through. Only one side of the plate bears the writing. At the top of the plate are engraved the figure of a *liṅga* and a bull facing it. The weight of the plate is 37 tolas.

The inscription on the plate is written in **Telugu** characters and language except the two imprecatory verses at the end which are in **Sanskrit**. The alphabet and orthography of the document bear close resemblance to those of the Tottaramūḍi plates of Kāṭaya-Vēma[3] and the Phirangipuram inscription of Kōmaṭi-Vēma[4] thou,h these two are later in point of time. It is therefore likely that the present documents is a later copy of the original, though it is nowhere stated so. There seems to be no objection, however, to take the historical facts contained

[1] The word [illegible] seems to be superfluous.

[2] No. 5 of App. A to the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1919-20.

[3] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.

[4] *Ibid*, Vol. XI, pp. 313 ff.

in it as correct, for the *birudas* of king Vēma found here, which give all the historical information, are almost similar to those found in his Amarāvatī inscription[1].

The inscription records the grant of the village **Rāmatīrtham** situated in the **Śrīśailabhūmi** and the **Ammanambrōlu**-*sīma* as a *sarv-āgrahāra* to **Chiṭṭamūri Timmana-Bhaṭṭa** who was the son of Kāmēśvara-Bhaṭṭāraka and who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya-gōtra, Yajuś-śākhā and Āpastamba-sūtra. Besides this the donee was granted a fourth portion of the produce of the wet lands, betel-leaf gardens and sugar cane fields, of each of the five villages **Chimakurti**, **Bhīmēśvaram**, **Pulikoṇḍa**, **Mallavaram** and **Kumārapuri** and a sixteenth portion of the produce of the remaining three-fourths. A fifth part of the money income (*suvarṇ-ādāya*) (*of these villages*) and the water of the Pedda-cheruvu (big tank) were to be given to him. Over and above these the donee was to receive one-tenth of the produce of the other villages (*in the division* ?) and land at the rate of 200 *kuṇṭa* measured by a pole of 16 *bāra* in big villages and 100 *kuṇṭa* in small villages. It is interesting to note that the present Karnam of the village Chimakurti who is now in possession of this copper-plate claims to be a lineal descendant of the donee and is still enjoying some of the gifts registered in the plate.

The **date** of the document is Sālivāhana Śaka year 1257, Yuva Kārttika śu. 12, Thursday, Manvādi. This is the earliest record of the king being earlier by 10 years than the Madras Museum plates[2] of the same king. If the cyclic year Dhātu is substituted for Yuva the details of the date would correspond to A.D. 1336 October 31, Thursday.

The importance of the document lies chiefly in the fact that some of the king's *birudas* mentioned in it would, if they are properly interpreted, yield new information about the history of the Reḍḍi chiefs. For instance, *Chaṁchumala-chūrakāra*, or *Cheṁjimala-chūrakāra* as given in the Amarāvatī inscription, means "one who reduced the hill fort of Chenji or Gingi." How Vēma could reduce this fort will be shown below. Another *biruda* *Rāchūridurgavibhāla* means "the destroyer of the fort of Rāchūru" *i.e.*, Raichur in the Nizam's Dominions. A third title in the list *Kaliṅ-garāya-māna-mardana* means "one who destroyed the pride of the King of Kaliṅga."[3] The title *Manniyarāya-mṛga-vēṇṭakāra* means "one who hunted like deer the chiefs of Manniya hilly country". The term *Manne* is generally applied in later Telugu literature to the hilly tracts near the eastern ghats in the Godavari, Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts. Similarly the titles *Voḍḍiyarāya-vidhāma-Bhīma* and *Janturnāḍarāya-kula-kallōla* signify victories over the kings of the Voḍḍiya (Odhra) country, the modern Orissa, and the Janturnāḍu which is perhaps the modern name of Dantapura-nāḍu. Dantapura was an early capital of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga, from which, for instance, the Narasāpaṭam plates of Vajrahasta II were issued. The title *Pāṇ-ḍyarāya-gaja-siṁha* means "one who was a lion *to* the elephant in the form of the Pāṇḍya King" suggesting thereby that the king probably routed the Pāṇḍyas. The title *Appaya-Gōpaya-diśāpaṭṭa* seems to signify some victory won by the king or his immediate ancestors over the chiefs called respectively Appaya and Gōpaya. The Tiruvēndipuram inscription of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III dated in his 15th year[4] records the victories of two Hoysaḷa generals *Jagadobbagaṇḍa* Appaṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka and Samudra-Gōpaya-Daṇḍāyaka over the Pallava chief Kōpperuñjiṅga who overcame the Chōḷa sovereign Rājarāja III and had for a time kept him prisoner at Sēndamaṅgalam. The chiefs that are referred to

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 243. [2] Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 8 ff.

[3] Some of these titles are explained in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1900, page 22.

[4] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 160 ff.

in the title *Appaya-Gōpaya-diśāpaṭṭa* of Vēma seem to be identical with the Hoysaḷa generals of the Tiruvēndipuram inscription.

The exploits referred to in the titles of Vēma must have been achieved by him or by his ancestors while they were the subordinates of the Kākatīyas. During the days of the decline of the Chōḷas all the neighbouring powers attempted to capture as much of the territory as possible. The Pallava general Kōpperuñjiṅga who endeavoured to establish for a time an independent kingdom extended his conquests over the territories of the Chōḷas of Nellore and other chieftains as far north as Drākshārāma where an inscription of his is found. The Chōḷas of the Nellore District who had the titles Madhurāntaka-Potappi-Chōḷa and Gaṇḍagōpāla extended their kingdom to the south and, for a time, occupied Kāñchīpuram and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Against these Sundara-Pāṇḍya led an expedition from the South and celebrated the anointment of heroes at Vikramasiṁhapuram (Nellore). The Kākatīya sovereign Gaṇapati led an expedition first in aid of one of the Telugu Chōḷa chiefs of Nellore and later on to Conjeevaram, where his inscriptions are found. After Gaṇapati his daughter Rudrāmbā and later her grandson Pratāparudra continued the campaign on Conjeevaram. The triumph claimed in these *birudas* over the Pāṇḍya king and the Hoysaḷa generals Appaya and Gōpaya should also have been won during this period of constant warfare. Similarly, the victories over Kaliṅgarāya, Oḍḍiyarāya, the Janturnāṭarāya as well as the reduction of the fort of Rāchūru should have been achieved in the wars of the Kākatīyas against the surrounding countries.

The inscription also says that Vēma founded many *agrahāras* on the banks of the rivers Brahmakuṇḍī (the Guṇḍlakammā), the Kṛishṇavēṇi, *i.e.*, Kṛishṇā, the Gōdāvarī and the Mahānadī, and laid out gardens in the vicinity of various towns. We are further informed that he gave food in charity houses (*sattras*) in many holy places and built steps to the famous shrines of Śrīparvata and Ahōbala. Vēma is called in this inscription the lord of the Eastern Sea, the establisher of the sole sovereign (*ēka-rājya-sthāpan-āchārya*) and the only ornament to the throne (*ēka-siṁhāsan-ālaṁkāra*).

B

PACHCHANI-TANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VEMA.

Next in chronological order comes the **Pachchani-Tāṇḍiparru** grant of **Anna-Vēma**. It is registered as copper-plate No. 6 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1919-20. The set of plates on which the grant is engraved was borrowed from M. R. Ry. Devi Hanumacharlu of Koḍitāḍiparru, in the Tenali Taluk of the Guntur District, in the year 1919.

This grant is written on five oblong copper-plates which have slightly raised rims but no ring or seal attached to them, though holes for passing a ring are to be seen in them. The plates measure 9¾" in length and a little over 4" in breadth and weigh 88 *tolas*. The inscription is written in **Telugu** script and **Sanskrit** language. The portion giving the boundaries of the village (ll. 47-72) is, however, in the Telugu language. Plates *iib*, *iiib*, *ivb*, and *vb* are marked with the numerical symbols 2, 3, 4 and 5. As to the **palaeography** of this grant only one feature may be noticed specially : The letters of this grant as well as of the following one (C) appear more archaic than those of A although the latter professes to be much earlier than either B or C.

The donor of the grant is **Anna-Vēma** who is here called the son of **Prōlaya-Vēma**, *i.e.*, Vēma of the previous grant. The record opens with an invocation to the boar incarnation of Vishṇu. The second verse is devoted to the praise of the Sun and Moon. The next verse says that a caste was born from the lotus feet of Vishṇu which evidently means the Śūdra caste—

padābhyām Śūdrō-bhijāyata. In it was born Prōlaya-Vēma who constructed the flight of steps leading to Śrīśaila and made all the gifts enumerated by Hēmādri (v. 4). He performed various meritorious deeds and defeated several hostile Kings (vv. 5 to 8). To him were born two valorous sons namely **Anna-Vōta** and Anna-Vēma (v. 9). Anna-Vōta, the elder, is said to have exhibited great prowess on the battlefield and to have ruled the Āndhra country extending from the eastern portion of Śrīnaga (*i.e.*, Śrīśaila) to the eastern ocean (vv. 10 and 11). The Telugu work *Vishṇu-purāṇam* tells us that this Annavōta defeated a chief called **Rāvutu Kāsa** near the river **Kṛishṇavēṇi** before the very eyes of god Amarēśvara. The work also says that king Pōta had some literary works written by poets of the Vennalaganṭi family and got them dedicated to him. Sūrana, the author of this Telugu work belonged to this family. Anna-Vōta's younger brother Anna-Vēma who was a great warrior ruled over his father's kingdom after the death of his elder brother (vv. 12 to 15). The genealogy of the donee is then given. In the *gōtra* of Hārīta there was a pious Brāhmaṇa named **Nṛisiṁha** who was a lion to the elephants, *viz.*, the disputants (v. 16). His son was **Bhīmēśvara-Sōmayājin** who had performed many Vedic sacrifices (v. 17). His son was **Pōtibhaṭṭa**; to him was born Guṇḍayārya whose son was **Peddi-Vidvān**, the crest jewel among astronomers (v. 18). To this Peddi-Vidvān king Anna-Vēma granted, on the date specified, the village Pachchani-Tāṁḍipaṟṟu (v. 19). Then follows a description of the boundaries of the village (ll. 47 to 73). After three imprecatory verses, the concluding verse of the grant tells us that this edict was composed by Bāla-Sarasvati, the court poet of Anna-Vēma. The inscription ends with the king's signature **Pallava-Triṇētra**.

The details of the **date** recorded in the inscription are the Śaka year counted by *rasa* (6), *rama* (9) and *Bhāskara* (12), *i.e.*, 1296, Nabhasya (Bhādrapada), full moon, Tuesday, lunar eclipse. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the English equivalent of this date is A.D. 1374 August 22, Tuesday, when there was a lunar eclipse.

The grant under publication does not say anything new about the donor king Anna-Vēma. The donee Peddi-Vidvān seems to have been a great scholar in astronomy. He seems to have been patronised by the kings of the Reḍḍi family even after Anna-Vēma for we learn from two copper-plate grants[1] of Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma that this Peddi was the recipient of the village Kalvavāmulu in Śaka 1329 and of Nandamūru in Śaka 1333. In both these records he is described as having mastered the quintessence of Siddhāntas like those of Brahmā and Sūrya. One of them says that he had knowledge of the present, past and future on account of his learning in Jyautisha-śāstra.

Nothing is known from other sources about Bālasarasvati who composed the record and who calls himself a poet of the court of Anna-Vēma. It may be noted, however, that he was the author of another inscription of the same king at Śrīśailam[2]. Another poet in this king's court, *viz.*, Trilōchanāchārya is already known to us. He composed the Vānapalli[3] copper-plate inscription of this king.

C
PINAPADU GRANT OF KOMATI-VEMA.

This is the last of a set of copper-plates whose other plates are lost. It measures 12¼" in length and 5¼" in breadth, and weighs 47 *tolas*. In the middle of its proper right margin there is a hole for passing a ring through. It bears writing only on one side. Though it is a little damaged the writing is in good state of preservation. It was secured in the year 1920 from Mr.

[1] *A. R. on South Indian Epigraphy* 1919-20, Nos. 13 and 14.
[2] See *A. R. on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1915, Part II, para. 39.
[3] Above, Vol. III, pp. 60 ff.

Ponukapāṭi Ramayya who discovered it buried underground at Pinapāḍu near Tenāli and has been registered as No. 8 of Appendix A in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for that year.

The portion of the inscription preserved on this plate is in **Telugu** characters and contains a description in Telugu of the gift village Pinapāḍu and five verses in **Sanskrit**. The first verse says : "The donor is king **Kōmaṭi-Vēma**, the recipient of the grant is the preceptor **Śaṅkara**, the village granted is **Pinapāḍu**, the composer is the poet **Śrīnātha-Bhaṭṭāraka**, the time of the grant is the occasion of the holy Śivarātri and the witness the great **Śrīgiri**. Why should not poets extol the gifts under these circumstances !" The other four verses are imprecations. The inscription ends with the king's signature "**Śrī-Vīranārāyaṇasya**".

From the above verse it is apparent that king Kōmaṭi-Vēma, the donee Śaṅkara and the poet Śrīnātha were at Śrīśaila on the Śivarātri day. According to the *Śivarātri-māhātmya* of this poet, which is dedicated to a scholar named Śāntayya, a disciple of **Śānta-Bhikshāvṛitti**, Śrīnātha once visited the sacred shrine of Śrīśaila during the Śivarātri festival and paid his respects to Śānta-Bhikshāvṛitti. While the poet was seated in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the temple Śānta-Bhikshāvṛitti, the head of the Vīraśaiva *maṭha* on the hill asked him to write a Śaiva poem and dedicate it to one of his disciples. This Śānta-Bhikshāvṛitti appears to have been a patron of Telugu literature. The Telugu poet Gaurana dedicated his *Navanātha-charita* to this pontiff. His successors seem to have been treated with great respect even by the Vijayanagara kings. Siddha-Bhikshāvṛitti, who was the donee of the Śrīśailam grant of the Vijayanagara emperor Virūpāksha, was one of the gurus of the Vīraśaiva *maṭha* on Śrīparvata.

The descendants of the donee of the grant under publication, *viz.*, Śaṅkara, are found even today in the village Pinapāḍu. Though they are Brāhmans they officiate as *Āchāryas* to several Śaivas who are not Brāhmans.

A

TEXT.

1 Śrī-Tripurāntakēśvara [||*]

2 Svasti Śrī [||*] Vijay-ābhyudaya-Śālivāhana-śaka-varshambulu 1257 agu-ṇṭi Yuva-

3 nāma saṁvatsara Kārttika-śuddha 12 Guru-vāsara manvādi mahāpuṇya-kālamunaṁ-

4 du Yaju[ś*]-śākh-ādhyāyan-Āpastamba-sūtra-Kauṇḍinya-gōtr-ōdbhavaluṁnnu (lunnu) śrīmad-yaja-

5 n-ādi-shaṭkarma-niratal-agu Kāmēśvara-bhaṭṭarakuni-vāri pautri(tru)luṁnnu(lunnu) Keṇḍu-bhaṭṭārakuni-

6 vāri-putri(ru)lann-agu Chiṭṭamūri Tiṁmmana(Timmana)-bhaṭṭu-śastrulavāriki svasti [||*] sakala-guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṁ-

7 kāra Chaṁchumala-chūrakāra Viśva-viśvambhar-ābharaṇa-vahana-daksha-dakshaṇa (kshiṇa)-bhujā-daṁḍa

8 Jagannobba-gaṁḍa āniya(anya)-maṁḍalikara-gaṁḍa rāya-chōkōlu-gaṁḍa rāya-mīsara-gaṁḍa

9 arthi-pratyarthi-Hēmādri-dāna-nirata prajā-paripālana-chatura haraṇa-bharaṇa rūpa-

10 Nārāyaṇa Vīra-Nārāyaṇa bhuja-bala-Bhīma kōdaṁḍa-Rāma aparimita-bhū-dāna-Paraśu-

11 rāma anēka-nagar-ōpākaṁṭha-pratishṭhāpita-bahu-vidh-ārāma saṁggaḍi-raksha-pā-laka jaga-ra-

12 ksha-pālaka jagada-Gōpālaka Gujjari-dhaṭṭa-vibhāḷa ghana-bhuja-virāja-
mâna-Karavāla
13 Rāchūri-durga-vibhāḷa jala-durga-jaladhi-baḍabānala sthala-durga-bavana-
Halāyu-
14 dha anavarata-purōhita-kṛita-sōma-pāna Śrīparvata-Ahōbala-nirmita-sōpāna
dhāḥ(dik)[kāṁ]-
15 tā-manōhara kīrti-kusum-āmōda Kuṇḍiprabhā-Saṁhya(Sahya)jā-Gautamī-
16 jala-krīḍā-vinōda Kaliṁga-rāya-māna-mada-marddana maṇṇiya-rāya-mṛiga-
17 vēṁṭakāra Voḍḍiya-rāya-nirāhīma-dhāma Jaṁtur-nāṭa-rāya-haṁsa-kallōla a-
18 ri-rāya-basava-Śaṁkkara virōdhi-nṛipa-dānava-Narasiṁhva(ha) Pāṇḍya-rāya-gaja-siṁ-
19 hva(ha) prajñā-chatur-vidh-ōpāya kōṭādi-rāya nitya-paripālita-satya Pallav-ādi-
20 tya ripu-narapati-gōdhūma-ghaṭṭana-gharaṭṭa Appaya-Gōpaya-diśā-paṭṭaṇa(paṭṭa)
saṁgrā-
21 ma-samuddaṁḍa-chaṁḍa-bhuj-āsi-vikhaṁḍita-kṛita-kīlāla plavamāna-Braṁhma(ahma)
kuṁ-
22 ḍī-Kṛishṇavēṇī-Gōdāvarī-Mahānadī-taṭī-dvayan(ya)-madhya-dēśa-anēk-āgrahā-
23 ra aganya-puṇya-kshētra-satra-bahu-vidh-āhāra Pūrva-samudrādhīśvara
24 ēka-rāya-sthāpan-āchārya ēka-siṁhvā(hā)san-ālaṁkāra śrīma[t*]-Tripurāntakadē-
25 va-divya-śrī-pāda-padm-ārādhakul-aina śrīmatu-Vēmaya-Reḍḍigāru vrāyiṁchi yi-
26 chchina bhū-dāna-dharma-śāsanaṁ || mad-bhujā-daṁḍa-paripālanam-aina
sāṁbrā(marā)jya-
27 m-aṁdu Śrīśaila-bhūmini Aṁmma(Amma)naṁbrōli sī(sī)malō Rāmatīrthaṁ sarv-
āgrahāramuṁ-
28 nnu(munnu) Chīmakurti-Bhīmēśvara-Pallikoṁḍa-Mailavaraṁ-Komārapuri-grāma-
29 mula ayidiṁṭṭiyaṁdunnu veli-polaṁ-lōnunnu charvula kriṁda mā-
ṁgā-
30 ṇi-lōnunnu āku-tōṁṭalu-cheruku-tōṁṭala-lōnu bhūmi chathurth-āṁśaṁ
31 sarva-mānyaṁ-gānuṁnnu(nnu) migilina muppātika bhūmini paṁḍina nānā-
phalā-
32 dulakuṁnnu(nnu) shōḍaś-āṁśaṁ mēranu suvarṇ-ādāyānaku paṁcham-
āṁśamunnu
33 pedda-cheruvu nīḷḷanu yī grāmālu gāka yitara grāmāla paṁḍḍina
dhānyānaku daśam-āṁ-
34 śamunnu sī(sī)mā-mūlaṁ prati-grāmamulaṁduṁnnu(nnu) padahāru-bārala
ghaḍamu
35 pedda vūr[i*]ki innūru kuṁṭaluṁnnu(nnu) chinna vūriki nūru
guṁṭṭala kshētramu-
36 nnu sarva-mānyamuluṁnnu(nnu) yī-lāgu nirṇayaṁ chēsi Rāmatīrthaṁ
modal-aina ā-
37 ru grām-ādulayaṁdunnu ashṭa-bhōga-svāmya-svataṁtramulunnu chaturvi-
38 dha-yōgyaṁ-gā sa-hiraṇy-ōdaka-dāna-dhārā-purvaṁ-gā yippiṁstini gannka . . .
39 . . . tra-pāraṁparyyamunnu aṁduṇa vachchina phalaṁ ā-cha . . . . .
40 . . . . ḍuvāru || dāna-pālanayōr-madhyē dānāch-chhrē . . . . .

41 . . . . achyutaṁ padaṁ ‖ ēk-ai[va] . . . . . .
42 . . . . vipra-dattā . . . .

B

TEXT.

First Plate, Second Side.

1 श्रीनाथ(थ)स्य वराहदिव्यवपुषो व: पातु दंष्ट्रा चिरं प्रोतोद्वीत-
2 महीतलोपरितटीनिर्यातशृंगांकुरा । यामात्मीयजलो-
3 दितां शशिकलामाशंक्य जात: [स्व]यं सौहार्देन विजृंभमाणसलि-
4 लारंभो महांभोनिधि: ‖[1][1*‖] तस्मो (?) जगतां तव पुण्यवंतो राजा-
5 सु पूर्व्वापरयोलसा(शा)जौ । यदांगलीलामिवदर्शयंतौ पुरा पुरारे:[2]
6 पृथिवी(थ्वी)धरश्च ‖[3][2*‖] पादारविंदादरविंदनाभेर्म्मेव पुण्या य-
7 नजीवनश्री: । जाताभिजाता सतथा(था) विभिन्ना जातिश्चतुर्थी जगतां
8 हिताय ‖[4][3*‖] तस्यामभूत्प्रोलयवेमनामा श्रीशैलसोपानविधा-
9 नशाली ‖ (।) हेमाद्रिकल्पोदितदानदक्षो निर्घोमभूदाननिरूढकीर्ति:[5] । वेम-

Second Plate, First Side.

10 क्षितीशो ध्रुवमेकपादं संचारयं कलिकालदोषात् । दत्ता-
11 ग्रहारद्विजवेदशक्त्या पदक्रमैरस्खलितं चकार[6] ‖[4*‖] धर्म्मात्मजो दा-
12 शरथि(थि): पृथुवेत्युदीर्यमाणानि युगांतरेषु । वितर्कये वेम-
13 नरेश्वरस्य पुण्यानि नामानि पुरातनानि[7] ‖[5*‖] यत्कीर्तिलोलमनसा-
14 मुरगांगनानामालोकितुं च मुखरागमनंगमूलं[8] ।
15 श्रोतुं च गीतरचनां युगपद्दशां नागाधिपो न सहते नयन-
16 श्रुतित्वं[9] ‖[6*‖] संग्रामपार्थस्य शरैर्विभिन्ना यस्यारिभूपालमणयो
17 विचेलु: । आकाशमत्यंगति राजवंशान् प्रतापवह्नेरिव विस्फुलिं-

Second Plate, Second Side.

18 गा: ‖[10][7*‖]तस्माच्च वेमनृपतेरुदयादिवाद्रेर्जातौ प्रतापयशसामिनिधी कु-
19 मारौ । सूर्य्यं दुतुल्यमहसावनवीनभूप[:*] श्रीयश्चवेम-

[1] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[2] The *visarga* is written in the next line.

[3] Metre: *Upēndravajrā.*

[4] Metre: *Indravajrā.*

[5] Metre: *Indravajrā.*

[6] Metre: *Indravajrā.*

[7] Metre: *Upajāti.*

[8] The *anusvāra* is written in the next line.

[9] Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*

[10] Metre: *Upēndravajrā.*

20 नृपतिर्जगद्रक्षपालः ॥[1][8*॥] वीरश्रीयनवोतभूतलपतेर्गोवी(भी)रमेरी-
21 रवैः । शत्रूणां हृदयेषु संगरमुखे भिन्नेषु पूर्वं र-
22 णं । यद्वीरं निरकासयद्वयरसौ वैनाकुलोप्या-
23 गतो [।*] युद्धमातनमेषु निर्गमयति प्रत्ययमल्लूर्जितं[2]
24 ॥[3][9*॥] ग्रामान् यः श्रीनगपूर्व्वभा(भा)गादापूर्व्वरत्नाकरमंधुदे-
25 शं । चामिखनं मेचलभूधरस्य जिताहितश्रीयनवोतनृपः ॥[4][10*॥]

Third Plate, First Side.

26 तस्यानुजस्तामरसायताक्ष[ः*] श्रीयज्ञवेमः क्षितिपालरत्नं ।
27 शूराग्रगण्यः क्षुरिकासहायो विभा(भा)ति वीरासवकेलिलोलः ॥[5][11*॥] श्रीय-
28 ज्ञवेमनृपतेः(तिः) क्षुगि(रि)कासहायो वीरारिवक्षसि विलिखनकेलिदक्षः । गो-
29 यं करकुम्भगजुन्निकया विचित्रं कान्ताकपोलमकरीकरणे स-
30 कंपः ॥[6][12*॥] श्रीयज्ञवेमनृपतेर्ज्जयिना करेण प्रत्यर्थिनां युधि
31 बलादवरोपितानि । (।) धारोग्रयत्युपगमावरणं तदीयं कोटी-
32 रचामरसितातपवारणानि ॥[7][13*॥] सोयं भ्रा(भ्रा)तुरनंतरं निजमाही-
33 भा(भा)रं वहन् पैतृकं राज्यश्रीरमणीस्वयंवरपतिः[:*] श्रीयज्ञवे-

Third Plate, Second Side.

34 ममनुः [।*] ग्रामान् पूर्व्वनृपालकैश्च गुरुणा भ्रा(भ्रा)त्रा च विप्रार्प्पितान्
35 सर्व्वानप्यनुपालयन्नपि दिशन् जागर्त्ति लोकोत्तरः ॥[8][14*॥] अथ प्रतिग्रही-
36 तृवंशावली ॥ भारद्वाजसंभवान्वयभुवां गच्छो वरेण्यस्स-
37 तां विख्यातो चरिताश्रयो मुनिवरः कर्त्ता स्मृतेर्व्वेदवित् । त-
38 द्गोत्रे परवादिकुंजरघटासिंहो नृसिंहोभवद्यस्यो-
39 दाहरणं चरित्रमनघं वेदोक्तसत्कर्म्मणां ॥[9][15*॥] तस्यात्मजो या-
40 गविधानशाली बभूव भीमेश्वरसोमयाजी । यदीयहोमानल-
41 धूमरेखा दिशांगनापक्ष्मककर्न(र्ण)पूराः ॥[10][16*॥] पुत्रस्तदीयः किल पोति-
42 भट्टो गुणी ततोजायत गुंड्यार्थ्यः । तनूभवस्तस्य च पेद्दिविद्वा[न्]

[1] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.
[2] The anusvāra is written in the next line.
[3] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam*.
[4] Metre: *Upajāti*.
[5] Metre: *Upajāti*.
[6] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.
[7] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.
[8] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam*.
[9] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam*.
[10] Metre: *Upendravajrā*.

Three Copper-Plate Inscriptions of the Reddis: B. Pachchanitandiparru Grant of Anna-Vema.

ib.

iia.

iib.

iiia.

26 28 30 32

iiib.

34 36 38 40 42

iva.

44 46 48 50

Fourth Plate, First Side.

43 देवव्रचूडामणिरेव भा(भा)ति ॥[1][17॥*] शाकाब्दे रसरव्रभा(भा)स्करमिते मासि [नभ]-
44 स्ये तिथौ राकायां धरणीसुतस्य दिवसे पुष्ये ग्रमांकग्रहे । प्राद्रा-
45 त्पावनमाय पेद्दिविडुये श्रीयज्वेमाधिपो ग्रामं पञ्चलितांडि
46 पङ्क्तिभसमाटैम्बवर्यभोगान्वितं ॥[2][18॥*] अस्य ग्रामस्य सीमाचिह्नानि ॥
47 ऊरि येगाम्बं वर्त्तगिकुंटनुंडि प्रदक्षिणसुगानु अम्हतलू-
48 रि पोलसुसंधुन नाम्नैयदक्षिणं सागि बलुसुंडुड्ल मी-
49 दं बड्डुमऱ्ऱिचि दक्षिणमै नल्लगुंट मोचि चालुपुड्ल मीं-
50 द नाम्नैयदक्षिणमै तुऱ्ऱमिंडि पोलसु मोचि पड्डुमऱ्ऱिचि
51 पेद्दपुट्टनुंडि दक्षिणमै अम्हतलूरि डोंक दांटि अम्मिपुट्ट

Fourth Plate, Second Side.

52 मींद नैरृ(ऋ)तिपश्चिममै जंमिपुट्ट मींद दक्षिणमै कोंचपुट्ट मींदं बड्डु-
53 मऱ्ऱि जंमिपुट्ट मोचि दक्षिणमै उप्पिपुट्टल मींद मूलवंपुपुट्ट मोचि
54 पड्डुमऱ्ऱि वीरवंक उप्पिपुट्टल मींद नैरृ(ऋ)तिपश्चिममै दक्षिणमिंचि पड्डुमऱ्ऱि सागि
55 चोंड्रु मोचि पुट्टल मींदं बड्डुमऱ्ऱि दक्षिणमिंचि तुऱ्ऱमिंडिस्रोपऱ्ऱिनि-
56 पोलमुसंद्रु चोडु मोचि चार्लदि चालुपुड्ल मींद नैरृ(ऋ)तिपश्चिममै चींगु
57 ट इड्डिकावसु दक्षिणानंगानु पड्डुमऱ्ऱि तोकपोलमु तूर्पुंग-
58 डु उत्तरं मुद्दिन मड्डुक जम्मिपुट्ट मोचि दक्षिणमै गारकुंट तूर्पु
59 गड्ड मोचि पड्डुमऱ्ऱि कंदंपिपोलमु मोचि आर्मदिनुत्तरमै घवुऱ्ऱनगंडु-
60 र्[गु]ड्ड मींद वायव्योत्तरमै कंदंपितेनपुट्टन मींद उत्तरपु जं-
61 मिनंदि ऱ्ऱानि मींद नवुऱ्ऱपलेनु पड्डुमटंगानु कंमंपुट्ट मीं-
62 दं बड्डुमऱ्ऱिचि उत्तरमै पालकोटि मींद मोंतुकूरि चालपाटि सं

Fifth Plate, First Side.

63 पु पेद्द[नंदिकंमं मोचि आल]पाटि मंध्रु(धु)नंदूर्पं पुट्ट घवुऱ्ऱगुंट [मींद]
64 दक्षिण[मिंचि तूर्पु घवुऱ्ऱ]गंटल मींदं गोर्चिपुट्टनु मोचि उत(त्त)रमिंचि
65 तूर्पु जम्मिपुट्टल मींद नवुऱ्ऱोदिपुड मोचि उत्तरमै मूलपुट्टनुंडि तूर्पु जम्मि
66 मींद मूलपुट्टनुंडि जटलम्मपाटि तूर्पुकै उत्तरं सागि जम्मि मींद मु-

[1] Metre: Upêndravajrâ. [2] Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
[3] The anusvâra is written in the next line.

67 लपुइ मोचि जंमुन मींदंगां दूर्य्यं दक्षिणम्मिचि तुर्पुनाति नाडंज-
68 ट तिप्प पेद्दपुइवोरि उन्नि मोचि उत्तरमै गारपुइल मींदंगां कुल्लकु-
69 वुइ मोचि तुर्य्यं चतु(ळ्)गंटल मींदंगां वेदपूंडि चालपाटि मंदु
70 चतुटगुंट पदुमट नेडगलगोलपुइ मोचि उन्नि मींद दक्षिणं मागि उन्नि-
71 पुइ मोचि तुर्य्यं [पे]दपूंडि चालपाटि मंदु चौडु मोचि दक्षिणम्मिचि गोल-
72 कुंट तुर्पुनगंडि चालुपुइला मींदं दूर्पु मागि चड्डेम्मिपुंट मी-
73 चेनु ॥ एतेषां मध्यवर्त्तिक्षेत्रं ॥ स्वदत्ताद्वि(द्वि)गुणं पुण्यं परदत्तानुपा-

Fifth Plate, Second Side.

74 लनं परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत् ॥[॥*19॥] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
75 वा यो हरेत वसुंध्र(धा)रां । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां
76 जायते क्रिमिः ॥[20॥*] एकैव भगिनी लोके सर्व्वेषामपि भूभुजां
77 न भो(भो)ग्या न करग्राह्या विप्रदत्ता वसुंध(धा)रा ॥[॥*21॥] अयवेमनरें-
78 द्रस्य विद्वान् बालसरस्वती । अकरोदाकरो वाचा त्रिमो[न]
79 धर्म्मशासनं ॥[22॥*] मंमादकमहार्यो[;*] श्री श्री
80 श्रीपुल्लमर्वविनोद [॥*]

C

TEXT.

1 ई दांकां वोयि मगुडि उत्तरपुमुखमै कडुगुलकर वहि वचि रेवंवडिय
2 दापुन मूडुङ्ग मुननगुंडि देगमुडीकलु वचि कुनि पडमटिकि दिगि वंदु-
3 ड(ळ)दापुन मगुडि उत्तरानकु वोयि देगमुकुंइ तूर्पुन मगुडि तूर्पु-
4 मुखमै कुनि पश्चाकनपकपु मेल तिरिगि दक्षिणानकु नडचि कुनि तम्पडि-
कुंइ दक्षि-
5 णान वोरमि उत्तराभिमुखमै पोयि कुनि तूर्पुमुखमै नडचि गरतु येकि तूर्पु
6 नडचि कुनि दक्षिणमुखमै कुनि तूर्पुमुखमै इंदुपदुम नडुमुवहि नडचि क-
7 रतुन मगुडि दक्षिणमुखमै वचि यथास्थानानं गूडेनु ॥ दाता कोमटिवेम-
8 नाम नृपतिः पात्रं गुरुः शंकरः स्थानं चैल्यिनपाडुरव तु कविः श्रीनाथ-
भट्टारकः ।
9 कालश्चैत्रिवरात्रिपुण्यसमयः साक्षी महान् श्रीगिरिः श्रेयः किं न तु वर्ण्यते सुक-
10 विभिः कुर्वन्तु तच्छासनं ॥[1॥*] सर्वमान्यकृतधर्मशासनं पालयंतु भुवि भाविपार्थि-
11 वाः । अपहारपरिरक्षणादृते नास्ति नास्ति च यशो महीभुजां ॥[2॥*] स्वदत्ताद्वि(द्वि)गुणं

Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam.*

The anusvāra is written in the next line.

Metre : *Rathoddhatā.*

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS:
B. PACHCHANITANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VEMA.

276 A

ivb.

52–62

va.

64–72

vb.

74–80

12 पुण्यं परदत्तानुपालनं । परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत् ॥[1][3॥*] एकैव भ-
13 गिनी लोके सर्व्वेषामेव भूभुजां न भोज्या न करग्राह्या विप्रदत्ता वसुंधरा ॥[1][4॥*] स्व-
14 दत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां । षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां[2]-
15 जायते क्रिमिः ॥[1][5॥*]प्रतधर्मानुशासनं ॥ श्री ॥ श्रीवीरनारायणाख्य [॥*]

No. 42.—THE FOURTH SLAB OF THE KUMBHALGARH INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHARANA KUMBHAKARNA OF MEWAR, VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1517.

BY R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

This inscription found in a Vishṇu temple, originally called Kumbhasvāmī temple but now known as that of Māmādēva at Kumbhalgarh in Mewār territory, is engraved on one of the five big slabs likewise inscribed and placed by the Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarṇa in the said temple. Of these, the first, third, fourth and a small piece of the second slab have been discovered up to now and are now preserved in the Udaipur Museum. All are in a mutilated condition except the fourth, the text of which I edit from an ink-impression kindly placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha of Ajmer, who has given a brief notice of it in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, for the year 1925-26.

Each one of the slabs contains the same date, which reads as below :—

"संवत १५१७ वर्षे शाके १३८२ प्रवर्त्तमाने मार्ग्गशीर्षे वदि ५ सोमे प्रशस्तिः"

i.e., Monday, the 5th day of the dark half of Mārgaśiraha of the Saṁvat year 1517 and Śaka year 1382, which corresponds to 3rd November 1460 A.D.

The present slab contains ninety-one (180-270) verses written in fifty-one lines with a portion of a prose line at the end.

The **character** is Nāgarī of the 17th century A.D., common in Rājputāna during that period. The letters are on the average about ¼ of an inch and the space covered by the writing is about 3' 9"×3' 1".

The **language** is Sanskrit and the composition is excellent with the exception of a few wrong grammatical formations, *e.g.*, *vinasat* (l. 9), *aduvānubad* (l. 43).

As regards **orthography**, the following points may be noted :—*v* is usually distinguished from *b* except in a few places, *e.g.*, in *vibhāda* (l. 2), *-vabhāva* (l. 10), *-pivat* (l. 11), Vali- (l. 16), *vrāhmaṇam* (l.18), *parībadhi* (l. 33) and *bikhyātaḥ* (l. 38), *etc.*; consonants are doubled with a superscript *r* as in *-rddhvam* (l. 1), *-varṇṇanam* (l. 2), *-rddaṁḍa* (l. 8), *arṇṇvādhi-* (l. 22), *durggam* (l. 49), *etc.*; *sa* is used for *śa* in *sita* (l. 16). *Anusvāra* is used for nasals, as in *bhujaṁgō-* (l. 2), *chaṁcha-* (l. 3), *etc.*; and at the end of stichs and hemistichs, as in, *-rddhvaṁ* (l. 1),- *nābhaṁ* (l. 3), *-trishṇāṁ* (l. 10), *etc.* Visarga is omitted in *sutaravaistai*, *śastra-pūtai* (l. 1), while it is redundant in *Ilāmaḥ* (l. 42).

The inscription formed a *praśasti* of the Guhila rulers of Mewār and the present slab continues their account from Lakshmasiṁha down to the *Mahārāṇā* Kumbhakarṇa. The ninety verses found on the present slab are distributed as follows :—vv. 180-181 are devoted to Lakshmasiṁha, vv. 182-184 to Arisiṁha, vv. 185-190 to Hammīra, vv. 191-203 to Kshētrasiṁha, vv. 204-215

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[1] Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

[2] The *anusvāra* is written in the next line.

to Lakshasēna; vv. 216-232 to Mōkala and vv. 233-270 to the *Mahārāṇā* Kumbhakarṇa. After this is found the date, which is partly effaced on this slab. The contents of these verses may be thus summarised. Verse 180 continues the account of **Lakshmasiṁha** from the previous slab and states that he died (*in battle*) with his seven sons. He is also said to have won a victory over the Mālwā king **Gōgadēva** (v. 181). The next three verses are devoted to a description of the valour and benevolence of **Arisiṁha** who was born in Lakshmasiṁha's family and contains nothing of historical importance. Vv. 185-187 describe in general terms the qualities of **Hammīra.** This king, who belonged to Raghu's race and was known as *Vishamaghāṭī Pañchānana*, conquered the fort of **Chēlavāṭa** (v. 188). He was a pious, charitable and brave king and died leaving his son **Kshētrasiṁha** as heir (vv. 189-190). The latter destroyed an army of the Muhammadans near Chitrakūṭa (Chitor) and imprisoned the brave king **Raṇamalla** of Gūrjaramaṇḍala, who had humbled the pride of the Śaka (*i.e.*, Muhammadan) king (vv. 191-193). He took **Dēlavāṭa** and **Sōdhyāpura** and his enemy fled towards the sea at his approach (vv. 194-195). The next verse says that the valiant Raṇamalla who had suppressed **Dafara Khāna**, the lord of Pattana, and had killed many Muhammadans, could not even get a bed to sleep in the prison-house of Kshētrasiṁha. He drank up the ocean in the form of **Amīsāha** (v. 197), conquered the rulers of **Hāḍāvati**, brought their country under his sway and laid waste **Maṇḍalakara** (v. 198). The next verse says that the kings **Sādala** and others took fright at his approach and fled from their country. He struck terror in the mind of the Muhammadan ruler of Mālava and humbled his pride and also imprisoned the ruler of Gujarāt (vv. 199-201). The next verse repeats how he captured Amīsāha. He was succeeded by his son the *Mahārāṇā* **Lakshasēna** (v. 204). This ruler liberated *tristhalī* (*viz.* Gayā, Prayāga and Kāśī) from the Śakas (*i.e.*, Muhammadans) and in addition to various other gifts distributed his weight in gold and built temples at Gayā (vv. 205-211). He conquered the hill **Vardhana**, burnt down his enemies and subjugated the **Mēdas** (Mers) (v. 212). The next two verses inform us that he was a devotee of Śiva and made numerous land-grants. Verse 216 begins with the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Mahārāṇā* **Mōkala.** He is said to have made Brāhmaṇas to give up husbandry and devote themselves to the study of the Vēdas (v. 217). He also distributed his weight in gold and liberated Gayā (vv. 218-219). He conquered the whole of **Sapādalaksha** and made **Jālandhara** tremble with fear, while having taken **Śākambharī**, he made Delhi a doubtful possession to its sovereign. He also defeated **Pīrōja** and **Mahammada** (v. 221). He was devoted to the god Samādhīśvara (Śiva) whose temple at Chitor he repaired and added a gateway to it. He built a reservoir of water with a bridge and two *tīrthas* (bathing ghats) called Ṛiṇamōchana and Pāpamōchana, respectively (v. 223). He set up a lion cast of all metals as a vehicle of Dēvī and presented a gold Garuḍa to Vishṇu (vv. 224-225). The next seven verses only give a poetic description of the power and majesty of this ruler. With verse 233 begins a description of the reign of his son the *Mahārājādhirāja Rāyarāyā Rāṇērāya Mahārāṇā* **Kumbhakarṇadēva.** In verse 235 his mother's name is given as **Saubhāgyadēvī.** He was devoted to the god Ekaliṅga, restored his ruined temple, adding a gold *daṇḍa* and *kalaśa* to it, built a high *tōraṇa* and set up a beautiful flag having the emblem of the sun (vv. 239-241). He was *niḥśaṅka* (fearless) in composing poems and *nirbhaya* (undaunted) in battles, hence he was known as *niḥśaṅka-nirbhaya* (v. 242). He was a jewel of the family of the kings **Guhadatta, Khumāṇa, Śālivāhana, Ajaya** and others and adorned the throne of Kshētra, Laksha and Mōkala (v. 245). He conquered **Yōginīpura**, subdued the ruler of **Sōdhyā** and destroyed his enemies at **Maṇḍōvara** (vv. 247-249). He also captured **Raṇavīra** after ravaging **Hammīrapura**, destroyed **Dhānyanagara**, conquered **Yāgapura** and the mount **Vardhamāna** and humbled the pride of the **Mēdas** (vv. 250-254). According to the next two verses he seems to have resisted the ruler of Mālava. He also built tanks at **Jayavardhana**. He took **Janakāchala**,

distressed **Champavatī**, burnt the city of **Vṛindāvatī** and caused trembling to the hill fort of **Gargarāṭa** through valour (vv. 257-259). He burnt **Mallāraṇyapura**, upheld (?) **Siṁhapurī** by scattering the enemies, desolated **Ratnapura** and imprisoned many kings (v. 260). He conquered **Raṇastambha** in **Sapādalaksha**, devastated **Āmradādri**, got the best of his quarrel with **Kōṭarā** and laid waste **Bambāvadō** (vv. 261-262). He took the fort of **Maṇḍalakara**, won with ease **Hāḍāvatī**, fortified by numerous forts and made its rulers his feudatories and raised pillars of victory. Besides he conquered **Gōpura**, **Shaṭpura**, **Vṛindāvatī** and **Maṇḍaladurga**, desolated **Viśālanagara** and attacked **Giripura** whose ruler **Gaipāla** fled in terror (vv. 263-267). He defeated **Mahammada** at **Śāraṁgapura** and brought as captives numerous women of the lord of Pārasīkas (vv. 268-269). The last verse states that he drank up the ocean in the form of the army of the Mālava king. Then follows the date which is, as already mentioned, partly damaged in this inscription.

As regards the personages mentioned in this inscription, **Lakshmasiṁha** (v. 180) was the ruler of an estate called Sisōdā belonging to the Rāṇā (junior branch) of the Guhila family of Mewār. He was killed along with his seven sons[1] while fighting against 'Alāu-d-dīn Khaljī of Delhi in the siege of Chitor in A.D. 1303, during the reign of Rāwal Ratnasiṁha of Mewār. His victory over the Mālava king **Gōgadēva**[2] mentioned in v. 181 is also corroborated by the Rāṇapura[3] inscription. The battle which he seems to have fought with the Mālava king appears to have taken place during the reign of Ratnasiṁha's father Samarasiṁha.

Arisiṁha was killed in the battle of Chitor as said above. Only the youngest son of Lakshmasiṁha, namely Ajayasiṁha survived to become the ruler of Sisōdā.

Hammīra (v. 185) was the son[4] of Arisiṁha and succeeded to the throne of Sisōdā after his uncle Ajayasiṁha. He was very brave and gradually made himself master of the throne of Chitor.[5]

Kshētrasiṁha (v. 191) was the eldest son of Hammīra. The Muhammadan army which he destroyed near Chitor (v. 192) was that of Amī Shāh, as appears from verses 197, 200 and 202.

The brave **Raṇamalla**, who had humbled the Muhammadan king and killed many Muhammadans (vv. 193 and 196), was the ruler of Idar and was the son of Jaitkaran, who was defeated by the *Mahārāṇā* Hammīra.[6] **Dafar Khān**, the ruler of Pattan (v. 196), was probably **Zafar Khān (II)**, the governor of Gujarāt. He was a descendant of a converted Rājput and fought twice with Rāo Raṇamalla of Idar.[7] He afterwards assumed the name of Muzaffar Shāh, after making himself independent of the king of Delhi.[8]

Amī Sāha (vv. 197 and 202) was evidently the **Sulṭān Dilāvar Khān Ghurī** of Mālwā,[9] whose defeat by Kshētrasiṁha is mentioned in verses 197, 201 and 202.[10] The ruler **Sādal** and others referred to in v. 199 cannot be identified with certainty. Sādal, however, appears to be the ruler **Sātal** of Tōḍā in Jaipur state.

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[1] As appears from v. 180 of this record.

[2] He is called Kōkā and was defeated by 'Alāu-d-dīn's chieftain in A.D. 1304 (Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. I, p. 361.)

[3] *Bhavnagar Inscriptions*, p. 114. Also *Ann. Rep. Arch. Sur. of India*, 1907-08, p. 216.

[4] [The present inscription does not mention this relationship. It is found only in bardic poems. See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 526—Ed.]

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 55, p. 11.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[7] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. i, pp. 232-33.

[8] Duff's *Chronology*, p. 234.

[9] *Memoirs of Jehangir* by Alexander Rodgers, Vol. I, p. 407, Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 552.

[10] See also *Bhav. Ins.*, p. 119, verse 29, and Rajputana Museum *Report*, 1924-25, p. 3.

Mahārāṇā **Lakshasēna** (v. 204) was the son of Kshētrasiṁha. He was extremely charitable and liberated Gayā from the taxes of the Muhammadans by paying them off in gold, as is also known from another inscription.[1]

Mōkala (v. 216) was a son and successor of the *Mahārāṇā* **Lakshasiṁha**. He carried his victorious arms far and wide as appears from verses 221, 231, etc.

Pirōja or **Firoz** (v. 221) was the ruler of Nāgaur and was the son of Shams Khān, brother of the sultān Muzaffar Shāh (originally Zafar Khān referred to in verse 196 of this inscription) of Gujarāt. His defeat by Mōkala is also mentioned in other inscriptions.[2]

Mahammad (v. 221) cannot be identified definitely. Perhaps he stands for Ahmad (Ahmad Shāh) of Gujarāt, who was the grandson[3] of Muzaffar Shāh, I, and was contemporary with the *Mahārāṇā* Mōkala.[4]

Kumbhakarṇa (v. 233) popularly known as Kumbhā was the eldest son of Mōkala and succeeded his father to the throne of Chitor in V. S. 1490 (A.D. 1433).

Guhadatta, Śālivāhana, Khumāṇa and others referred to in v. 245 were the early predecessors of Kumbhakarṇa. Guhadatta was the founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewār. **Ajaya** or Ajayasiṁha evidently belonged to the Sisōdā branch and was the brother of Arisiṁha referred to in v. 182.

The lord of the Pārasīkas referred to v. 268 was Sultān **Maḥmūd Khaljī I**, of Mālava, who was defeated by the *Mahārāṇā* Kumbhā at Sāraṅgpur—a fact also mentioned in the Rāṇapur inscription. *Mahārāṇā* Kumbhā had to undergo a series of engagements[5] with the result that he completely broke the power of the Mālwā king, as is evident from v. 270 of this record.

Gayapāla (Gailā or Gōpāla) of v. 267 was the ruler of Dungarpur State.

As to the **places** mentioned in the inscription, **Chēlavāṭa** (v. 188) is now called Jilwārā in Mewār. **Dēlavāṭa** (v. 194) from Sans. Dēvakulapāṭaka is the modern town of Dēlwārā about 15 miles from Udaipur. **Hāḍāvaṭī** (v. 198) is the territory now called Hāṛauti, which at one time comprised the whole of the present Koṭāh and Būndi States. It is under the Hāḍās, a branch of the Chauhāns descended from the Chauhāns of Nāḍōl in Mārwār.[6] **Maṇḍalakara** (v. 198) now called Māṇḍalgaṛh, is a fort in the Udaipur State. The conquest of this place by Kshētrasiṁha is also mentioned in the Śṛiṅgi Ṛishi inscription.[7] **Vardhana** (v. 212) or **Vardhamāna** is now called Badnor, a town in Mewār.

Jālandhara (v. 221) really a district or town in the Panjāb is probably meant here for Jālor (Jāvālipur) in Mārwār. *Sapādalaksha* (v. 221) was the name of the territory that was under the Chauhāns. It roughly included parts of the modern Jodhpur, Jaipur, Koṭāh, Būndi and Kishangarh states and the eastern part of Mewār including Māṇḍalgaṛh. **Śākambharī** (v. 221) once the capital of the early Chauhāns is now called Sāmbhar.

The temple of **Samādhīśvara** (v. 222) is now called Adbadji or Mōkalji's temple. It was originally built by the Paramāra king Bhōja of Mālwā when he resided at Chitor and was called *Tribhuvananārāyaṇa*[8] after his surname 'Tribhuvananārāyaṇa'. It was also known as *Bhōjasvāmidēvajagatī*.[9]

[1] *Bhav. Ins.*, p. 119, verse 38.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 120, *verse* 44.
[3] Tod's supposition that he was the grandson of Firoz Tughlak of Delhi is wrong. [Tod's *Rājasthān*, *Vol. I*, p. 331].
[4] [Probably the reference here is to Muhammad Tughluq. See *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 527 ff.—Ed.]
[5] See Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. IV, pp. 208-24.
[6] J.A.S.B. (New Series), Vol. XXVII, p. 160.
[7] Rājputānā Museum *Report*, 1924-25, p. 3.
[8] *Ibid.*, 1920-21, p. 4.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Yōginipura (v. 247) is the town of Jāvar in Mewār. **Maṇḍōvara** (v. 249) is the ruined town of Maṇḍōr in Jodhpur State. **Yāgapura** (v. 253) is the town of Jahāzpur in Udaipur State. **Vṛindāvatī** (v. 264) is now the town of Būndi in Rājputāna. **Gargarāṭa** (v. 259) is the town of Gāgraun in Koṭāh State. **Siṁhapurī** (v. 260) is the town Sihor in Central India. **Raṇastambha** (v. 261) is the fortress of Ranthambhor in Jaipur State. **Āmradādri** (v. 262) is Āmbēr, the old capital of the Jaipur State. **Bambavadō** or Bōnibāōdā (v. 262) lies in the eastern part of Mewār. **Shaṭpura** (v. 264) is the town of Khaṭakar in Būndi State. **Viśālanagara** (v. 265) is called Visalanagar in Gujarāt. **Giripura** (v. 266) is the town of Ḍuṅgarpur in Rājputāna. **Sāraṅgapura** (v. 268) is an ancient town in Central India. **Kōṭarā** is modern Kotrā, now a military station in Mewār. I am unable to identify the other localities mentioned in the inscription.

TEXT.

[Metres : vv. 180, 186, 192, 193, 197, 201, 205, 209, 216, 217, 218, 219, 221, 229, 233, 241, 260, 263, 264 and 270, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 181 and 230, *Śikhariṇī* ; vv. 182, 191, 204, 214 and 234, *Upēndravajrā* ; vv. 183 and 244 *Āryā* ; v. 184, *Hariṇī* ; vv. 185, 190, 194, 198, 203, 207, 220, 222, 235, 240, 248, 250, 267, 269, *Upajāti* ; v. 187, *Vaṁśastha* ; vv. 188 and 243 *Mālinī* ; vv. 189, 206 and 213, *Indravajrā* ; vv. 195, 239, 245, 246, 254, 259 and 266, *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 196, 199, 200, 228, 231, 237, 238 and 252, *Sragdharā* ; vv. 202 and 255, *Bhujaṅgaprayāta* ; v. 208, *Vaitālīya* ; vv. 211 and 215, *Ruchirā* ; vv. 223, 224, 225, 247, 262, *Rathōddhatā* ; vv. 226 and 227, *Drutavilambita* ; vv. 210, 236 and 257, *Pṛithvī* ; vv. 242, 249, 253, 261 and 265, *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 256 and 258, *Viyōginī* ; vv. 212, 232, 251 and 268, *Śālinī*.]

1 षड्भिर्भिः किमु सप्तभिः परिहृतः समाचिरयागतः किंवा सप्तभिरेव सप्तिभिरि [वायात]समभिहितः ॥(।) इत्यं समभिरन्वितः सुतवरैस्तै[:*] ग्रस्तपूतै[:*] सह प्राप्ते भुविरभूत्सुपर्वनृपतेः श्रीलक्ष्मसिंहे नृपे ॥ १८०[॥*] अरिसिंह्यारातिभ्र-मरतिलक्ष(कं) गीर्षकमले स राड् [गो]गादेवो-

2 पि च समधिभूर्मानवभुवः ॥(।) विजिग्ये येनाजौ निजभुजभुजंगोऽगरलप्रसारात् सिंचान: समभवदसौ तस्मान्नृपतिः ॥ १८१[॥*] इति महाराणाश्रीलप(क्ष)मसीवर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ अरिसिंहवर्णनं ॥ अभून्नृसिंहप्रतिमोऽरिसिंहस्तदन्वये भव्यपरंपराये ॥(।) वि(वि)भेद यो वैरिगजेंद्रकुंभस्थली-

3 मनूनां नखखड्गघातैः ॥ १८२[॥*] पीतवैरिरुधिराद्विपुलांगाद्भुतात्यदसिंहाश्वभुजंगात् ।(तै) अद्भुतं समभवाम्बकनागामंडनं नवयग्रस्तुहिनाभं ॥ १८३[॥*] गंगाधवलया कीर्त्यैनैव प्रतापदिवाकरद्युतिमिलितया मन्ये प्रत्यायययिव भासतं ॥(।) रजतनिचयं दाम्ये चंचच्चत्वारजतं तया

4 त्वजतु विपुलां चित्ते चिंतां धनीपकमंडली ॥ १८४ [॥*] इति अरिसिंह-वर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ महाराणाश्रीहमीरवर्णनं ॥ हमीरवीरो रणरंगधीरो वाद्याकुरोलवितवेकिकीरः ॥(।) धराधवालंकरणैकहीरस्फुरत्तद्रनो भूपितसिंधुनीरः ॥१८५[॥*] मन्येभूकुरगौरगौः समभवत्कल्पद्रुमः काल-

5 नातोतो गोडणपर्वतोपि सुधियां नो मानसं रोहति ॥(।) चिंतामात्रमपि ज्ञने ज(ज)नावनमडतां धर्मेधिको भूधवे दानप्रोल्लसत्ताम्रपाणिकमले कर्णादय: किं पुन: ॥ १८६[॥*] यदर्पितैर्वाजिजनस्तुरंगमैरनर्घ्यहेमांगदहारकुंडलै: ॥(।) अलंकृत: कल्पतरो व्रजतामयं सुराधिराजं हसतीव

6 वैभवात् ॥ १८७[॥*] कटकतुरगहेषाविश्रुते ख्य(ख्या)तधैर्ये व्रजति च गतुभूपे कांदिशीके पलाय्ये(य्य) ॥(।) चहुड विषमधाटीपीठपंचाननोसावरिपुरम[भिदुर्गं] चेलवाटं विजिग्ये ॥ १८८[॥*] वैश्रवणाधिके दाने वीरश्रीवरणे रणे ॥(।) कदाचिदेव विश्रांत: करो हम्मीरभूपते: ॥ १८९[॥*] स चित्रमिंद्र तन-

7 ये निधाय तेज: स्वकीयं त्रिदिवं जगाम ॥(।) यद्धो यथार्कोस्तमयं हि भावी महात्मनामप निसर्गसिद्ध: ॥ १९०[॥*] इति महाराणाश्रीहम्मीरवर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ महाराणाश्रीक्षेत्रसिंहवर्णनं ॥ ततोभिभूमीशमदेभसिंह: स्वनादवित्रासितमत्तसिंह: ।(।) संभावनामोदितभव्यसिंह: शशास

8 भूमिं किल क्षेत्रसिंह: ॥ १९१[॥*] येनानर्गलभल्लदीर्घभुजया श्रीचित्रकूटांतिके तत्सैनिकघोरवैरिनिनदप्रध्वस्तधैर्योदया ॥(।) सम्ये यावनवाहिनी निजपविद्धाणस्य हेतोरलं भूमिचेपमिषेण भीपरवशा पातालमूलं ययौ ॥ १९२[॥*] संग्रामाजिरसीम्नि शौर्यविलसद्दोर्दंडहेलोल्ल-

9 सद्यापप्रोद्गतबाणखंडितमितावातिप्रतापानल: ॥(।) वीरश्रीरणमल्लमूर्च्छितमकल्पायातगर्वांतकं ष्मू(स्फू)र्जह्न(हु)जंरमंडलीश्वरमसौ काराग्रहेवीवसत् ॥ १९३ स्वर्गो नु नूनं महदुद्यमो यदित्थं वचस्तत्फलं करिष्णु: ।(।) शोध्यां पुरीमातलमूलभारं स्वं देलवाटं पुरमानिनाय ॥ १९४ ॥

10 वीरस्य यस्य समरेपि करं कृपाणीमुल्लंघुकाममभिटानिलवल्लभ्या ॥(।) दृष्ट्वा भुजंगयुवतीमिव वैरिवर्गोचामात्समुद्रमपि गो: पदतामनैषु: ॥ १९५[॥*] माद्यन्माद्यन्महेभप्रखरकरहतिचितराजन्ययूथो यं पा(खा)न: पत्तनेशो दफर इति समाभाद्य कुंठीव(ब)भूव ॥ सोयं सब्बो रणादि:

11 शकुलवनितादत्तवैधव्यदीक्ष: कारागारे यदीये नृपतिशतयुतं संकरं नापि तेमे ॥ १९६[॥*] गजवंचलवाजिवीचितरलं सच्छत्त्रनिम्नाकुलं माद्यत्कुंभिसपत्तखेलदचलं सत्पत्तिमीनाकुलं ॥(।) रथ्याग्राहचलाचलं स्फुरदसीसार्थाद्दुनाद्योल्बणं यो शेषादपिव(ब)त् शकार्णवमम-

12 स्वं त समूढेखिलं ॥ १९७[॥*] हाडावटीदेशपतीन् स जित्वा तन्मंडलं चात्मवशीचकार ॥(।) तदत्र चित्रं खलु यत्कृतांते तदेव तेषामिव यो बभंज ॥ १९८[॥*] यात्रोत्तुंगतुरंगचंचलखुराघातोच्छि(च्छ्रि)ते रेणुभि: मेहि

[1] Grammatically समासम.

यस्य न लुप्तरश्मिपटलव्याजात्प्रतापं रविः ॥(।) तच्चित्रं किमु सादलादिकान्यया यथाक्र[ता*]न्तवसु-

13 स्वद्रा स्थानि पुराणि वास्तु वलिनां मूर्च्छो गुरुर्वा पुरः ॥ १९९ मग्नाग्निवल्ग- ताजिसंघटभटव्रातोच्छलच्छोणितच्छन्नप्रोद्गतपांसुपुंजविसरप्रादुर्भवत्कर्दमः ॥(।) यस्तः मासि हतो रणे शकपतिर्यस्मात्तया मालवश्चापीथापि यथा भयेन चकितः स्वप्नेपि तं पश्यति ॥ २०० [॥*] वारंवारम-

14 नेकवारणघटासंघट्टविषामितानेकच्छापतिवीरमालवशकाधीशैकगर्वांतकः ॥(।) संग्रामाजिरसंगतारिनगरीलुंटाकबाहुर्नृपः ॥[1] कारागारनिवासिनो व्यचर(रच)यत् यो गू(गु)र्जरान् भूमिपान् ॥ २०१ [॥*] धमीमाहिरयाक्ति येनाह्निनेत्र(त्र) स्फुरद्रोक- एकांगवीरव्रतेन ॥(।) जगचा(चा)णक्यस्य पा

15 णौ कृपाणः प्रसिद्धोभवद्भूपतिः वे(खे)तराणः ॥ २०२ [॥*] गुरोः प्रसादादधिगम्य विद्यामष्टांगयोगस्थिरचित्तवृत्तिः ॥(।) ब्रह्मैकतानः परमात्मभूयं जगाम संसारनिवृत्तवु(बु)द्धिः ॥ २०३ इति महाराणाश्रीचैत्रसिंहवर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ महाराणाश्रीलक्षसेनवर्णनं ॥ सहस्रनेत्रादिव वैजयंती म-

16 हासमुद्रादिव सौ(शौ)तरश्मिः ॥(।) मुनेः पुलस्त्यादिव वित्तनाथो बभूव तस्मादिह लक्षसेनः ॥ २०४ यशोभिः किमयं न सौम्यवपुषः किं धर्मसूनोनुजः स्फीतः सोयमयं व(ब)लिश्रिपदिकामात्रप्रदः किं न सः ॥(।) इत्थं तुल्यसुवर्णदानसमये यः पार्श्वगैर्याश्रितो विद्वद्भिः स्वभुजार्जिताधि-

17 कधनः चीलच[2]सिंहो नृपः ॥ २०५ [॥*] जंबूद्रवः किं परिलोय राज्ञानीतः सुमेरुर्नु समाहृतो वा ॥(।) इत्यूहिरे तुल्यसुवर्णराशिमुच्चैरवेक्ष्यास्य वनीपकौघाः ॥ २०६ [॥] कीनाशपाशान् मकलानपास्यत् यत्तिस्थलीमोचनतः शकेभ्यः ॥(।) भु(तु)लादिदानातिभर(रो) व्यतारीत्सक्ष्माच्युभूपो नितान्तप्रतीयः ॥ २०७ [॥*]

18 रविरिव नलिनीं निशातुषारात् विधुरिव यामवतीं महांधकारा[त्] ॥(।) पवन इव घनाम्बवार्कभासं यवनकराच्च गयाममोचयद्यः ॥ २०८ [॥*] मलोपादिव विप्रवृत्तिमचलां दास्यादिव ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणीं गां पंकादिव मोचयन् खलु गयां वं(ब)धाच्चजीवव्रभः ॥(।) थागोपालकभूमिपालमसकृच्चक्रेखिलान् याचकान् कृ-

19 त्वा मुक्तिमहाद्भुतं पितृगणानानंदयन्नापरं ॥ २०९ [॥*] न कांचनतुलामसौ व(ब)हुविधाय मंदादरो न कांचन तुलां परैः सममवाप्तुमैच्छत् क्वचित् ॥(।) गयामपि विमोच्य तां तुरगयानहेमादिभिश्चकार पृथिवीश्वरः किमु गयां स्वकीर्त्तिं पुनः ॥ २१० [॥*] अमोचयद्यवनकराद्गयामयं तुला व्यधादमि-

[1] Daṇḍas unnecessary.

[2] च is written on the margin.

20 तपराक्रमोमिता: ॥(।) अपूजयत्कनकभरैर्मयीसुरानकावयत्कुन्तनितयान्तचोस्तनान् ॥ २११ [॥*] मिदामाराङ्गमादुन्नमत्तद्वैरीधीरध्यानविध्वस्तधैर्यान् ॥(।) कारंकारं योधतो- दृप्ततेजा दृष्ट्वाराति(र्व)ंडनाख्यं गिरींद्र ॥ २१२ [॥*] इयं(च्च)(च)वत्रचनरेश्वरस्य वृत्ति[:*]प्रवृत्ति(त्तिः) स्वभुजार्जितैव ॥(।) ये भुंजते सान्वयलोप-

21 यत्वं यासं मृगाला इव भूमिपाला: ॥ २१३ [॥*] यदप्यितैर्गर्विगतो महद्भिर्यामैर- नंतैरभजन्नृपत्व[म्*] ॥(।) तदंकितै: ग्रामनपथपूर्गैरनारतं मुक्ताफलानिवामीत् ॥ २१४ [॥*] विमोचितान् बहुविधवीरसंकुलैर्विलोकितुं जननिचयानिवागमत् ॥(।) त्रिवीतिकं त्रिपथपरित:(त:) त्रिवाधवक्रमांबुजा चैनपरिक्रीण-

22 कम्प(क्म)य: ॥ २१५ [॥*] इति महाराणाश्रीलक्षसिंहवर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ महाराजाधिराजमहाराणाश्रीमृगांकमोकलेंद्रवर्णनं ॥ पयोधेरिव पारिजातक- मखंडद्युतिर्हेद(ड)म्बरसर्वसुपर्वणामधिपतेराभोजयंतो यथा ॥(।) देवस्येव षडाननो रघुपतेर्वद्वत् कुशो भूपतेरस्यासीदतुलप्रतापतपन:

23 श्रीमोकलेंद्रोंगज: ॥ २१६ [॥*] यो विप्राम(न)मितान् बलिं कलयत: कार्येन द्विजेरलं वेदं सांगमपाठयत् कलिगलग्रस्ते धरित्रीतले ॥(।) देवान्मीन इवापर: श्रुतवतामानंदकंद: कलाकौशल्यलतीनवीनजलदो भूमंडलाखंडल: ॥ २१७ [॥*] हृष्टेन रचयंतमद्भुततुलाहेम्न: सदा संपदामाग्या-

24 वृतितर्पितो व्यचरयत् मखे तुलोपायनं ॥(।) तत्पूर्वं कनकाचलं जयमहारथम् स चैलोपमो सूर्याचंद्रमसौ हिमाद्रिमकरोद्दंडं सुरग्रामणी: ॥ २१८ [॥*] एतन्मुक्त- गयाविमुक्तापिठभि: प्रोक्षंस्यमानो हठाहडा संयमिनीं निषत्वनुगवादित्थं तु भूमिं यम: ॥(।) किं सामर्थ्यमपोचितं खलु कलेर्यातो ॥

25 कामादयो मुखं याति न कोधिकारविरतो वर्त्ताधिको कालतो ॥ २१९ [॥*] कलंक- मल: किमेल: किमु मन्मथो वा किमाश्विनेयाहितयादिरैक: ॥(।) कलंक- मुक्त: किमु यामिनीशश्चिरत्यंजनो यत्र वितर्कमेति ॥ २२० [॥*] चालोक्याय सपादलक्षमखिलं जालंधरान् जंपयन् दिल्ली शंकितनायकां व्यचर(रच)यदादाय शाकंभरीं ॥(।)

26 पीरोजं समरे मदंमदं शरमतेरापात्य य(:*) प्रोल्लसन्(न्)कुंतव्रातनिपातदोर्ध- हृदयांन्तस्थावधीईतिन: ॥ २२१ [॥*] नृप: समाधीश्वरभिद्धतेजा: समाविभाजां परमं रहस्यं ॥(।) चाराध्य तस्यालयमुदधार श्रीचित्रकूटे मणितोरणांकं ॥ २२२ [॥*] तीर्थमत्र ऋणमोचनं महत्पापमोचनमपि चितीश्वर: ॥(।) चाक-

[1] Read कुन्तप्रांतनिपात-

[2] Read व्यरचयत्.

[3] These two syllables are redundant.

27 कुंडमपि सेतुमंडनं मंडनं त्रिजगतामपि व्यधात् ॥ २२३ [॥*] यः सुधांशुमुकुटप्रियांगणे वाहनं खगपतिं मनोरमं ॥(।) निर्मितं सकलधातुभक्तिभिः पीठरचणविधाविव व्यधात् ॥ २२४ [॥*] पक्षिराजमपि चक्रपाणये हेमनिर्मितममी ददौ नृपः ॥(।) येन नीलजलदच्छविर्विभुर्यंचलायुत इवाधिकं बभौ ॥ २

28 २५ [॥*] जगति विश्रुतिमाप स मोकलः प्रतिभटक्षितिपैरसमोकलः[1] ॥(।) रविसुराधिपशेषसमोकलः[2] प्रतिनिधिर्भुवनेपि स मोकलः ॥ २२६ [॥*] स नृवरो नृवरोचितवेषभृ[त्][पव*]नसुत्पवनोदितवैभवः ॥(।) अवनतोवनतोपि महत्तर(रः) सकलमोकलमोकलमोकलः[3] ॥ २२७ [॥*] दंडः छत्रेषु भीतोवस्थितिर्विहृति-

29 तौ बंधनं मारणीषु प्रायः सारीषु हिंसा रतिततिषु कटाक्षांगुलीतर्जनायां ॥(।) भेदः कोर्भेवृक्षानां क्षतिरपि मनसश्चारुगेहेषु नित्यं यस्मिन् शासत्यनर्वभवदिव वसुधाराजिराजन्वतीत्वं ॥ २२८ [॥*] यस्तैराजनम दिन(नं) दिनमधिप्रतैर्दप्रीत्यादिभिर्दानैरभिरलंकृतानुकृतिकव्यापारपारंगमैः ॥(।)

30 मत्वेतीव निराकृतोथ वसुधानाथोरुदानक्रमः श्रीमानत्र समस्तदाननिलयं ब्र(ब्र)ह्मांडदान(नं) व्यधात् ॥ २२९ [॥*] अमुष्मादुद्भूतः सततमनुभूतार्थनिगमः क्षमः प्रौढक्षोणीपरिवृढहठोन्मादहतिषु ॥(।) चरित्रेण स्वीयां(या)न्वयमतिपवित्रेण कलयन् कलौ धर्म्या(र्म्या)धारो गुरुगरिमभूर्मोकलविभुः ॥ २३० [॥*] यं-

31 गाः संग्रामभंगाः स्रुतवनविटपाः कामरूपा विरूपा वंगा गंगैकसंगा गतनिरुदमदा जातसादा निषादाः ॥ चीनाः संग्रामदीनाः स्खलदसिधनुषो भीतिमुग्धास्तुरुष्का(तुरुष्काः) भूमीपृष्ठे यदिष्टे स्फुरति मदिमनि क्ष्मापतेर्मोकलस्य ॥ २३१ [॥*] तापं तापं वाडवौर्वाग्निनासौ वेपं वेपं वैरिगको-दकौघे ॥(।) नायं नायं दा-

32 र्ग्यमेवं कृपाणौ भेदं भेदं भानुबिंबं विवेश ॥ २३२ [॥*] इति महाराजाधिराजमहाराणाश्रीमृगांकमोकलेंद्रवर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ महाराजाधिराजरायरायाराणेरायमहाराणाश्रीकुंभकर्णवर्णनं ॥ मूलं धर्मतरोः फलं श्रुतवतां पुण्यस्य गेहं श्रियामाधारः सगुणोत्करस्य जनिभूः सत्यस्य धामौजसः ॥(।) धैर्यस्या-

[1] "प्रतिभटक्षितिपैरसमोकलः" = प्रतिभटक्षितिपैः [illegible] [illegible]; that is, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] इत्यर्थः ।

[2] "रविसुराधिपशेषसमोकलः" = रविसुराधिपशेषसमः [illegible] ; [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] प्रति [illegible] इत्यर्थः ।

[3] "सकलमोकलमोकलमोकलः" [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]; [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] । ([illegible] विष्णु and [illegible] शिव)

33 पि पयाव(प)धिः प्रतिनिधिः कल्पद्रुमस्याखिलां वीरस्तत्तनयः प्रशास्ति जगती(तीं) श्रीकुंभकर्णो नृपः ॥ २३३ [॥*] समस्तदिङ्मंडललब्धवर्णः स्फुरत्प्रतापाधरिता-र्कवर्णः ॥(।) स्वदानमुद्रा जितभोजकर्णस्तनोति मही रक्षति कुंभकर्णः ॥ २३४ [॥*] उपास्य जम्बाचितये गजास्य कनीयसी मातरमेकशक्तेः ॥(।) श्रीकुंभ-कर्णोयम-

34 लंभि माध्वा सौभाग्यदेव्या तनयश्चिरमभिः ॥ २३५ ॥*] यतः क्षितिभुजां मर्यादावकुलस्य चूडामणिः प्रसिद्धगुणसंभवो जगति कुंभनामा नृपः ॥(।) प्रवीरमदभंजनः प्रमुदितः प्रजारंजनाद्दयायत निजायतेचणजितेंदिरामंदिरः ॥ २३६ ॥*] वेदानुद्धृत्य प्रचाङ्गवमपि भुजयोस्तां बिभर्त्ति चिणोति चूद्रान् यश्च

35 बलिडिड्वलमहितत्तरचवसुच्छादा घत्वा ॥(।) रक्षोकपारिमूर्द्धभरत्नपशमनः सुचभी मोच्चघाती जीयात् श्रीकुंभकर्णो दशविधक्षनितात् श्रीपतिः कोपि नव्यः ॥ २३७ ॥*] सच्छीशानंदकत्वात् त्रिभुवनरमणीचित्तसंमोहकत्वात्कायच्छायाभिरामभूत्वादपुर-मसतया कुंभकर्णो महींद्रः ॥(।) कामं कामोस्तु मोघीकृतत इह परं

36 कीजनं जेतुकामः संयमीमेन साक्षात्क्रियत इति नवं कोजनोकोजनोपि ॥ २३८ ॥*] वि(वि)भ्राजते सकलभूवलयैकवीरः श्रीमेदपाटवसुधोद्धरणैकधीरः ॥(।) यस्यैकलिंगनिजसेवन चल्युदार कीर्त्तिप्रशस्तिरचनां सुरभीकरोति ॥ २३९ ॥*] एकलिंगनिलयं च खंडितं प्रोन्नतोरणलसन्मणिचक्रं ॥(।) भानुबिंब-

37 मिलितोच्चपताकं सुंदरं पुनरकारयं नृ(यन्नृ)पः ॥ २४० ॥*] मा भूरक्षुभ्यदतुच्छ-दुग्धजलधिस्वच्छोच्छलद्वीचिवत्तस्य(स्य:)यस्कृतपूर्वपूरुषयशस्तालंकुच[द*]वृत्ति-मत् ॥(।) इत्थं चारु विचार्य कुंभनृपतिस्त्वानैकलिंगे व्यधात् रम्यान् मंडपहेमदंड-कलशांस्त्रैलोक्यशोभातिगान् ॥ २४१ ॥*] निःशंकः काव्यसंदर्भे रणारंभे च निर्भ-

38 यः ॥(।) वि(वि)ख्यातः कुंभकर्णोयमिति निःशंकनिर्भयः ॥ २४२ ॥*] व्रजति विजययात्रां यत्र विश्वस्तगर्वी रयस्तुरय(ख)रवातोत्खातधूलीनिलीनं ॥(।) गगनतलमशेषं वीच(च्य)संजातमोहो नयति रविरथाश्वान् सारथिः साहसि-क्यात् ॥ २४३ श्रीचित्रकूटविमुखमुक्ततरवार्ग्रियातितारातिः ॥(।) गिरिजा-चरणसरोरुहरो-

39 लंबः कुंभभूपतिर्जयति ॥ २४४ ॥*] विख्यात[कीर्त्तिगु*]रुदत्तखुमाणमालिवाहजय-प्रस्वनिभपतिर्वंशरत्नं ॥(।) श्रीविक्रमचन्द्रपमोजनभूमिपालसिंहासनं सफलयत्यव

कुंभकर्णः ॥२४५॥*] या नारदीयनगरावनिनायकस्य नार्यो निरंतरमचोषरदब्र-
दाश्च ॥(।) तां कुंभकर्णनृपतेरिव कः सहेत बाणावलीमसम-

40 संगरसंचरिष्णोः ॥ २४६ ॥*] योगिनीपुरमजेयमग्यमो योगिनीचरणकिंकरो नृपः ॥(।)
कुंतलाकलितवैरिसुंदरीविभ्रमैरमितविक्रमोग्रहीत् ॥२४७ ॥*] यश्चंदमः खाङ्गिमरो-
जलवनं विशोध्य शोध्याधिपतिप्रतीपं ॥(।) अरुंतुदं कंटकमिवतंत्रा भंक्ताचि-
पद्मुमितलेशमग्रूचा ॥ २४८ ॥*] येन वैरिकुलं हत्वा

41 मंडोवरपुरस्यडे ॥(।) घनायि गांति(तिं)[1] शेया[म्नि]नांगवीनयनांवुभिः ॥ २४९ ॥*]
विश्टरा हमीरपुरं ग्रारोत्करैर्निग्यश्च तस्मिन् रणवीरविक्रमं ॥(।) पर्यग्रहीद्-
बु(बु)त्रमंजुलोचना महीमहेंद्रो नरपालकन्यकाः ॥ २५० ॥*] नानादिग्भ्यो(ग्भ्यो)
राजकन्याः समेत्य क्षोणीपालं कुंभकर्णं वृणंते ॥(।) सत्यं रत्नं जायते
सागरादौ

42 वृत्तं विश्वोवेव एवास्य धाम:(म) ॥ २५१ ॥*] श्रात्ताः काश्चिद्धठेन प्रतिनृपति-
भटान् दंडयित्वा च काश्चित् काश्चिद्राजन्यवर्यैर्व्रनगजतुरगैः सार्धमानीय
दत्ताः ॥(।) अन्याः प्रौढाविधाटीवललतहरणाः प्रत्यहं राजकन्या नव्या
नव्या महीभृद्धिविधि परिणयत्येव कामो नवीनः ॥ २५२ ॥*] स श्रं ।
धान्यनग-

43 रमामूलादुदमूलयत् ॥(।) पुरारिविक्रमो यागपुरं पुरमिवाजयत् ॥ २५३ ॥*]
ज्वालावलीवलयितां व्यतनोद्यवालीं मचीरवीरसुदवीवहदेव नीरं ॥(।) यो
वर्धमानगिरिमातु(श्च) विजित्य तस्मिन्मोदानम(मं)दमदवद्वविधीनवाधीन्(त्) ॥
२५४ ॥*] भवानी दवालीशिखावल्लिखालीसमालीढभानीकरालीप्रताली ॥(।) ग-

44 भीरांधकारं चणायस्य संख्येऽपिपरंदेव्यमन्यैर्नयद्भूपदीपैः ॥ २५५ ॥*] जनकाचलसुच-
शेष(ख)रं बलवज्वालवनायमस्तके ॥(।) प्रवरं गिरिदुर्गमुन्नतचरणं वाममिव
न्यघादयं ॥ २५६ ॥*] महोच्चजनकाचले निखिलमालवक्ष्मापतेर्गले पदमिव
न्यधादमितविक्रमो भूपतिः ॥(।) सरांसि जयवर्द्धनेक्षत पुरेपि यो

45 वर्द्धने महामहिमशेखरे विपुलवप्रमुपक्लृप्तिः ॥ २५७ ॥*] जनकाचलमग्रहीदलं
महतीं चंपवतीमतीतपत् ॥(।) गिरिसुंदरखोलखंडनावनिवज्रायुध एष भूपतिः
॥ २५८ ॥*] प्रत्यर्थिपार्थिवपराजयजन्यजैतुवृंदावतीपुरमदोदमदेयवीरः ॥(।) तद्व-
गंराटगिरिदुर्गमपि क्षणेन मंचोभमाप यदपारपराक्रमे-

[1] This however spoils the metre.

[2] Wrongly used for *nideśayat* ?

46 ण ॥ २५८ [॥*] मल्लारणपुरं द(ब)रेल्लमनलज्वालावलीढं व्यधाद्वीरः सिंहपुरीम-
पीभरट्[1]मिप्रध्वस्तवैरिव्रजः ॥(।) यत्रं रत्नपुरप्रभंजनविधावाधाय धीमानतो नार्थं
नायमनेकराजनिवहान् कारागृहेष्वीक्षत्[2] ॥ २६० [॥*] यदातीनां प्रादलत्तं
सपादलक्षनीहृतं ॥(।) कृत्वा मल्लारणवीरो रणस्तंभं तथाजयत् ॥

47 २६१ [॥*] प्रास्वदाद्रिदलनेन दारुणः कोटडाकालकैकनिकेसरी ॥(।) कुंभकर्णनृपति-
बं(वं)शावदोधूलनोद्धत(त)भुजो विराजते ॥ २६२ [॥*] नम्रानेकनृपालमौलिनिकर-
प्रत्युप्तहीरांकुरश्रेणीरश्मिमिलच्चरणद्युतिभरः शत्रून् रणप्रांगणे ॥(।) दीर्घादोलितबाहुदंड-
विलसत्कोदंडदंडोल्ल[स*]द्वाणाख्यान्

48 वि[रच]य्य मंडलकरं दुर्गं चणेनाजयत् ॥ २६३ [॥*] जित्वा देशमनेकदुर्गविषमं
हाडावटीं हेलया तन्नाथान् करदान्विधाय च जयस्तंभानुदस्तंभयत् ॥(।)
दुर्गं गोपुरमत्र पट्टपुरमपि प्रौढां च वृंदावतीं श्रीमन्मंडलदुर्गमुच्चविलसच्छाला
विशालां पुरीं ॥ २६४ [॥*] उत्खातमूलं सलिलैः प्रभंजन इव द्रुमं ॥(।)

49 विशालनगरं राजा समूलमुदमूलयत् ॥ २६५ [॥*] तत्रागरीनयत्र(न)नोरुतरंगिणी-
नामंगीकृतं किमु समुत्तरणं तुरंगैः ॥(।) श्रीकुंभकर्णनृपतिः प्रविलोर्णकर्ण-
शालोडयद्रिपुरं यदमोभिरयः ॥ २६६ [॥*] यदीयगर्जद्गजतूर्यघोषसिंहस्वनाक-
र्णननष्टवीर्यः ॥(।) विहाय दुर्गं सहसा पलायांचकार

50 गैपाल्युगालवालः ॥ २६७ [॥*] त्यक्ता दीना दीनदीनाधिनाथा दीना बद्धा येन
सारंगपुर्यां ॥(।) योषाः प्रौढाः पारसीकाधिपानां ताः संख्यातुं नैव शक्नोति
कोपि ॥ २६८ [॥*] मद्दोमदो मुकुतरो न चेयः सख्याभिघातेन घनार्जनत्वे ॥(।)
इतीव सारंगपुरं विलोड्य महंमदं त्याजितवान्मदं ॥ २६९ [॥*] गर्त्तक्षि(प)-

51 तिमिंगिलाकुलतरं रंगत्तुरंगोर्मिमन्मातंगोद्धतनक्रचक्रममितं प्राकारवेलाचलं ॥(।)
एतद्वध्यपुराग्निवाडवमसौ यस्मात्तदंभोनिधिं क्षोणीशः पिबति स्म खड्गचुलुक-
स्तस्मादगस्त्यः स्फुटं ॥ २७० ॥ संवत् [१५१७ वर्षे शा······]

[1] Correctly *vyadhārat*.
[2] Read [illegible]

No. 43.—GOKAK PLATES OF DEJJA-MAHARAJA.

By N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A., Ootacamund.

These **copper-plates** were found in the year 1926 in the house of Mr. Govinda Rao Mutalik Desai of **Gōkāk** in the Belgaum District of the Bombay Presidency and are now in the possession of the Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar. The inscription which they bear has been edited in the *Karnatak Historical Review*[1] but owing to certain inaccuracies which have crept in the reading of the text as given in the *Review*, in the interpretation of certain passages and in the drawing of inferences in certain cases, I consider it necessary to re-edit the document and I am thankful to the Government Epigraphist for India for giving me an opportunity of doing it in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The plates are **three** in number each measuring about 6¼" in length and 2¼" in breadth. The first and the last plate bear writing on the inner face only; the second plate has both the faces engraved. They are all strung together by a circular ring measuring 2½" in diameter and having an oval seal attached to it. Together with the ring and the seal they weigh 42¾ *tolas* and are very well preserved.

The **seal** bears in relief the figure of some **horned animal** which looks like an antelope whose head is bent forward and one of the horns is turned towards the back. The animal is in a moving pose with its right forefoot raised. The donor of the grant which these plates record was a Sēndraka and the crest of the Sēndrakas was probably an elephant.[2] It is, therefore, difficult to account for the horned animal engraved on the seal unless it is supposed that though the crest was an elephant, the device on the banner of the family was some horned animal like the one represented on the seal. It is not a Rāshṭrakūṭa symbol either, though the document was issued in the reign of a king of that dynasty; for the emblem of that family was either *Garuḍa* or lion.[3] Cannot this horned animal be taken as a cognisance of a Tīrthaṅkara in view of the fact that the document is a Jaina record? Śāntinātha, we know, has an antelope for his *lāñchchhana*.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. Except the invocatory and the imprecatory verses the whole record is in prose. It is written in a Southern **script** which was in use in the Dekkan during the sixth and the seventh centuries of the Christian era. The record is neatly written and resembles the Bādāmi cave inscription of Kīrttivarman I which is dated in the Saka year 500,[4] the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa[5] (602 A. D.), the Kopparam plates[6] and the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulakēśin II.[7] The inscription gives us two forms of long *ā*. In one the top is closed and in the other it is left open (compare *dohaḥhittā* in line 20 and *Āryyanandyāchāryya* in l. 10). Initial *u* is found in *unta(kta)ñ-cha* (l. 16) and *ē* in *Ēndāvirat* (l. 13). Among the consonants the letter *k* is always closed when it is not a conjunct *akshara* but when it is in combination with some other letters it is open; *r* is always open. The letters *t* and *n* are not looped; the former, however, has a loop when combined with *n* (*e.g.*, in *paryyantaṁ*, l. 13). The letter *kh* is found in *Jambūkhaṇḍa* (l. 9) and *ḷ* in *Jaḷāra* (l. 9). Final *t* is found in line 20 and final *m* in lines 2 and 18. As regards **orthography** it may be noted that consonants are sometimes doubled when preceded by *r* (see *Varddhamāna* in lines 1 and 3) but sometimes not (*e.g.*, see *chatur-viṁśati* in line 3). The omission of *s* in *bhūmi tasya* in l. 17 is probably

[1] Vol. I, No. ii, pp. 43 ff.

[2] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 292. The figure of an elephant is found engraved on the inscription of the Sēndraka chief Pogilli (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 143).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 386.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, plate facing p. 58.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, plate facing p. 18.

[6] Above, Vol. XVIII, plate facing p. 259.

[7] Above, Vol. VI, plate facing p. 6.

a mistake of the engraver for the correct word should be *bhūmis=tasya*. A noteworthy mistake of spelling is to be seen in *unnañ=cha* for *ukañ=cha* in line 16.

The **object** of the record is to register the grant of fifty *nivartanas* of land in the Jajjara-grāma village situated in the Kashmāḍi-vishaya to *āchārya* Āryyanandin of the Jambūkhaṇḍa-*gaṇa* for the worship of the divine Arhat and for other purposes specified in lines 11 and 12. The donor was the *Adhirāja* **Indranaṇda,** the son of **Vijayānanda-Madhyamarāja** of the **Sēndraka** family. Indranaṇda is further stated to have been the favourite of the **Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dējja-Mahārāja.** The grant registered in the charter was made when **845 years of the Āguptāyika kings had expired.** This date is specially noteworthy for we do not know anything of the Āguptāyika kings with whom it is connected. This is the first inscription known to us making mention of these kings. No details about them are, however, recorded in this document except that they belonged to the spiritual lineage of **Varddhamāna,** the 24th Jaina Tīrthaṁkara. The name of the era started by these personages namely the Āguptāyikas or the reckoning to which it belonged are questions which can be decided only by future researches. Palæographically the document may be ascribed to about the 6th or 7th century of the Christian era. No reckoning is known at present which would give for 845 an equivalent in the sixth or seventh century of that era. If, however, we follow the Jaina tradition and place the commencement of the reign of the Mauryya emperor Chandragupta in B. C. 312-13[1]—for this appears to be the correct date of his accession[2]—and consider it to be the starting point of the Āguptāyika era we get **A. D. 532-33 as the date of our record.** But, considering the palæography of the record this date appears to be somewhat too early; and I am unable to suggest any other era which can give us a date that would suit the writing of the document even approximately.

Indranaṇda, the donor of the grant, **figures in this record for the first time.** The epithet *adhirāja* applied to him here would indicate that he was a chief of some importance. After the late Dr. Fleet wrote the account of the Sēndrakas[3] only four more inscriptions of the family have come to our notice. The Kalwaṇ plates of Jayaśakti[4] furnish the following pedigree :—

Bhānuśakti
|
Ādityaśakti
|
Nikumbhallaśakti
|
Jayaśakti

carrying the line one generation further than the Bagumrā[5] grant of Nikumbhallaśakti mentioned by Dr. Fleet. The two others are stone inscriptions found at Bādāmi[6] in the Bijāpur District and mention the prince Bhīmaśaktti(kti) who was, according to one of them, a devotee at the feet of Satyāśraya, *i.e.*, a feudatory of the Chālukyas. Excepting the Bagumrā and the Kalwaṇ plates the records of the Sēndrakas so far known mention different members of the family whose relationship to one another is not known. But the names Vijayānanda and Indranaṇda found in the record under publication bear a striking resemblance to the name Sēnānanda borne by the maternal uncle of Pulakēśin II[7].

[1] *Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu* edited by Dr. H. Jacobi, p. 7.
[2] See *J. R. A. S.*, 1932, pp. 273 ff.
[3] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 292.
[4] *Journal of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala* for Śaka 1834, pp. 109 ff.
[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff.
[6] Nos. 125 and 127 of Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1928-29.
[7] Above, Vol. III, p. 51.

i-b.

2 2

4 4

ii-a.

6 6

8 8

10 10

ii-b.

12 12

14 14

iii-a.

16

18

20

SEAL OF THE GOKAK PLATES.



From a photograph — SCALE: FOUR TIMES THE ACTUAL SIZE.

Dējja-Mahārāja who was the overlord of Indrananda is also a hitherto **unknown king of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family.** So far, the earliest inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭas found in the Dekkan was the Sāmangad grant of Dantidurga dated Śaka 675.[1] But its genuineness has been questioned by some scholars.[2] Next come the Poona plates of Kṛishṇarāja of Śaka 680.[3] **The present grant is, thus, the earliest Rāshṭrakūṭa inscription in the Dekkan.**[4] We do not know, however, whether Dējja-Mahārāja belonged to the Mālkhēḍ branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[4] Another interesting question that arises is whether Dējja was an independent ruler. He could not have been so after the Chālukyas became masters of the Dekkan in the beginning of the 7th century. But since he is called a *Mahārāja*, the document might have been issued when he was as a ruling king before the rise of the Chālukyas or when they were just beginning to establish their power. If this conjecture should prove correct we shall have to accept as accurate the account of the Kanthēm plates[6] and other inscriptions[7] of the 10th and 11th centuries that there existed a family of Rāshṭrakūṭas in the Dekkan whom the Chālukyas defeated before coming to power, though the truth of this statement has been doubted by some scholars.[8]

Of the **geographical places** mentioned in the record I am unable to identify **Kashmāṇḍivishaya, Jalāra-grāma** and **Pūrvvina-grāma** which are not known from other inscriptions. **Jambūkhaṇḍa** after which the Jaina *gaṇa* took its name is identical with Jamkhaṇḍi[9], not far away from Gōkāk.

TEXT.

First Plate : Second Side.

1 ◎ Svasti || Varddhatāṁ Varddhamān-ēndōr=Varddhamāna-gaṇ-ōdadhēḥ śāsanaṁ nāśita-

2 ripōr=bhāsuram mōha-śāsanam || [1* ||] Ih=āsyām=avasarpiṇyān=Tirttha-

3 karāṇāṁ chaturviṁśatitamasya sanmatēḥ śrī-**Varddhamānasya** varddhamā-

4 nāyāṁ tīrttha-santatāv=**Aguptāyikānāṁ** rājñām=ashṭāsu varsha-śatē-

5 shu paṁcha-chatvāriṁśad-agrēshu gatēshu **Rāshṭrakūṭ**-ānvaya-jāta-śrī-**Dē**-

Second Plate : First Side.

6 **jja**-mahārājasy=ābhimataḥ śrī-**Sēndrak**-āmala-kul-āmbar-ōdita-di-

7 pra-divākarō **Vijayānanda-Maddhyama**[10]**rāj**-ātmajaḥ śrīmān=**Indraṇand**-ādhi-

8 rājaḥ sva-vaṁśyānām=ātmanaś=cha dharmma-vṛiddhayē **Kashmāṇḍi**-vishayē

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 111.

[2] See above, Vol. XIV, p. 121 f. n. 3 and Vol. XVIII, p. 238.

[3] *Journal of the Bhārata Itihās Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala*, Vol. VIII, p. 166.

[4] It is not certain whether Avidhēya of the Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli grant (*Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1929, pp. 197 ff.) was a Rāshṭrakūṭa king. The Tivarkhēḍ plates of Nannarāja (above, Vol. XI, p. 276) and the Undikavāṭikā grant of Abhimanyu (above, Vol. VIII, p. 163), the one discovered in Central Provinces and the other recording a grant in Central India, belong to about the same period as our grant.

[5] The name Dējja has been wrongly read as Ojja (Gojja) and Gojja identified with Gōvinda IV in the *Karnatak Historical Review*. The letter *Dē* is clear and palaeography militates against placing the record in the reign of Gōvinda IV, i.e., 10th century A. D.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 21.

[7] See, for instance, the Miraj plates of Jayasiṁha II (above, Vol. XII, pp. 303 ff.) and the Nilgunda plates of Vikramāditya VI. (*ibid*, pp. 142 ff.).

[8] See *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 342 and 343.

[9] See *Karnatak Historical Review*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 43.

[10] The letter *ma* is inserted below the line.

9 parvvata-pratyāsanna-**Jajāra**-grāmē **Jambūkhaṇḍa**-gaṇasthāya jñāna-
10 darśana-tapas-sampannāya **Āryyaṇandyāchāryyāya** Bhagavad-Arha-

Second Plate : Second Side.

11 t-pratim-ānavarata-pūj-ārthaṁ śikshaka-glāna-vṛiddhānāṁ cha tapasvināṁ vai-
12 yāpṛity-ārthaṁ grāmasy=ōttarataḥ **Pūrvviṇa**-grāma-virēya-sīmakaṁ da[1]
13 kshiṇēna Muñja-jalamārgga-paryyantaṁ aparatō[a]ḥ Ēṇdāvirut-sa-
14 hita-valmīkaṁ tasmād=uttarataḥ pushkara(i)ṇī tataś=cha yāvat-pūrvva-virēya-
15 kaṁ rāja-mānēna pañchāśan-nivartana-pramāṇa-kshētran=da-

Third Plate : First Side.

16 ttavān=ētad-yō harati sa pañcha-mahāpātaka-saṁyuktō bhavati || Un(k)tañ=
cha
17 Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmi
18 [ta](s=ta)sya tasya tadā phalaṁ || [2 ||*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā
yō harēta vasundharām
19 shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyāṁ jāyatē krimiḥ [||3 ||*] Shashṭiṁ
varsha-sahasrāṇi
20 svargē nandati bhūmidaḥ āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē
vasēt 4 || *]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1). Hail ! May the bright and delusion-destroying charter of Varddhamāna, who is the moon to the ocean of the Varddhamāna-gaṇa and [illegible] his foes, prosper !

(Lines 2-16). When forty-five after eight hundred of the years of the **Āguptāyika** kings in (*i.e.*, belonging to) this ever flowing and prosperous spiritual lineage of the wise **Varddhamāna**, the Twenty-Fourth of the Tīrthaṁkaras, had elapsed, the illustrious *adhirāja* **Indraṇanda**, the son of **Vijayānanda-Maddhyamarāja**, the bright sun who had risen in the firmament of the illustrious and pure **Sēndraka** family and who was the favourite of the illustrious **Dējja-Mahārāja**, born of the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** dynasty, gave, in order to increase the merit of his ancestors as well as of himself, land measuring fifty *nivartanas* by the royal measure in the village of **Jajāra** situated near the mountain in the division of **Kashmaṇḍī** to **Aryyaṇandyāchāryya**, who belonged to the **Jambūkhaṇḍa**-*gaṇa* and was well versed in sacred knowledge, systems of philosophy and penance, for offering worship incessantly to the idol of the divine Arhat, for the (*maintenance of*) teachers, the sick and the old and for the service of ascetics.

(*The boundaries of the land are*) :—to the north of the village the boundary is the *virēya* of the **Pūrvviṇa** village ; to the south, up to the Muñja canal ; to the west, the ant-hill including Ēṇdāvirut ; to its north, the tank and from there up to the eastern *virēyaka*.

(L. 16). He who takes this away incurs the five great sins. Further it is said :—

(Vv. 2-4). (The usual imprecatory verses).

[1] The letter *da* seems to have been corrected from *de*.

No. 44.—SIX INSCRIPTIONS IN THE LAHORE MUSEUM.

By Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, C.I.E., M.A.

The **Central Museum** at Lahore possesses a large number of stone inscriptions the bulk of which were collected in the early nineties of the last century by Major H. A. Deane, C.S.I., then Deputy Commissioner of Peshāwar, on the northern borders of the Peshāwar District and in the independent territory beyond it. The majority of these are in an unknown script which have so far remained undeciphered. A few of the others are short Sanskrit epigraphs in Śāradā characters which were also found in the same region and the remainder in the Nāgarī characters. Some of the inscriptions in the unknown script were first dealt with by M. Senart in a paper read by him before the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists in 1894. The whole collection was subsequently exhaustively treated by Dr. (now Sir) Aurel Stein with illustrative plates in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part I, 1898, pages 1 to 19. M. Senart recognized three distinct types of writing among these documents and these he connected with well defined territorial divisions. The first type which is designated as the *Spankharra* variety has characters consisting of irregular, scrawly lines resembling Sgraffiti or monograms. The second group, associated with *Buner* and the adjoining areas, is characterized by complicated and elaborate signs and these documents are engraved in regular lines on larger stones than those of the first type and have a decidedly monumental look. The third class of documents, known as the *Mahaban* collection, are also engraved on small stones and show a bewildering variety of signs. Sir Aurel was able to distinguish among these inscriptions a fourth variety of writing to which he gave the name of *Nurizai* group. These inscriptions are engraved on longish slabs of slate stone, and unlike the inscriptions of the first three groups, these documents are in most cases surrounded by straight engraved lines. The characters in this variety are formed of curves, angles and other simple strokes differing from the linear arrangement exhibited by the signs in the other three groups.

Nothing definite is known of the origin and date of these puzzling epigraphs. M. Senart and Prof. Bühler had noticed a curious similarity between them and the alphabet of the Turkish inscriptions from the bank of the Orkhon, which are assigned to about the first half of the 8th century A. D., *i.e.*, about the period of Ou-Kong's sojourn in Peshāwar. As far as I can make out no further progress has been made with the examination of these records and the mystery is not likely to be solved until, as hinted by Stein, a bilingual inscription is brought to light.

Six of the Śāradā epigraphs in the Lahore Museum will be found included in a comprehensive list of all the known Śāradā inscriptions appended to Dr. Vogel's *Antiquities of Chamba State*.[1] Among the remaining inscriptions the earliest one is written in characters of the 5th or 6th century A. D. Others are in Nāgarī characters. All the inscriptions with the exception of those in the unknown alphabet are incomplete, the extant portions being defaced and in several cases completely obliterated. It is probably for this reason that they have hitherto remained unedited.[2] In view, however, of the comparatively small number of inscriptions from the Punjab and the North-West Frontier which have survived in good condition and been published, I edit them in this article.

I. Sirsa Inscription of circa 6th century A.D.

This inscription is engraved on a rectangular block of red sandstone similar to that of which the Mathurā sculptures are generally made. The stone was discovered by Sir A. Cunningham and presented to the Central Museum, Lahore. The stone measures 2′ 3″ in width by 3¾″ in height

[1] Part I, Appendix I, p. 259.

[2] These have been noticed by me in *P. R. A. S., N. C.*, 1918-19 pp. 18-20 and Appendix C.

and is 8" thick. The inscribed surface is disfigured by two round holes cut near the right end and there is moreover a large piece broken off below these holes. For the rest, the stone is complete. It is, however, obvious that the inscription was engraved on a series of stones fitted together into a wall and that this stone is only one of them. Portions of three lines of the inscription have survived and these contain portions of verses 13, 14, 16 and 17. The first line contains the last seven *aksharas* of the third foot and the whole of the last or fourth foot of verse 13, thus showing that more than 12½ stanzas are missing at the commencement of the inscription.

The **characters** belong to the northern variety of script of about the 5th or 6th century A. D. The inscription was composed in elegant metrical Sanskrit but unfortunately its value is much marred by its fragmentary nature and neither the name of the ruler of the time nor the purpose of the document can be ascertained.

TEXT.

1 .... येँ[नाव]र्वाच्छिकतो पूज्याराधनमादरेण च यश्यो राज्ज-(ज)ति सर्व्वदा [।*] १३[1] [।*] दायाच्यायनिचि[2] ......

2 ....[यशो] काष्ठां [गत:] संपदो यस्याचानिहुताशने शत्रुभ-यमावित दग्धा द्विष[:*][1] ....

3 ....[भक्त्या च धीर:] त्रिभुवनमवनस्त्वेचन्द्रशुभ्रैर्य्यशोभि: [।*] १६[2] [।*] धामांशा[ति]मणीव[3] ......

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 13)........who by diligent veneration of those worthy of respect is constantly resplendent............

(Verse 14)........who had attained the highest limit of prosperity and in the fire of whose anger (*his*) enemies were frequently consumed like moths............

(Verse 16)........who had covered the three worlds with his fame white like the Moon......

II. Sirsa Stone Inscription of the time of Bhōjadēva.

According to No. 23 of the list of inscriptions maintained in the Lahore Museum, this inscription was found in a mound near the town of Sirsa in the Hissar District of the Punjab and presented to the Central Museum, Lahore, by the then Deputy Commissioner. The stone is broken irregularly on all sides. The maximum dimensions of the extant portion are—width 2' 7", height 1' 7" and thickness 1' 1". The loss which each line has suffered will be apparent from the subjoined text. Suffice it to say that more than 10 verses are lost at the commencement of the inscription while the last stanza which has survived in part in line 16 is numbered 32. The existing portion of the inscription is in good Sanskrit poetry and few mistakes occur. The **characters** belong to the 9th century A. D. and the **Bhōjadēva** whose name is found in the third line, I take to be identical with the Bhōja of Kanauj, inscriptions of whose time are found at Deogarh, Gwalior and Pehōa.[3] No connected translation of the document is possible and I can only record here such fragmentary information as can be gathered from the portions of the stanzas that have survived.

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[1] Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

[2] Metre : *Mālinī.*

[3] Kielhorn, *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 14, 15, 16, 546, etc. ; Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 33, 35, 36, 1612.

Verse 11, which is the first existing stanza eulogizes the continence of some one. The next verse indicates that the king at the time was the illustrious Bhōjadēva.

The next verse (V. 13) tells us that there was a leader of the Pāśupata sect named Ratnarāśi, who was intensely devoted (V. 15), had conquered Kāma, was spotless like a multitude of the rays of the Moon, purified by the current of the celestial river (the Ganges) and [resplendent] like Śiva himself. Of verse 16 only the last foot has survived and appears to indicate that this saint did something like the husband of the daughter of the mountain Himālaya, *i.e.*, Śiva. The next verse (V. 17) relates something of the summit of the snowy mountain (Himālaya) and of the mountain Malaya. Verse 18 continues the praise of the saint mentioned above or of one of his successors, who is extolled as the Moon of the earth, who had come down to show the way leading to Śaṅkara, which is free from the dangers of mundane existence and which has destroyed the cause of birth and death. His disciple was another whose name is missing (V. 19), whose mind had been purified by his having acquired the knowledge of all that is worth knowing. This saint had a disciple (V. 20), whose name is also missing. The next two verses (Vv. 21 and 22) state that considering the worldly happiness to be of no use, youth to be worthless and life itself to be unstable like the ripple of the sea, he did something the nature of which cannot be ascertained. His commands were carried out (V. 23) with devotion by the multitude of kings with folded hands. (His disciple) was Nīlakaṇṭha (V. 24), who was the lord of the rulers of the earth, an orator among speakers, who, though one, assumed various aspects of Śiva. He made (Vv. 25 and 26) a magnificent temple (*bhavana*) of Yōgīśvara or Śiva with burnt bricks and thick slabs of stone. This temple (V. 29) was as high as the sky and attained the height of the summit of the Kailāsa mountain. Verses 30 and 31 appear to state that this temple was adorned with (images) of Kṛishṇa, the enemy of Mura, united with Lakshmī and with the images of other gods, demons, *gandharvas*, *yakshas*, *kinnaras*, *siddhas* and thus emulated, as it were, the universal form of the lord of Lakshmī.

TEXT.

1 . . . .

2 . . . . . तुरङ्ग . . . . चञ्चल्यमित्रज: . . . .

3 . . . . . भुवनं येन । . . परमहेलया । चेतसापि न चचाले । महं परम-
हेलया ॥[१२॥][1] श्रीभोजदेवे गुण . . . . . . [॥१३॥*][2]

4 . . . . व सितांशुराज: कलङ्कमुक्त: परमागमार्गी । बभूव नाम्ना
भुवि रत्नराशिस्त[पो]मय✕पाशुपताग्रणीश्च ॥[3] . . . .
. . . . .

5 . . . . [ध]र्मैकनिष्ठो जितमन्मथस्तथा शशाङ्कलेखाकरजालनिर्मल: ।
सुरस्रवन्तीवहनातिशोभितस्स्वयं पिनाकीव विरा[जमान:] [॥१५॥*][4] . . . .

6 . . . . हिमशैलसुतापतिवत्सदा [॥१६॥][3] हिमवच्छिखरे मलये च
[गि]रौ कनकाभविशालशिलानिचये । सरसोत्सरसां . . . . [॥१७॥*][5]

---

[1] Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

[2] Metre: *Indravajrā* (The metre of this verse has been taken as *Indravajrā* but the reading is *Bhōjadēva* which would show that possibly the metre was *Vasantatilaka*.—Ed.]

[3] Metre: *Upēndravajrā.*

[4] Metre: *Vaṁśastha.*

[5] Metre: *Tōṭaka.*

7 . . . . सारमेयाभिधेयं । भवभयपरिमुक्तं सा(शां)तसंसारहेतु- श्रथयितुमिह मार्गं शाङ्करं सोमनोन्दुः ॥१८॥[1] शिष्यस्तस्य स(श)मान्वित . . . .

8 . . . . परिचयो निरंस्वसर्व्वाश्रमो ज्ञातज्ञेयतयातिनिर्म्मलमना योगी- कनिष्ठानिव ॥१९॥[2] तस्यापि शिष्यस्त्र बभूव श[म्भो] . . . . . . [॥२०*॥][3]

9 . . . . विभङ्गलोलं । संसारसौख्यं सकलं विदित्वा । ज्ञात्वा तथा यौवनमप्य[सारं] । पयोधि[वीची]चपलं च जीवं ॥२१॥[4] येना . . .

10 . . . . खे ॥२२॥ श्रग्रामकार्ष्मीद्भुवि यस्य भक्त्या । कृताञ्जलि- र्भूपगणस्समयः । शशाङ्कलेखाकलितो[रूम ?] . . . . . . [॥२३॥*][4]

11 . . . . यो नीलकण्ठस्तथा । ईशान><पृथिवीभुजां समभव- द्वागीश्वरो वादिनामिस्थेकोपि चकार रूपमनिशं शंभोरनेकं नि[जं*] . . . . . . ॥ [२४॥*][2]

12 . . . . शालये योगीश्वरस्य भवनं महतो महीयः ॥२५॥[5] पक्वेष्टकारचितमेतदुदग्रमासीत्संस्त(स्तु)त्य यदनशिलामयमेत्र यस्तु (?) [।*] [सौचीकरत्तरम] . . . . [॥२६॥*][5]

13 . . . . तितलभूमिविशेषरम्यं । स्तुकाञ्चने(?) गगनतुङ्गतया नितान्तं कैलासशैलशिखरश्च(श्रि)यमादधाने ॥२८॥[5] लक्ष्मीसुतं(त)स्सुरिपो . . . . . . [॥३०॥*][5]

14 . . . . देवदैत्यगन्धर्वयक्षगणकिन्नरसिद्धरूपं । लक्ष्मीपतेरिवचपु[ष्कृ]- तविश्वरूपं मा . . . .

15 . . . . . . [॥३१॥*][5] . . . . भवनं रमणीयतायां निश्शेषशिल्पविभव . . . . .

16 . . . . राशिरिव ॥३२॥[5]

17 . . . .

18 . . . .

---

[1] Metre: *Mālinī*.

[2] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[3] Metre: *Indravajrā*.

[4] Metre: *Upajāti*.

[5] Metre: *Vasantatilaka*.

Six Inscriptions in the Lahore Museum (I).

No. 1.



No. 2.

SCALE: ONE-FOURTH

N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 1455 E'37-480.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

III. Bhatinda Stone Inscription of about the 10th Century A.D.

The stone on which this inscription is engraved was found lying at the tomb of Haji Ratan Baba at Bhatinda and was removed and presented by Sardar Atar Singh, Chief of Bhadaur to the Lahore Museum (No. 8 of the list of inscriptions). It is a fragmentary slab of dark grey colour and was surrounded with an engraved rim ornamented with a pattern of flower petals. The existing portion measures 1' 5½" in width by 1' 6½" in height. The stone is complete on three sides but a portion is broken off on the left side carrying away about 8 to 10 syllables of each line. A small triangular portion is also broken off at the lower left corner. A considerable portion of the writing is also badly defaced in the middle of the slab and in some other parts the letters are quite illegible. The **characters** are Nāgarī of about the end of the 10th century A. D. and the whole of the extant portion is in Sanskrit verse. The first stanza contains an invocation of Kṛishṇa (Hari), who with his four hands armed with a mace, the spotless *pāñchajanya* conch, (etc.) with ease supports the whole of the three worlds and who is ever-lasting. The second verse praises *Rājā* **Śatrughna-dēva** who equalled Lakshmaṇa and Bharata, whose feet were bowed to by the whole world and the dust of whose feet.......... The third verse informs us that at Tribhāṇḍanapura there was (some one) resplendent with gems of virtues, whose glory was spotless like jewels, who was the ornament of a noble Kshatriya family and who had acquired fame throughout the world by his brilliant......(His son) (V. 4) was named........because he was the destroyer of the impurity of the Kali age, who was purified by his devotion to ascetics........and who by the constant flow of his liberality resembled the current of the Ganges. The next verse (V. 5) contained the name of his wife which appears to have been Indulēkhā. In the remaining portion of the inscription only stray words or syllables can be made out in each line. Line 14 appears to contain the word *mahākavi* and in line 16 there is a portion of a foot of a verse in the *Vasantatilaka* metre which means 'devotion to Hari or Vishṇu dispels'.

I am unable to identify the *Rājā* Śatrughnadēva who was ruling over the region, where the inscription had been found, at the time this epigraph was engraved. 'Tribhāṇḍanapura' mentioned in verse 3 is undoubtedly the original ancient name of Bhatinda where the inscription was discovered. The ruler Śatrughnadēva in whose time the inscription was recorded is, as far as I can make out, not known from another inscription. He must have belonged to a local family of Bhatinda. Raverty, quoted by Smith in his *Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, p. 382, was wrong in making Bhatinda the capital of Jayapāla of the Hindu Shāhi dynasty.

TEXT.

1 . . . . — — ∪ — ∪ ∪ गदामलपाञ्चजन्यलीलाधृताखिलजगत्त्रितयैश्चतुर्भिः ।
दोर्भिः हरिः हर

2 ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — — — सर्वं सुचरितानि सनातनोयम् ॥[1] [१॥*]
जयति जगवतचरणधरणारजः प्र-

3 . . . . . . :[।] लक्ष्मणभरतप्रतिमो राजा शत्रुघ्नदेवोयम् ॥[2] [२॥*] आसीत्त्रि-
भाण्ड[नपुरे]गुण-

4 [रत्नशाली*] — — ∪ — ∪ रिवरत्नमयामलश्रीः [।*] [सत्क्ष]त्रियान्वयविभूषण-
मुन्न(न्न)तेन ख्यातिंगतः क्षिति-

5 [तल*] ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — ॥[1] [३॥*] [तस्यात्म*]जः कलिमलक्षयकारिनामा
[श्रीदाम] दत्वभवद्यतिभक्तिपूतः[3] [।*] तापच्छि-

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[1] Metre : Vasantatilaka.

[3] One syllable seems to be missing in this pāda.

[2] Metre : Āryā.

6 — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — गंगाप्रवाह इव सन्ततदान[तोय:] क्ष[1]
क्ष्यातयि[यो] जगति [चार]कनाम चामी

7 . . . . [कल्पक]निज . . . श्री . . न्दुलिखा — — स्य सा सुचरितस्
8 . . . . . . गडन . . . . . हराज . . . . सौजन्ययुत
9 . . . . चानक . . . . .
10 . . . .
11 . . . .
12 . . . . मतन . . . .
13 . . . . तस्य । गोविन्द . . . . . पश्च
14 . . . . . . [महाकवि] . . . . . [चन्द्रमणि] . . . . . . देव . . . .
महाराज . . . . .
15 . . . . सामन्तमित्रप्रति
16 . . . . . . ॥ भक्तिर्वेष्वंगति यत्र दि-
17 . . . . . . सम्पदत्र . . . स्थिरसुव
18 . . . . पुत्र . . . . . समुद्र
19 . . . .

The remaining inscriptions dealt with in this article are all inscribed in the Śāradā script. The origin, history and development of this script will be found discussed in great detail in Dr. Vogel's monumental work *Antiquities of Chamba State*. Dr. Vogel disagreed with Bühler and Hoernle's view that Śāradā was a direct descendant of the western variety of the Gupta script, on the ground that an intermediate variety assignable to about the beginning of the 8th century A. D. had intervened between the Gupta and the Nāgarī scripts. Śāradā proper continued in use in the Chamba valley and the other hill tracts adjoining the Punjab up to about A. D. 1300. The later variety of Śāradā, which in the Chamba valley is known by the name of Dēvāśēsha continued to be used in that area till about A.D. 1700 and a cognate form of it continues to be used to this day, in certain hill States of the Punjab and particularly in Kashmir where Nāgarī did not come into use until the second quarter of the 19th century A. D. The later variety differs from Śāradā proper in the absence of nail-heads or wedges at the tops of the letters, which are such a prominent feature of the earlier variety. The inscriptions treated of here are all engraved in the earlier variety.

IV. Dewai Stone Inscription of the Shahi King Bhimadēva.

This inscription is engraved on a small rectangular slab of stone which is badly broken and cracked in two pieces on the front or inscribed face. It was found by Major Deane at Dewai, Gadun territory. The stone is complete on three sides, but broken at the top and consists of four lines in **Śāradā characters** and in the **Sanskrit language**. The extant portion of the inscription is well preserved except for the loss of one letter in the middle of the first line.

[1] Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

No. 3.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
Reg. No. 1466 E'37-480.

SCALE: THREE-EIGHTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

No. 4.



No. 5.



No. 6.



SCALE: ONE-HALF.

TEXT.

1 श्रीकल[क] . . लवर्मोद्भव-

2 गदाहस्त परमभट्टार-

3 कमहाराजाधिराजपर-

4 मेश्वरसाहिश्रीभीमदे[व] [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

"The supreme sovereign, superior king of great kings and supreme lord the Shâhi, the illustrious **Bhîmadêva**, who holds the mace in his hand and is sprung from the illustrious Kala[kamma]lavarman."

The king **Bhîmadêva** mentioned in this inscription is no doubt the same as the fourth king of the dynasty of the Shâhi kings of Kabul and the Punjab who reigned, according to C. V. Vaidya (*History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. I, page 201) from A. D. 940 to 960.[1] This Bhîmadêva was the grandfather of Diddâ, the wife and successor of Kshêmagupta, king of Kashmir, and the daughter of the Lôhara king named Simha Râja, king of one of the feudatory States of Kashmir till A. D. 958.

Alberuni describes the Shâhi kings of Kabul and the Punjab as *Brâhmaṇas*. Sir A. Cunningham held that though the four kings whose names end in देव, *i.e.*, Vênkadêva, Kallar or Spalapatidêva, Sâmantadêva, and Bhîmadêva must indeed have been **Brâhmaṇas**, the last four kings, Jayapâla, Ânandapâla, Trilôchanapâla and Bhîmapâla were Râjpût Kshatriyas. This view appears to me to be only partially correct. Kshêmagupta to whom the grand-daughter of Bhîmadêva was married is believed to have been a Kshatriya and as there could be no matrimonial connection between a Brâhmaṇa and a Kshatriya, it is obvious that Bhîmadêva must also have been a Kshatriya. The present inscription provides epigraphical proof of this identification, inasmuch as the name of the father of Bhîmadêva ends in *varman*, a definitely Kshatriya title.

V. Ranigat Inscription.

The fragmentary white marble slab on which this inscription is engraved was discovered by Major Deane in November, 1894 at a place called Ranigat and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. 25-A). The inscription consists of four lines in which portions of four Sanskrit verses have survived. The first verse which is in the *Vasantatilaka* metre has lost the last seven syllables of the second foot, the whole of the third foot and the first two syllables of the last foot, *i.e.*, 23 *aksharas* in all. The loss between lines 2 and 3 amounts to as many as 65 syllables, consisting of the last five *aksharas* of the first foot and the whole of the next three feet of a verse in the *Sârdûlavikrîḍita* metre and the first three syllables of the next verse which was in the *Vasantatilaka* metre. The loss between lines 3 and 4 again amounts to only 30 syllables, showing that the lines were of very unequal lengths.[2]

[1] For two very rare coins of Bhîmadêva, see Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, plate VII, 17 and 18.

[2] [It is quite possible that a whole verse has been lost in addition between lines 1 and 2 and another between lines 3 and 4.—*Ed.*]

The first verse embodies an invocation of a deity, the pair of whose feet was variegated by the lustre of the brilliant jewels in the crowns of the multitude of gods . . . . The next verse of which only the last 12 syllables remain, constitutes a eulogy of a king whose name is broken off, but whose prowess was well known like that of Arjuna. [The son[1] of this ruler] was devoted to, and diligent in the carrying out of the commands of, his lord. The rest of the verse is broken off. Of the next verse less than the first half exists and it refers to some one, the hair of whose head, which resembled the sacred cord of *muñja* grass was besmeared with the mass of the pollen of the lotus flowers in the shape of the feet of Śiva....... The last existing verse, of which less than one half is preserved, tells us that the worldly ties of some one had been burnt in the fire of [true] knowledge.

This inscription at present adds little to our knowledge of the history of the territory in which it has been found. Perhaps it may be found useful at a later stage in filling gaps in future discoveries of such inscriptions.

TEXT.

1 [स्वस्ति] ॥
गीर्वाणवृन्दमुकुटस्फुटरत्नकान्ति-
किर्मीरितांघ्रि(घ्रि)युग[ल] ⏑⏑–⏑––– [।*]
––⏑–⏑⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑––

2 ––र्जुनोर्जुन इव प्रथितप्रताप[:*] ॥[2]
भक्तो [भर्तृ]मनोनुवृत्तिचतुरो[1] तस्या ⏑––⏑–
–––⏑⏑–⏑–⏑⏑⏑–––⏑––⏑– [।*]
–––⏑⏑–⏑–⏑⏑⏑–––⏑––⏑–
–––⏑⏑–⏑–⏑⏑⏑–––⏑––⏑–[॥*][3]

3 ––⏑ रयस्मृतिधूर्जटिपादपद्म-
रेणूत्करच्छुरितमूर्धजमुंजमा[ल] [।*]
––⏑–⏑⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑––
––⏑–⏑⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑–– [॥*][2]

4 ––र्थावगमप्रभूताग्निदग्धबन्धः
ख्यातो यः प्रमथ इवेश –⏑–– [।*]
–––⏑⏑⏑⏑–⏑–⏑––
–––⏑⏑⏑⏑–⏑–⏑–– [॥*][4]

---

[1] [The reading seems to be *bhaktā* (*bhartṛi*)-*manō-nuvṛitti-chaturā*. The feminine gender as well as the word *bhartṛi* shows that the reference is to his wife.—Ed.]

[2] Metre: Vasantatilakā.

[3] Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

[4] Metre: *Praharshiṇī*.

VI. Bari Kot Inscription of the Reign of Jayapāladēva.

The original of this inscription is a rectangular slab, 10¾" wide by 9" high of dark grey slate stone, which was found on a hill to the north of Bari Kot in Upper Swat and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. 119). The whole of the inscription is very badly obliterated and the only portions that can be read with certainty are the first two lines of the document. Elsewhere only stray words or syllables can be made out. The inscription begins with *ōṁ svasti 100*, followed by the words meaning "in the reign of the supreme sovereign, the superior king of great kings and the supreme lord, the illustrious **Jayapāladēva**". We then gather that in the illustrious Vajirasthāna (Waziristan) three individuals, whose names are completely rubbed off, founded something, the nature of which cannot be determined. This inscription is the first epigraphical document which mentions the name of the Shāhi king Jayapāladēva, who was the successor of Bhīmadēva and contemporary of Amīr Sabuktigīn and Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. The existing portion contains no date.

TEXT.

1 ॐ स्वस्ति १०० परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपर-

2 मेश्वरश्रीजयपालदेवराज्ये श्रीवजीरस्थाने

3 भट्टपुत्र चौपोच (?) मित्रदेवकुलप्रभप्रार्थिते . . . . . .

4 . . . .

5 . . . एभिस्त्रिभि[:] . . . . . .

6 . . . . कर्म

7 . . . . प्रभव उद्

8 कर्म . . . . प्रतिष्ठा

9 तस्य . . . रथ प्रतिष्ठित . . . क — — रापित:

10 एभिस्त्रिभि[:] . . . .

11 . . . . . .: ॥

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By N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A.

A

The figures refer to pages: *n.* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add.* to the Additions and Corrections. The following other abbreviations are used:—*ch.*=chief; *co.*=country; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *f.*=female; *k.*=king; *m.*=male; *mo.*=mountain; *ri.*=river; *s. a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *vi.*=village or town; *W.*=Western.

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D

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Illustrations.

